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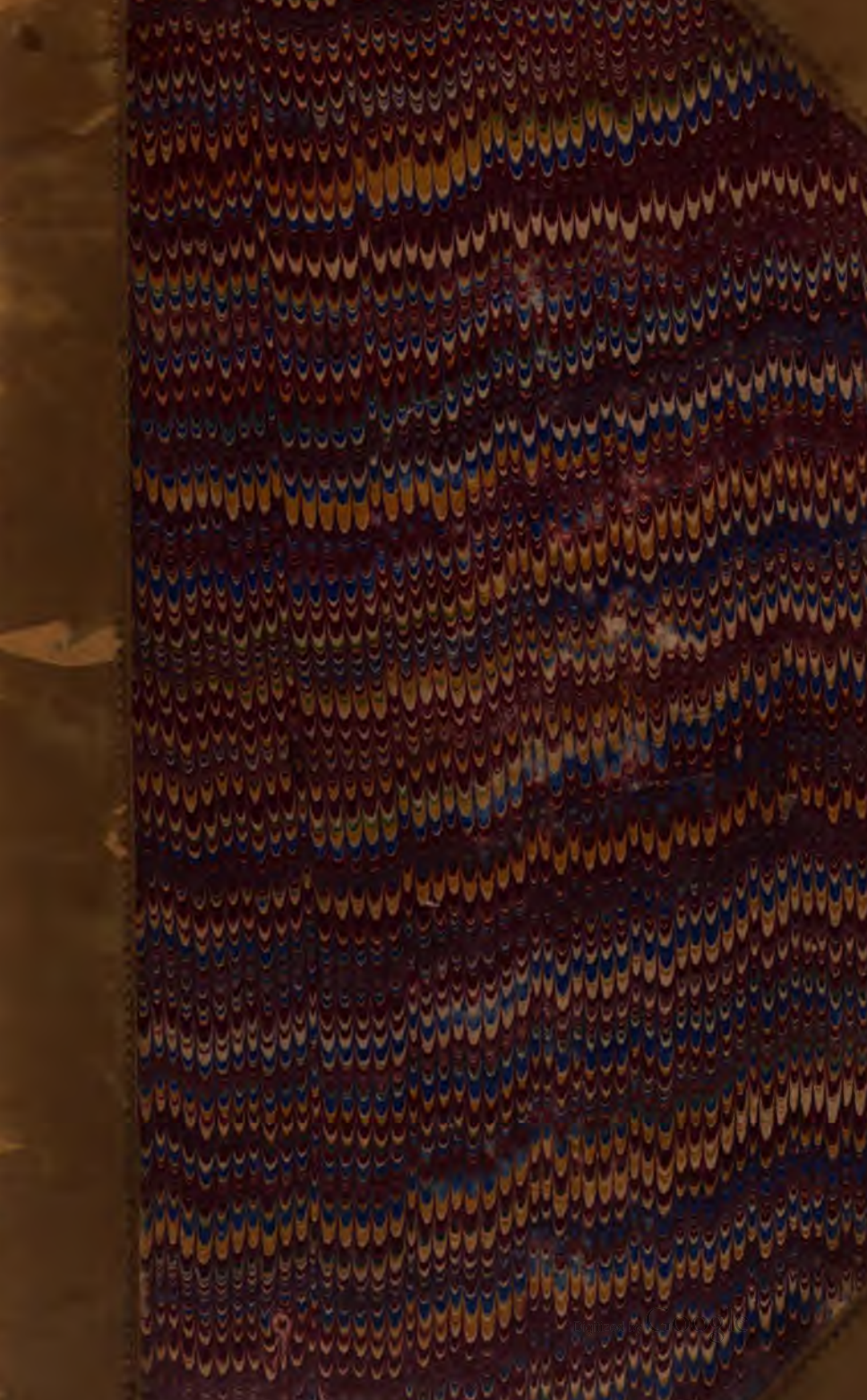
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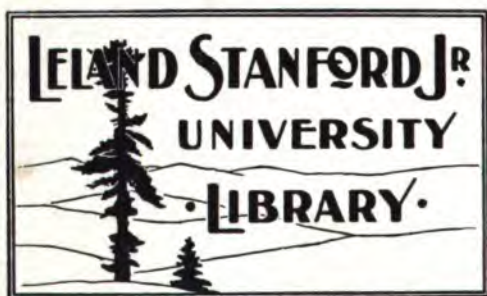
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PRESENTED BY THOMAS WELTON STANFORD.

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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
1867.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER:

A
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD,

FOR THE YEAR

1867.

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1868.



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ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1867.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

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In closing our Review of the year 1866, in the last volume of this work, we were compelled to describe it in somewhat unfavourable

terms, as "a gloomy and unprosperous period." The events which stamped it with such a character were principally the severe financial crisis, which produced wide-spread distress and commercial embarrassment; the cattle plague, which, though apparently declining, was by no means extinguished; and the outbreak of the Fenian insurrection in Ireland, which seemed to indicate a deep-seated disease in the body politic of that country;—the disturbances occasioned by the Reform agitation in England, the riots in Hyde-park, and popular demonstrations in various parts of the country, had likewise contributed to produce a feeling of insecurity and distrust. Superadded to these calamities was the loss occasioned by a partially deficient harvest, together with the pressure caused by the high price of provisions, especially of animal food. The shadow of these calamities naturally fell upon the commencement of the succeeding year, and afforded ground for some anxiety in forecasting its prospects. The difficulties involved in the long-standing and still unsettled question of Parliamentary Reform formed another element of perplexity and solicitude. It was still uncertain, when the time for the reassembling of Parliament approached, whether the Cabinet of Lord Derby would venture on the experiment of a Reform Bill, or would attempt to entrench themselves in a Conservative policy of resistance to constitutional innovations. In any event, the difficulties of bringing about a settlement of the controversy, in which the various parties concerned would acquiesce, did not appear less formidable at the present time, after the repeated disappointments and recent failures of similar attempts. Moreover, the position in which the Government actually stood, commanding only a minority of votes in the House of Commons, did not seem to promise well for energetic measures or independent action on the part of the Executive. It was only from the divisions which prevailed in the opposite party, that those in power derived strength; and it needed very adroit and skilful management on their part to secure an effectual concert among their own supporters, and to maintain the state of disunion among their opponents. It was therefore with much uncertainty, and rather in an anxious than sanguine frame of mind, that the public awaited the opening of the Session of Parliament, and the disclosures of Ministerial policy which it usually produces.

The meeting of the Legislature took place on the 5th of February, on which day Her Majesty, to the great satisfaction of her loyal subjects, emerged from the seclusion that she had so long maintained, and opened her Parliament in person; addressing them, through the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, in the following speech:—

" My Lords and Gentlemen :

" In again recurring to your advice and assistance, I am happy to inform you that my relations with foreign powers are on a friendly and satisfactory footing.

"I hope that the termination of the war in which Prussia, Austria, and Italy have been engaged, may lead to the establishment of a durable peace in Europe.

"I have suggested to the Government of the United States a mode by which questions pending between the two countries arising out of the civil war may receive an amicable solution, and which, if met, as I trust it will be, in a corresponding spirit, will remove all grounds of possible misunderstanding, and promote relations of cordial friendship.

"The war between Spain and the Republics of Chili and Peru still continues; the good offices of my Government, in conjunction with that of the Emperor of the French, having failed to effect a reconciliation. If either by agreement between the parties themselves, or by the mediation of any other friendly power, peace shall be restored, the object which I have had in view will be equally attained.

"Discontent prevailing in some provinces of the Turkish Empire, has broken out in actual insurrection in Crete. In common with my allies, the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Russia, I have abstained from any active interference in these internal disturbances; but our joint efforts have been directed to bringing about improved relations between the Porte and its Christian subjects, not inconsistent with the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

"The protracted negotiations which arose out of the acceptance, by Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, of the Government of the Danubian Principalities, have been happily terminated by an arrangement to which the Porte has given its ready adhesion, and which has been sanctioned by the concurrence of all the powers, signatories of the Treaty of 1856.

"Resolutions in favour of a more intimate union of the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, have been passed by their several Legislatures; and delegates duly authorized, and representing all classes of colonial party and opinion, have concurred in the conditions upon which such an union may be best effected. In accordance with their wishes, a Bill will be submitted to you which, by the consolidation of colonial interest and resources, will give strength to the several provinces as members of the same empire, and animated by feelings of loyalty to the same Sovereign.

"I have heard with deep sorrow that the calamity of famine has pressed heavily on my subjects in some parts of India. Instructions were issued to my Government in that country to make the utmost exertions to mitigate the distress which prevailed during the autumn of last year. The blessing of an abundant harvest has, since that time, materially improved the condition of the suffering districts.

"The persevering efforts and unscrupulous assertions of treasonable conspirators abroad have, during the last autumn, excited the hopes of some disaffected persons in Ireland, and the apprehensions of the loyal population; but the firm, yet temperate exercise of the powers entrusted to the Executive, and the hostility

manifested against the conspiracy by men of all classes and creeds, have greatly tended to restore public confidence, and have rendered hopeless any attempt to disturb the general tranquillity. I trust that you may consequently be enabled to dispense with the continuance of any exceptional legislation for that part of my dominions.

"I acknowledge, with deep thankfulness to Almighty God, the great decrease which has taken place in the cholera, and in the pestilence which has attacked our cattle; but the continued prevalence of the latter in some foreign countries, and its occasional reappearance in this, will still render necessary some special measures of precaution; and I trust that the visitation of the former will lead to increased attention to those sanitary measures which experience has shown to be the best preventive.

"Estimating as of the highest importance an adequate supply of pure and wholesome water, I have directed the issue of a Commission to inquire into the best means of permanently securing such a supply for the metropolis, and for the principal towns in densely-peopled districts of the kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

"I have directed the Estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. They have been prepared with a due regard to economy, and to the requirements of the public service.

"You will, I am assured, give your ready assent to a moderate expenditure, calculated to improve the condition of my soldiers, and to lay the foundation of an efficient Army of Reserve.

"My Lords and Gentlemen :

"Your attention will again be called to the state of the representation of the people in Parliament; and I trust that your deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise.

"The frequent occurrence of disagreements between employers of labour and their workmen, causing much private suffering and public loss, and occasionally leading, as is alleged, to acts of outrage and violence, has induced me to issue a Commission to inquire into, and report upon, the organization of Trades' Unions, and other associations, whether of workmen or employers, with power to suggest any improvement of the law for their mutual benefit. Application will be made to you for parliamentary powers which will be necessary to make this inquiry effective.

"I have directed Bills to be laid before you for the extension of the beneficial provisions of the Factory Acts to other trades specially reported on by the Royal Commission on the employment of children; and for the better regulation, according to the principle of those Acts, of workshops where women and children are largely employed.

"The condition of the Mercantile Marine has attracted my serious attention. Complaints are made that the supply of seamen is deficient; and the provisions for their health and discipline on board ship are imperfect. Measures will be submitted to you with a view to increase the efficiency of this important service.

"I have observed with satisfaction the relaxations recently introduced into the Navigation Laws of France. I have expressed to the Emperor of the French my readiness to submit to Parliament a proposal for the extinction, on equitable terms, of the exemptions from local charges on shipping which are still enjoyed by a limited number of individuals in British ports; and his Imperial Majesty has, in anticipation of this step, already admitted British ships to the advantage of the new law. A Bill upon this subject will forthwith be laid before you.

"A Bill will also be submitted to you for making better provision for the arrangement of the affairs of Railway Companies which are unable to meet their engagements.

"Measures will be submitted to you for improving the management of sick and other poor in the metropolis, and for a redistribution of some of the charges for relief therein.

"Your attention will also be called to the amendment of the Law of Bankruptcy; to the consolidation of the Courts of Probate and Divorce and Admiralty; and to the means of disposing, with greater despatch and frequency, of the increasing business in the superior Courts of Common Law, and at the Assizes.

"The relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland have engaged my anxious attention; and a Bill will be brought before you which, without interfering with the rights of property, will offer direct encouragement to occupiers of land to improve their holdings, and provide a simple mode of obtaining compensation for permanent improvements.

"I commend to your careful consideration these and other measures which will be brought before you; and I pray that your labours may, under the blessing of Providence, conduce to the prosperity of the country and the happiness of my people."

The debates which took place in both Houses upon the Address proposed in answer to the above Speech, were of a somewhat tame and unexciting character. In the House of Lords it was moved by Earl Beauchamp, who passed in review the several topics referred to by Her Majesty, expressing especial satisfaction at the conciliatory efforts of the Government to arrange existing difficulties with the United States, approving the course adopted to defeat the Fenian conspiracy, and commending the measures taken and proposed to check the cattle disease, and to prevent the renewed outbreak of cholera. He hoped that the long-pending question of Parliamentary Reform would obtain a speedy and satisfactory solution; but he regarded the question of the freedom of trade and labour as of even greater urgency, and trusted that

the inquiries of the Royal Commission upon Trades' Unions would be productive of general advantage.

Lord Delamere, in seconding the Address, briefly glanced at the various subjects dealt with in the Speech, and more particularly dwelt upon the Irish policy of the Government, which he cordially approved. The question of landlord and tenant was one of long standing, and requiring immediate settlement; and it was one which could be very properly dealt with by a Government whose head was not only an Irish proprietor, but a landlord who had ever been anxious for the welfare of his tenantry. After some remarks upon Trades' Unions, the original objects of which he approved, but whose coercive operations he condemned, he proceeded to consider the subject of Reform. He thought that the people had spoken out decidedly upon the question, and he thought the time was favourable for the consideration of a Reform Bill. The extent of such a measure was a question for discussion, but he believed that Parliament would support the Government in carrying any well-considered scheme which proposed to extend the franchise to a degree commensurate with the increased spread of education and political knowledge.

Lord Russell, contenting himself with a passing reference to the items of foreign policy alluded to in the Speech, addressed himself to the paragraph relating to Reform, from which he inferred an intention on the part of the Government speedily to introduce a Bill dealing with that subject. He imputed to the leaders of the present Government that they had in former Sessions resisted all propositions to lower the borough franchise, and had met the moderate Bill proposed by the late Government unfairly and disingenuously. After vindicating the separation of the question of the franchise from that of the redistribution of seats, which, he contended, would have impeded and delayed a settlement of the question, Lord Russell promised to consider upon its merits any Bill which the Government should propose, and would rejoice to support one which should confer the franchise upon a large body of the artisans of the country who are well qualified to possess it. Any delusive attempt to deal with the question he denounced as only tending to foster agitation for manhood suffrage, which few members of either House of Parliament at present were disposed to support.

Lord Derby declined to discuss the merits of the various Reform propositions that had been made since 1832, and contented himself with announcing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, within a very few days, state the course proposed by the Government in respect to the Reform question. He however must suggest to the House that any attempt at a satisfactory settlement of the question must fail, unless it were approached in a spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation. "If," said the noble Lord, "we desire to see the representation of the country placed upon a sound basis; if we desire to see a settlement of the question, which I will

not say shall be final, but which shall render unnecessary and improbable any further agitation upon the subject for a very considerable time; then, I say, this object cannot be attained by making the question one of party and political strife for the purpose of obtaining office or Parliamentary majorities. The question must be examined in a fair, deliberate, and dispassionate spirit; we must be prepared to give and take; we must be prepared to meet each other's views, and, above all things, to cast away all party objects, and be quite free from mere political strife. I am speaking from the deepest convictions of my mind, when I say that there is no possible Government in this country that can at the present time carry a Reform Bill. The noble earl (Russell) tried to do so last year, and he thought he had a majority with him when he laid down the principle that no Government was required, and that no Government was ever justified, in bringing forward a Reform Bill unless it had a reasonable prospect of being able to carry it. I do not go as far as the noble earl, but I say that in the present state of parties no Government can hope to carry, by their own separate and distinct exertions, such a Reform Bill as would in their view be most desirable; and I repeat that, if this question is to be settled, it must be dealt with in a spirit of mutual forbearance, and not by bandying recriminations. Although I cannot commend the noble earl for accuracy in reference to his recapitulations of what took place in 1859 or 1866, I will not follow him with regard to one of the points he raised. I will not argue with him touching his statement that, from 1832 down to 1866, the desire and working of the Conservative party was to keep the borough franchise from being reduced below 10%, or the county franchise below 50%; but I will remind him, with regard to the county franchise, that in 1859 the Government of the day proposed a larger extension of the county franchise than has been proposed since. It is undoubtedly true that at that time a proposition was made to place the county and borough franchise upon the same footing, and in that view of the matter the Government declined to reduce the borough franchise, while it proposed a large reduction of the county franchise. This principle, however, was not sanctioned by the country or Parliament, and has not been introduced since; it has been universally admitted that there should be a difference between the county and borough franchise. Then I would also remind the noble earl that he has not since then given us many opportunities of expressing our opinion upon the subject of Reform, for from 1860 to 1866 the noble earl has been perfectly satisfied to leave the whole question at rest; and it was not until last year that he awakened with a new zeal for the artisans, and brought forward a hasty proposition for the consideration of the House. How that proposition was treated is matter of history; it was not defeated wholly by the opponents of the noble earl; but partially by those whom the noble earl had reckoned among his supporters; so ill-considered, so incomplete,

so unsatisfactory, and at the same time so dangerous, that although the House of Commons had unanimously admitted the expediency of reducing the franchise, yet when its members came to discuss the changes proposed in the measure before them, some of the noble earl's supporters, as well as those opposed to him, pronounced the Bill to be not good."

Referring next to the "Alabama" claims, Lord Derby described the course of the negotiations, and declared that if the United States desired arbitration upon any precisely specified questions, the Government was prepared to meet them in a friendly spirit, and if an impartial arbitrator could be agreed upon, to submit to him the questions at issue. He adverted also to the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and said it was the wish of the Government to give every facility to tenants to secure the value of their improvements, consistently with the rights of the landlord.

The Address was agreed to *nem. con.*

In the House of Commons, the Address was moved by Mr. De Grey, who briefly commented upon the various topics referred to in the Speech, congratulating the House on the renewed assurances of continued peace, and expressing complete confidence that the measures for the reorganization of the military services necessary for the maintenance of the national influence would meet with the assent of the House. He approved all the measures of legislation announced in the Speech, discussed the causes of the famine in India, and suggested remedies, strongly eulogized the determination of the Government not to prolong the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and their proposal to deal with the Landlord and Tenant question; and, in touching on the difficult question of Reform, he expressed his satisfaction in assuming that the Government was prepared to attempt the solution of the problem. The country, he maintained, though it might be desirous to admit a larger portion of the working classes, was not anxious for revolution or for democracy; and, feeling certain that no practical measure could be passed without the co-operation of both sides of the House, he exhorted the Government not to undertake the task of revising the Constitution, if they should have reason to believe that the question would be approached in a factious spirit.

Mr. Graves seconded the motion, congratulating the Government on the extensive programme of important reforms which they had submitted to the House. In adverting to the question of Parliamentary Reform, he admitted that a measure was a necessity, but suggested that as it had advanced but little in the hands of party, the House should take the settlement of it into its own hands.

Mr. Gladstone said he would support the Address. The three announcements of a measure for the union of the North American provinces; of a measure on that most important subject, the state of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland; and the announce-

ment, more gratifying than either, that, in the judgment of the Government the time had come when the necessity for the existence in Ireland of exceptional coercive legislation had ceased, were sufficient reasons for adopting this course. The subject of the relations between masters and workmen was both delicate and important; but there had been statements exaggerating the differences between masters and workmen, and he hoped that the forthcoming measure would be based on the principle that masters and workmen alike had the right to sell their commodity, capital or labour, on the best terms in their power, so long as they exercised those rights without prejudice to the rights of others. As to Reform, there was one branch of it, that of proved corruption at elections, which was a matter of national honour, and he hoped that in the forthcoming measure they would give evidence of the sincerity of their desire to put down these practices. As regarded the general question of Reform, the interests of the country demanded its speedy settlement, and it was the duty of Parliament to accept, wherever they could get it, a measure which would be adequate to the just expectations of the country. "As respects the substance of the measure," said the right hon. gentleman, "I do not think the present occasion a proper one to discuss it; but as respects the time of the measure, I must again say, it appears to me that even the question of the substance is hardly more important. It is not necessary now to retrace the wearisome and irksome details of this protracted controversy, or to remind the House how many Sessions, how many Queen's Speeches, how many Parliaments have been involved. One thing only we can say, and that is, it is impossible for legislation to proceed in its orderly and accustomed course until this matter is disposed of. It stops the way; it disturbs and impedes, and it not only disturbs and impedes, but it embitters every attempt to deal with other questions of difficulty. The vast and varied interests of this country, growing apparently more vast and more varied every day, and, in proportion as we reap the harvest of legislation with assiduity, causing new and thicker crops to spring afresh from the ground, soliciting our attention, render it our duty to see and require that the measures adopted shall be directed towards the attainment, not only of an effectual, but also of a speedy settlement. I therefore ask myself how I am to interpret the paragraph in which this subject has been brought under our notice, and I cannot doubt as to the manner in which I am justified in construing it. I won't ask for explanations; I won't make any remark which would have a tendency to force the Government to offer explanation for the purpose of avoiding misapprehension; but what I understand by this paragraph is this:—Her Majesty's Government, like ourselves, like the generality of the House, including their own followers and the whole country without distinction of party, are sensible of the necessity of dealing promptly with this matter, and, upon the earliest day which they can

choose for the purpose, they will be prepared to propose, on their own responsibility, such measures as they shall think will be most effectual for the attainment, the effective and, above all, the speedy attainment of their object and the just satisfaction of the wishes of the country. I hope there is nothing unreasonable in that expectation. If that expectation be a just one, we ought to rest perfectly satisfied, cherishing the hope that the time is at hand when we may be able to remove from ourselves and out of the way this obstacle, and to remove what threatens to become, if we do not remove it, a standing discredit to Parliament and the institutions of the land, and to give to all the other vast and diversified interests of the country that attention which they so imperatively solicit at our hands."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his gratification that there was to be no amendment on the Address. He stated that no measure on the subject of bribery had been prepared, because all the reports of the various Commissions on the subject had not been received; he promised papers on the Cretan insurrection, and excused himself from going now into the question of Reform, as he intended early in the following week to state to the House the course which the Government proposed to take on this subject.

The Address was then unanimously adopted.

The question of Parliamentary Reform, which occupied so prominent a place in the debates upon the Address, engrossed to itself also a very large proportion of the entire Session. In fact, the Parliamentary history of the Session of 1867 is little else than the history of that question of Reform, the discussion of which, commencing in February with the first disclosure of the intentions of Government respecting it, terminated in August with the passing of the Bill which embodied the ultimate decision of the Legislature on this much-vexed controversy. A considerable portion of this department of the present volume will necessarily be occupied with an account of the debates which took place on the successive stages of the measure, the description of the various phases which it assumed, and the changes and vicissitudes it underwent during the long period through which it formed the weekly, and for some time almost the daily, occupation of the Legislature, from whose hands it finally emerged in a shape widely different from that in which it was originally laid before the House of Commons. But, absorbing as this one subject became, it could not be permitted to monopolize the whole attention of Parliament. Other important questions had to be dealt with. The general business of legislation, of which every year produces its large and increasing proportion, demanded its share of notice; and some measures of Imperial interest were too urgent to be postponed, even to the consideration of electoral rights and extended franchises. Of the latter class was one which the Ministers rightly deemed of so much weight as to desire the

earliest consideration of Parliament. It was a measure that had been for many years in contemplation, but had encountered serious obstacles, which at last seemed to be in a great measure removed, and to leave the question ripe for settlement. This was the union of the North American Provinces of Great Britain in one Confederation—a scheme which, if happily carried out, appeared to promise many advantages in the shape of economy and unity of administration, the increase of military strength and security against invasion, and the removal of jealousies and complaints which sprang out of the rival interests of the several provinces. The Administration which preceded that of Lord Derby had strenuously endeavoured to promote this measure; and, had they continued in office, would doubtless have done their best to bring it to a successful issue. It was now taken up in a similar spirit by their successors; and it devolved on the Earl of Carnarvon, who at the commencement of this Session held the office of Chief Secretary for the Colonies, to propose to Parliament the Bill by which the union was to be effected. In moving the second reading, on the 19th February, the noble earl gave an outline to the House of Lords of its principal provisions. The scheme of a Confederation of the various colonies of British North America, he said, had been in agitation for more than forty years, but it was only recently that, by an agreement between the representatives of the different colonies, a practical result had become feasible. The Bill provided that there should be a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, and receiving a salary of 10,000*l.* from the Colonial funds. The Lieutenant-Governors of the respective provinces were to be appointed by the Governor-General to hold office for five years. There was to be a general or central Parliament for the united Confederation, and local Legislatures for each province; the Central Parliament to consist of an Upper Chamber and Lower House—the seventy-two members of the first to be elected for life, with power to the Crown to nominate not more than six members in certain cases; the Lower Chamber to consist of 181 members, to be elected for five years. The provincial Legislatures would be left to deal with all purely local matters, while all questions common to all the Confederated provinces would be disposed of by the Central Parliament. The delegates having themselves suggested Canada as the name for the new Confederation, Her Majesty had given her assent to that designation being adopted by it. The plan, as at present carried out, did not include Prince Edward's Island, British Columbia, Newfoundland, or Vancouver's Island; but it was to be hoped that in time those colonies would join the Confederation now being established. Lord Carnarvon said he would have been pleased to have seen a legislative union adopted by all the provinces; but there were conflicting views of particular interests and other causes which prevented such an union at the present moment. Dealing with the charge made against Canada, of setting up a Protectionist policy against the

Free Trade policy of the other provinces, he contended that Free Trade views had of late made great progress in the former colony, and the fact of Canada entering into a Confederation with her sister colonies would tend to promote the growth of that principle. He denied that Nova Scotia was opposed to the Federation, although a certain proportion of her population might be indisposed towards the measure; but the people of Canada and of New Brunswick were heartily favourable. Instancing the opposition that had been made to the union of England with Scotland, which feeling had soon disappeared under the influence of common interests and common sympathies, he argued that even were there any considerable amount of opposition to the proposed Confederation, it would be but temporary, and would be followed by that contented acquiescence which had followed the establishment of Great Britain. In conclusion, Lord Carnarvon pointed out that this Bill, which based representation upon population, would remove the complaints and put an end to the jealousies that existed between Upper and Lower Canada at present, and that it would materially strengthen each and all the provinces in defence against invasion. He regarded the future of the Federation as one of great and happy promise. In modern times there had been four federations—two of them had passed away, two still remained. The two which remained were Switzerland, one of the smallest States in the family of Europe, and the United States, one of the greatest of the great nations of the world. The federation which was about to be formed would, he hoped, be worthy to take its place side by side with the United States of America. The time might come when it would rank second in size to Russia only. In revenue, in trade, and in shipping, it already exceeded the thirteen colonies which eighty years ago, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, became the United States. We were now laying the foundation of a great State, perhaps greater than that of England. But come what might, we should yet rejoice that we were neither jealous of the aspirations of those colonies, nor indifferent to their desires; that we had fostered their growth, recognizing in that growth the pillars of our own greatness. By this measure we had set the crown to those free institutions which we gave them a quarter of a century ago; and in setting that crown, we should remove for ever and a day all chances of disunion, and difference, and jealousy, which could exist between the mother country and her child.

The Marquis of Normanby (who had been for some time Governor of Nova Scotia), in giving his cordial assent to the measure, adverted to the military advantages which this union would confer on our American colonies. It was no longer in the power of this country to bear the almost exclusive burden of defending those colonies; but their inhabitants had showed the greatest willingness to bear their share of the duty. In Nova Scotia in 1858 there were but some sixty Volunteer artillery, but in 1863 there were nearly 35,000 men regularly drilled, and last

year that number had increased to 59,000. He regretted the opposition that had been manifested in that colony to the proposed Confederation, but he attributed it rather to a peculiar course of agitation than to the real feeling of the inhabitants. He believed that the real interests of all the provinces were identical, and that those of Nova Scotia would in no degree be injured by this measure.

Earl Russell gave his unreserved support to the Bill. He observed: "The measure is undoubtedly a wise one; it will facilitate commercial relations with the United States; for when our North American Provinces are united together, it will be far easier for them to come to agreements with the United States than it is at present, without a common head. Their ability to defend themselves, too, will be greatly increased by having a single authority at their head to provide for any emergency which might otherwise weigh with special force upon a single State. And I must say, in supporting this Bill, that the creation of these provinces redounds greatly to the credit of this country. I believe that in 1760, when we obtained the country by capitulation from the French, the number of its inhabitants was not more than 70,000, yet when these provinces are united they will form a confederation whose population will number no less than 4,000,000. This marvellous result, I believe, has never yet had a parallel, and should be a source of honourable pride to our country. The noble earl who introduced the Bill rightly said the measure has been long thought of. Lord Durham, I believe, suggested it in his report, and at that time I remember speaking to Sir James Kemp, who, I think, was then Governor of Nova Scotia, and had great experience. He told me that, whatever might be the advantages of confederation, the difficulty of communication between the Upper and Lower Provinces would be a great drawback to any such arrangement. The difficulty of communication on which that objection is founded is to be provided for by means of an intercolonial railway. In conclusion, I may express a hope that all these provinces may flourish and prosper, and that if it should ever be their wish to separate from this country, we may be ready to listen to their requests, and to accede to their wishes, in any way they may choose."

Lord Monck, at this time the Governor-General of Canada, likewise spoke in favour of the Bill, and denied that the opposition to confederation which had been manifested by a certain party in Nova Scotia truly represented the wishes of the people of that province, the Legislature of which had, by a large majority, adopted the measure.

The Bill was read a second time *nem. con.*, and passed rapidly through the succeeding stages. On the 28th of February, the second reading was moved in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Adderley. The right hon. gentleman briefly reviewed the negotiations which had taken place on the

subject, and stated the main provisions of the Bill, as had been previously done by Lord Carnarvon. He added that the provinces bound themselves to construct the intercolonial railway, and the House would be asked to guarantee a loan for that purpose. Mr. Adderley pointed with satisfaction to the closeness with which the colonists had adhered to the institutions of the mother country, replied to various criticisms passed on the scheme, and concluded by expressing his personal gratification at having a share in the important work of founding a new nation.

Mr. Cardwell warmly supported the Bill, eulogized the loyalty of the Canadians, and dwelt on the many advantages confederation would confer on the provinces in such matters as internal self-defence and the management of foreign affairs.

Mr. Aytoun protested against the proposal to guarantee the loan for the construction of a railway which was useless in a military point of view, and as a business speculation would not pay for its own grease.

Mr. Bright also complained that the Bill was hurried on. There was a petition signed by 31,000 adult males of Nova Scotia—more than half the adult population—against Nova Scotia being included. He asked what was to be done with the question of defence? Was this country to continue to maintain 12,000 or 14,000 men to garrison the fortresses of Canada, which, after all, would be of no service if the country were invaded by the Americans? But there was no desire on the part of America to annex Canada forcibly. There were persons who said the loyalty of the Canadians had its price. The time had passed when the taxes of this country should go across the Atlantic to pay the expenses of the government of the colonies. For his part, he wished these provinces to take the course which they thought best calculated for their interests, whether it was to become entirely independent, to annex themselves to the United States, or to enter into a confederation.

Sir J. Pakington commented with some warmth on an opinion of some one quoted by Mr. Bright that "colonial loyalty might have its price," eulogizing the sincere attachment to the British Crown manifested by the colonists, and asserting that every means had been taken to ascertain the opinion of Nova Scotia.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Watkin said the question had been decided by the Nova Scotians at a general election in 1862; Mr. B. Cochrane suggested that some understanding should be arrived at as to the colonial tariff; Mr. C. Fortescue expressed his belief that the Bill would enable the colonists to bear their part in their own defence; and Mr. Marsh, in reply to some remarks on the expense of the colonies, pointed out that it cost less to protect our trade in quarters where we had colonies than where we had none. The Bill was read a second time; and, being passed through its remaining stages without difficulty, became one of the first Acts of the Session of 1867.

The complement to the above measure, which had been indi-

cated by Mr. Adderley in his speech on introducing it, was the guarantee of a loan by the Imperial Government to enable the Canadian Legislature to construct a railway between Quebec and Halifax. To carry out this object the same Minister moved, on the 28th of March, a resolution in a Committee of the whole House, authorizing the Government to guarantee interest not exceeding four per cent. per annum, in loans not exceeding three millions sterling, to be raised by the Canadian Government, for constructing a railway between Quebec and Halifax. He would not express approval in the abstract of such guarantees, but this was an exceptional case. In 1838 we sent troops from Halifax to Quebec at great expense and hazard; and, in a military view, it was necessary to make a railroad. A survey had therefore been made by Major Robinson, who recommended the Eastern line; and in 1862 an agreement was signed by the Duke of Newcastle and the Canadian delegates for construction of the line. That proposition had since merged in the Confederation scheme, of which the construction of a railway was an essential part. Three routes were proposed, of which the longest was 470 miles, which, at 9000*l.* per mile, would cost a little more than 4,000,000*l.* The colony would therefore have to raise little more than a million. It was proposed that there should be a one per cent. sinking fund. The charge would be—on three millions, 120,000*l.*; on the million raised by the Canadian Government, 60,000*l.*; and the sinking fund, 30,000*l.*; making altogether 210,000*l.* To show that there was no risk in this guarantee, Mr. Adderley pointed to the fact that the security was placed on the revenues of the United Provinces, which now produced a surplus of 190,000*l.*; and being extraordinarily elastic, were capable with great ease of defraying the total maximum annual charge of this line, which, including interest and a sinking fund, would not amount to more than 210,000*l.* a year. The guarantee would not come into force until the Colonial Legislature had passed an Act providing for the construction of the line, giving facilities for the transport of troops, charging the consolidated revenues with the interest and the sinking fund, and postponing to this the charge of all public works which might hereafter be undertaken by the Colonial Government.

Mr. Aytoun believed that all guarantees were opposed to sound principles of political economy, and he denied that this case was an exception. This proposal was unjust to the taxpayers of this country. Several English railway companies were in great distress for want of funds, and Government had refused its guarantee to enable them to raise money, and why should they give it for a railway in Canada?

Mr. T. Cave said the proposition was a colossal job of the local authorities. He had been in that country, and could state that the stations would lead from nowhere to nowhere. The revenue of Canada was not in so flourishing a state as to bear the burden.

Mr. Gladstone, in defending the guarantee, for which the late

Government was quite as responsible as the present, though that did not detract from their full liberty to discuss and refuse it, pointed out that it depended, not on the profits of the line, but on the colonial revenues; the commercial value of the line, therefore, had nothing to do with the question. Mr. Gladstone discussed the principles on which our share in the defences of the colonies ought to be apportioned, and argued that, as this was an integral part of the Confederation scheme, it was an important step towards placing the colonies in a higher position of political responsibility.

Mr. Lowe maintained that, as a commercial undertaking, the line would be worthless and unnecessary; in a military point of view it would be a great aid to the United States in invading Canada, and there would be enormous engineering difficulties in its construction. Our military expenditure in Canada was already more than one million; and, in answer to Mr. Gladstone, he remarked that lending them money was a curious mode of fostering the independence of the colonies. To the argument that the guarantee was part of the Confederation scheme, he replied by asking whether it was the price of it, and objected strongly to being drawn into any responsibility for the good working of this scheme—as to which he did not entertain sanguine hopes,—and still more strongly to the appearance which it bore, and the interpretation which might be put on it of attempting to establish a rival Confederation to the United States.

The resolution being put from the Chair, was carried by 247 against 67, and embodied in a Bill which shortly afterwards became law.

Another measure, passed in the early days of the Session, may be conveniently noticed here, before we enter upon the subject which occupied so large a portion of the time of Parliament. The destitute condition of the poor of the metropolis, and the inadequate machinery afforded by the existing law for dealing with so great a mass of indigence and misery, had during the winter engaged a good deal of public attention; and the official heads of the Poor Law Department had undertaken to propose some measure for giving increased efficiency to the system of relief. In fulfilment of this pledge, Mr. Hardy, then President of the Poor Law Board, took occasion, very soon after the commencement of the Session, to state to the House of Commons his views as to the nature of the remedy required, and to ask leave to introduce a Bill for that object. The right hon. gentleman stated that the plan he had to propose to the House was to establish an asylum in the metropolis for the sick, insane, and other classes of the poor, and to make arrangements for distributing over the metropolis portions of the charge for poor relief. The main object of this Bill was to classify the inmates of workhouses. He took power in the Bill to erect a building wherein lunatics and imbeciles should be placed separate. He also proposed to send children to separate schools, to remove fever and small-pox cases from the workhouse infirmaries, and that a building should be erected to accommodate 700 or 800

patients. He did not think that he should give up existing work-houses. There were twenty-four of them which might be easily adapted to all the remaining classes of poor, but he should insist on the sick being treated under management different from that of the other inmates. He also proposed to empower the Poor Law Board to appoint nominees to sit on the Board of Guardians, the number not to exceed one-third of the whole body of guardians, such nominees to be rated at not less than 100*l.* a year, and to be of the rank from which justices of the peace were chosen. He proposed that these hospitals for fever and small-pox should be made medical schools, whereby more effectual inspection would be secured. Believing that a great deal of pauperism began with the sick, he, to prevent this, proposed to establish dispensaries in different parts of the metropolis, where, in all cases, a medical man should give a prescription, as was done in Ireland. It would, therefore, be necessary to give the Poor Law Board power over the contracts with medical officers. He also proposed to do away with local Acts for poor relief in some metropolitan parishes, and to bring those parishes, like the others, under the power of the Poor Law Board. He had been asked to equalize the metropolitan poor-rates. He was not prepared to do that, but he would do a great deal towards distributing the charge. He proposed that medical officers' salaries, and vaccination and registration charges, and the expense of children's schools, should be thrown on the common fund. To illustrate the effects of these charges, he said the increase of the rate in the City of London Union would be 3½*d.*; and that St. George's, Southwark, which now paid 3*s.* in the pound, would be relieved to the extent of 1*s.* The cost of the new buildings that would be required he estimated at 400,000*l.*, the money to be borrowed and repaid at the rate of 40,000*l.* a year, which was about what a rate of two-thirds of a penny in the pound would produce. The Bill also gave power to the Poor Law Board to appoint proper officers when the guardians refused to appoint them, instead of their being obliged now to proceed by mandamus; power was also given to appoint a receiver of the common fund, and by means of this power they would be enabled by a rate of only one penny in the pound over the whole of the metropolis to raise 60,000*l.* for the relief of any extraordinary destitution that might arise in the metropolis.

Mr. Hardy's Bill met with a favourable reception from the House of Commons; and although some amount of local opposition was manifested, the general current of opinion in its favour was so strong, that the plan, with some modifications, obtained at an early period of the Session the sanction of the Legislature.

About the same time, Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, asked and obtained the approval of the House of Commons to a Bill for facilitating the proceedings of the Commissioners who had been recently appointed by the Crown to conduct an inquiry into the organization and proceedings of the Trades' Unions, a subject

which at this period excited much anxiety and apprehension in the public mind, by reason of the repeated and atrocious acts of violence which had been committed in some parts of the manufacturing districts, in execution, as was generally believed, of the secret mandates of these associations. The inquiry which the Crown had now directed to be made into the operation of the Unions was generally regarded as a very prudent and necessary measure, but it was requisite that the Commissioners should be armed with some extraordinary power, in order to enable them to extract the truth from witnesses who might otherwise be deterred from giving the evidence required. In asking the House to invest the Commissioners with such powers, through the medium of a Bill, Mr. Walpole explained that the attention of the Government had first been called to the subject by two deputations—one of workmen, and the other of employers, who waited on him soon after the last Sheffield outrage—and, after full consideration, they had concluded that an inquiry was necessary; and that, for the sake of all concerned, it ought to be as wide and comprehensive as possible. Two reasons chiefly weighed with them—that the law was uncertain and unsatisfactory, and that the subject was but little understood; and, in illustration of these reasons, Mr. Walpole went into a lengthened dissertation on the law of the question from the time of the earliest legislation down to the recent decisions, and showed that its great defect was that it left it uncertain for what objects workmen or masters might legally combine. The Commission, he hoped, would supply this defect; would make masters and men better acquainted with each others' views, and possibly might suggest some means—by Courts of Conciliation, or otherwise—of adjusting trade grievances." He quoted the terms of the Commission as a proof that the Government had no desire to infringe on the liberty of combination within proper limits, and expressed a strong conviction that the composition of the Commission, which was entirely free from a partisan character, would obtain the confidence both of masters and men. The Bill was limited in the first instance to an inquiry into the acts of violence perpetrated at Sheffield, and it gave power to compel the attendance of witnesses to examine on oath, and to give indemnities to witnesses confessing to illegal acts.

Sir George Grey expressed a cordial approval of the Bill. Various members took part in the discussion which followed, among whom was Sir Francis Crossley, one of the largest employers of labour in the kingdom, who gave the House the result of his experience in that capacity, stating that, for his own part, he was more disposed to trust to the good sense and discretion of masters and men, than to the action of Parliament.

Mr. Walpole's Bill, which shortly afterwards passed into law, was extended at a later period of the Session, so as to enlarge its operation to other places where an inquiry might be deemed necessary, as well as Sheffield.

CHAPTER II.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 11th February, states the intentions of the Government with respect to legislation on Reform—He proposes to proceed by moving Resolutions on the subject—His Speech—Remarks of Mr. Gladstone on the course proposed by the Ministers—The Resolutions—Questions are addressed to the Government in the House of Commons respecting their intentions—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 25th February, makes a speech in explanation of the Resolutions—General debate on the subject—The Government is pressed to withdraw the Resolutions, and to proceed by Bill—A meeting of the members of the Liberal party is held at Mr. Gladstone's house—The Resolutions are withdrawn on the 26th—Secession from the Cabinet of the Earl of Carnarvon, Viscount Cranborne, and General Peel—The vacant offices are speedily filled up—Speech of Sir John Pakington on his re-election at Droitwich, consequent on his becoming Secretary of State for War—Disclosures respecting the rupture in the Cabinet—Explanations in both Houses of Parliament of the cause of the resignations of the seceded Ministers by Lord Derby and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Speeches of the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel—Comments on the transactions in both Houses—Notice is given of a Bill to carry the Ministerial scheme of Reform into effect—A preliminary meeting of Members of the House of Commons is held at Lord Derby's residence—His statement of the provisions of the intended Bill is received with approbation, one Member only dissenting—The Bill is introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli on March 18th—Household Suffrage, accompanied with payment of rates and two years' residence, is announced as the Borough Franchise—The measure is variously received—It is viewed with favour by Mr. Henley, condemned by Sir W. Heathcote, Mr. A. B. Hope, and Mr. Lowe—Mr. Gladstone expresses a doubtful opinion—The Second Reading is debated at much length—Mr. Gladstone criticises the Bill with much severity, and specifies several points which the Government must be prepared to concede—Mr. Gathorne Hardy defends the Bill—Mr. Roebuck gives his support to the Government—Mr. Bright comments with great force of sarcasm on the conduct of the Ministers—The Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicates the action of the Cabinet, replies to the attacks, and intimates his readiness to satisfy the House by various concessions—The Bill is read a second time without a division.

PURSUANT to the notice which he gave in the debate upon the Address, in answer to the Queen's Speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 11th of February, took the first step towards legislation on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, by announcing to the House of Commons the mode of procedure which the Government had resolved to adopt in regard to that question. The paragraph in the Royal Speech relating to the representation of the people having been read from the table, the right hon. gentleman rose and reminded the House that, in the passage which they had just heard, Her Majesty appealed to them to divest themselves of all party feeling in dealing with this subject. The meaning which the Ministers attached to this paragraph was, that Parliamentary reform ought no longer to be a question which should determine the fate of Cabinets (a statement which was received with some laughter from the other side of the House), and for this reason, "that all parties had attempted to deal with it—in 1852, 1854, 1859, and 1860—and had failed." In a long and elaborate retrospect of the

Reform question, Mr. Disraeli traced to the disenfranchisement of the labouring classes in 1832 the seeds of the present demand for a change, of which Sir R. Peel had warned Earl Grey at the time; and while repudiating the idea that the claims of the working-classes had been treated in the House of Commons in a disrespectful or dilatory spirit—the fault he found was, that they had been met too often in an Epicurean tone, which would do any thing for present quiet—he denied that any scheme had yet been introduced which was calculated to settle the controversy. As it was the House of Commons—not a political party or any political leader—which had disturbed the settlement of 1832, so it was the House of Commons, and not any party, which had baffled every effort to pass a new Reform Bill. When that attempt at disturbance was commenced, the Conservatives determined not to make opposition to Parliamentary Reform a principle of action, and they had never opposed the second reading of any of the Bills introduced since 1850; nor did the question, he asserted, assume a party character until the vote of 1859 on Lord Russell's Resolution. The House of Commons, therefore had incurred a peculiar responsibility in this matter, and was it not wise to consider whether it could not pursue a course which, while not relieving the Government from its due share of responsibility, would insure them against a repetition of former mishaps? This advantage might be attained if the House would give the Government some intimation of its views on the main points of the controversy by Resolutions, before a Bill was introduced—a course, as he showed, which was constitutional, justified by successful precedents, would not lead to delay, and which, though to require too much precision would be unreasonable, need not entail vagueness and uncertainty. The Government would that day lay on the table the Resolutions they proposed for this purpose, and in shadowing out the chief of them he intimated that rating, not rental, would be the basis of the franchise; that there would be a reduction both of the county and borough franchises, though the precise limit, depending as it did on so many other points to be subsequently settled, could not be stated in the Resolution. The Government would proceed in their task of reconstructing the House of Commons on the principles of the British constitution; they would sanction no course which would alter the characteristics by which it had risen to its present pitch of power (not enjoyed, as he showed, by any of the Democratic Assemblies of foreign countries), and would strenuously contend that the electoral franchise must be considered a popular privilege, not a democratic right. Notwithstanding the violent and pernicious doctrines recently circulated, he hoped the House would agree to Resolutions in unison with these views. On the important question of Redistribution of Seats, Resolutions would be produced in harmony with the principles by which the vast and varied interests of the Empire secured a representation in the House, the Government being fully conscious that by any attempt to obtain artificial

symmetry, the character of the House might be changed, and its authority destroyed. The Resolutions would lay down that no borough should be wholly disfranchised, except in cases where systematic corruption was proved; that representation should be extended to boroughs now unrepresented, whose circumstances demanded it; and would provide for the extension of boundaries. On this last point Mr. Disraeli dwelt at some length, arguing that, as the 11,500,000 county population was represented by 162 members, while the borough population of 9,500,000 had 324 members, the county population had a right to complain if their representation was interfered with by the borough population—an injustice now existing, and which would be increased by the proposed reduction of the county franchise—from the overflow of many boroughs beyond the boundaries fixed in 1832. Halifax, for instance, if its boundaries were not widened, would contribute to the constituency of the West Riding a large band of voters whose sympathies and interests were borough, not county. At the same time he repudiated any desire to prevent the blending of country and urban populations, which was inevitable and desirable—the Government only intended to remedy an injustice; and he defended himself from the imputation of endeavouring to eliminate all independence from the county representation, and to hand it over to the landlords and farmers; showing that while these classes, including farm labourers, only amounted to 2,000,000, there remained in the counties over and above them a scattered village population, as it was statistically called, of 7,000,000—the backbone of the country, including that most valuable of all classes, the county freeholders. The course the Government had chosen was not flattering to themselves, but they deemed it more honourable to take a part, however humble, in the settlement of this controversy, than to bring in a mock measure which party-spirit would not have allowed to pass. They were not angling for a policy, they had a policy of their own; and though they were prepared not to shrink from the main points of it, they would receive any suggestions or any assistance in a candid spirit. After an elaborate eulogium upon the House of Commons, which he contrasted favourably with the Legislatures of some other countries, Mr. Disraeli concluded by announcing that he should propose to have the Resolutions taken into consideration on the 25th inst.

Mr. Gladstone said the right hon. gentleman had invited the House to approach the important subject in a novel manner, the success of which would not be furthered by the assumption that the Reform question ought no longer to involve the fate of Ministries; for, though the House might have incurred a heavier responsibility on this than on any other subject, the responsibility of Government was not diminished. But although his (Mr. Gladstone's) prepossessions were against it, he should not object to proceeding by Resolutions, if, when they were produced, they formed a plan which the House could use, either by adoption or alteration,

as a means of settlement. But if they turned out to be mere vague preliminary declarations, tending to uncertainty and not calculated to form the basis of settlement, he hoped the House would object to this mode of procedure. Their first duty was to refuse every thing which tended to delay the primary duty of extending the franchise; for never, until the question was got out of the way, could the people of England become again a united people. Adverting to a remark of Mr. Disraeli, he denied with some warmth that any Government had attempted to deal with the question on principles new to the Constitution.

It was the general impression that the course taken by the organ of the Government on this occasion was not well calculated to advance the question of Reform. The elaborate disquisition of Mr. Disraeli on the past history of the subject was considered inopportune, and adapted rather to revive past controversies than to advance practical conclusions. Considerable disappointment was therefore felt at the initiatory proceeding of the Government, nor was the unfavourable impression abated when the Resolutions themselves, to which Mr. Disraeli had but slightly adverted in his speech, appeared in the public organs. They were in the following terms :—

“This House having, in the last Session of Parliament, assented to the second reading of a Bill entitled, ‘A Bill to extend the right of Voting at Elections of Members of Parliament in England and Wales,’ is of opinion,—

“1. That the number of electors for counties and boroughs in England and Wales ought to be increased.

“2. That such increase may best be effected by both reducing the value of the qualifying tenement in counties and boroughs, and by adding other franchises not dependent on such value.

“3. That while it is desirable that a more direct representation should be given to the labouring class, it is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give to any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the community.

“4. That the occupation franchise in counties and boroughs shall be based upon the principle of rating.

“5. That the principle of plurality of votes, if adopted by Parliament, would facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise on an extensive basis.

“6. That it is expedient to revise the existing distribution of seats.

“7. That in such revision, it is not expedient that any borough now represented in Parliament should be wholly disfranchised.

“8. That, in revising the existing distribution of seats, this House will acknowledge, as its main consideration, the expediency of supplying representation to places not at present represented, and which may be considered entitled to that privilege.

“9. That it is expedient that provision should be made for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

“10. That it is expedient that the system of registration of

voters in counties should be assimilated, as far as possible, to that which prevails in boroughs.

"11. That it shall be open to every Parliamentary elector, if he thinks fit, to record his vote by means of a polling-paper, duly signed and authenticated.

"12. That provision be made for diminishing the distance which voters have to travel for the purpose of recording their votes, so that no expenditure for such purpose shall hereafter be legal.

"13. That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to issue a Royal Commission to form and submit to the consideration of Parliament a scheme for new and enlarged boundaries of the existing Parliamentary boroughs where the population extends beyond the limits now assigned to such boroughs; and to fix, subject to the decision of Parliament, the boundaries of such other boroughs as Parliament may deem fit to be represented in this House."

Inasmuch as these Resolutions, expressing only in abstract terms the principles upon which the Government proposed to frame their measure, did not disclose any thing as to the extent to which the representation would be enlarged, or the measure in which the franchise would be extended, they served rather to stimulate than to satisfy the curiosity of the public; and, accordingly, some days before the time appointed for their discussion, attempts were made, by means of questions addressed to the Ministers in the House of Commons, to extract from them some more definite expression of their intentions. In reply to Mr. Baines, who wished to know whether the Government would not, previously to the day of resuming the discussion on the subject, state the amount of the county and borough franchise to be proposed, Mr. Disraeli excused himself from giving the desired information, protesting that it was the wish of the Government to pass a measure at once which would clear away all the stumbling-blocks which the unsettled state of the question interposed to useful legislation, and appealed to the House to allow them to conduct the business in the manner they thought best fitted to secure that settlement, for which, from the best information he had received, he believed a large majority of the House was sincerely anxious.

Mr. Ayrton, however, unsatisfied with this statement, urged the Government to give up the unnecessary preliminary stage of Resolutions, and to bring in their Bill at once, pointing out that there was no longer any reason to fear a repetition of the tactics of 1859; and alleging as reasons Mr. Gladstone's speeches at the close of the last and the beginning of this Session, offering to co-operate with the Government in passing a Bill, and the notorious desire of a large portion of the Liberal party to settle the question. Any overture made by the Government would be met in a frank spirit by the Opposition, and the House would be relieved of much embarrassment and perplexity.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer reiterated his conviction that

practical legislation would be facilitated by the course the Government had adopted, in which, as at present informed, they saw nothing to regret. The Resolutions expressed a policy, and the Government would put the House in possession of the manner in which they proposed to apply that policy. Denying that the procedure adopted would lead to delay, he declined to accept Mr. Ayrton's suggestion, and concluded by assuring the House, with strong emphasis, that having put their hands to the plough, the Ministry would not withdraw, unless arrested by the House, until the field was tilled.

Mr. Gladstone expressed what he believed to be a feeling generally shared in by the public. There were, he declared, many currents of opinion on the subject of Reform, but on one view of the case all were agreed. Some desired, some dreaded an extension of the suffrage; but the whole community was animated by one sentiment, and that sentiment was faithfully reflected by all sections in the House of Commons; that it was desirable Parliament should, within the limits of the present Session, arrive at a legislative settlement of the great question of the day. Agreeing with Mr. Ayrton that there was no danger of the same tactics as in 1859 being repeated by the Opposition, and promising that he did not intend to withdraw the assent he had previously given to this mode of procedure, he pressed Mr. Disraeli to reconsider his determination not to give any detailed information as to the views of the Government in the meantime; and pointed out how inconvenient and dilatory was this splitting up of the Ministerial explanation into two parts, since it was next to impossible that the House could proceed at once to a satisfactory discussion of the Resolutions, after hearing Mr. Disraeli's supplementary explanation.

No further information was, however, elicited by these inquiries; and on the 25th the Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded, according to his notice, to an explanation of the proposed Resolutions. The right hon. gentleman commenced his statement by observing that the Reform Act of 1832 threw the Government of this country into the hands of the middle classes. The country had never been better governed than during the period that it had been in operation. But that Act abolished the political rights of the working classes. And it was now his duty to propose to restore those rights, and to bring back the former balance of power, and the old constitution of the country. He proposed four new franchises; first, educational, which included persons who had taken a degree, ministers of religion, and others; second, savings' banks. Under the latter franchise a deposit of 30*l.* and a retention of it for one year would give a qualification. The third new franchise would be the possession of 50*l.* in the public funds; and the fourth the payment of 20*s.* in direct taxation. The addition of voters in boroughs under the first head would be 10,000; under the second, 35,000; under the third, 7000; and under the fourth, 30,000. The fifth Resolution affirmed that the principle of plurality of

votes would facilitate the settlement of the borough franchise; but objections had been made to this, and it seemed desirable that they should not make a proposition on this question which they had not a fair prospect of carrying, and therefore he should not recommend it to the House. Parliament having committed itself to the principle that rating should be the basis of the occupation franchise, Government had adopted that principle. He proposed a 6% rating franchise for boroughs, which he calculated would give an addition of 130,000 voters. Then he proposed to extend the four new franchises also to the counties, and to reduce the occupation franchise in counties from 50% to 20%. These different franchises would add 82,500 to the county electors. In round numbers, 400,000 additional votes would be added to the constituencies by this measure. Then, with regard to Resolution No. 9, which related to bribery, he should propose that within two months after an election it should be competent for a certain number of electors to make a protest to the returning officer, and that the Lord Chief Justice and the Speaker should then appoint assessors, who should make an inquiry in the locality, an appeal being given to the House; but if the decision of assessors remained fifteen days on the table unquestioned, it would be acted upon. He also proposed that where a candidate had been convicted of bribery, the other candidate who was in a minority, if he were pure, should be returned. If the House agreed to the Resolution, he would introduce clauses in the Bill to the effect he had stated, or if the House preferred it he would bring in a separate Bill to deal with that portion of the subject. He proposed to disfranchise the following boroughs, which had been convicted of extensive corruption:—Great Yarmouth, returning two members; Lancaster, two members; Totnes, two members; and Reigate, one member; and to transfer the seven seats thus placed at their disposal to towns that had risen into importance since 1832. The towns which it was proposed to enfranchise were Hartlepool, Darlington, Burnley, Staleybridge, St. Helen's, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Middlesborough, one town which he could not yet name in what was called the black country, and Croydon, Gravesend, and Torquay. Then he proposed to divide the Tower Hamlets, and give two members to each division. Then he proposed to take the following counties, and divide them so that, in every case, there would be a population of 100,000 persons, irrespective of the borough population: North Lancashire, North Lincolnshire, West Kent, East Surrey, Middlesex, South Staffordshire, and South Devon. There would thus be fourteen new members for counties and fourteen for boroughs. The number of seats it was proposed to deal with was thirty, and he had explained how twenty-eight of them were to be appropriated. Then it was proposed to divide South Lancashire and give it one more member, and to give one member to London University. These made up the thirty seats. So far, however, he had only seven seats at disposal, and he should

have to appeal to the patriotism of the smaller boroughs for the remainder. It was proposed to take away one member from twenty-three of these. He would not then give the names, but they had each a population under 7000. It was also proposed to assimilate the registration of voters in counties to that in boroughs, and to provide more polling-places; and if the House would adopt the principle of voting-papers, it would prevent the necessity of bringing voters from a distance at a fabulous cost. With regard to boundaries, he had been told that he had been understood as proposing that freeholders in boroughs should not vote for counties. But whatever might be his opinion on that point, he made no such proposition. But he recommended that a Commission should be appointed to rectify the boundaries of boroughs, and that it should be a Royal Commission and not a Parliamentary Commission, as a Parliamentary Commission could not be appointed till after the Bill had passed, whereas a Royal Commission could be appointed and set about its duties at once. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman said, that if the House agreed to his Resolutions, a Bill would be brought in founded on them, which would be a moderate measure, and would, he trusted, commend itself to the House and to the country.

Mr. Lowe, who rose immediately on Mr. Disraeli resuming his seat, said: "I am not so presumptuous as to offer off-hand criticism on the measures proposed; but it is my duty, as an independent member, to earnestly call the attention of the House to the position they are placed in by the course which they are now asked to adopt. There may be reasons connected with party which may prevent other members, whose observations would have more weight, from offering such observations; but being unfortunately, and I hope not for a long time, unconnected with party, I have the advantage that I can speak out what I think, and say what I believe ought to be said, but which I fear will not be said, except by some outcast like myself. This day fortnight, the right hon. gentleman made a speech of two hours and a quarter, in which, unlike his speech of to-night of one hour and a quarter, which tells us every thing, he told us nothing, except that, come what may, it was obsolete to think that Government would go out of office on a Reform Bill. Why is it an irresistible reason, because Whigs and Tories have alike failed on this question, that the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues should enjoy absolute impunity? Why are they to have the mark of Cain set upon them, that nobody may kill them? I should have thought just the contrary; that where persons had tried on both sides, and failed in an adventure of this kind, it was a very good reason why you should not relax the penalties attendant upon such an attempt. The true principle is, that the executive Government must be responsible; but what does the right hon. gentleman propose? With a deal of candid courtesy he beseeches us—in language which I was ashamed to hear addressed to me as a 658th part of the House, and that he

should have thought it necessary to address to the House—he says: ‘If the House will deign to take us into its counsel, if it will co-operate with us in this matter, we shall receive with cordiality, with deference—nay, even with gratitude—any suggestion it likes to offer. Say what you like to us, only, for God’s sake, leave us our places.’” Mr. Lowe then proceeded to say that he objected to going into Committee on ambiguous and merely abstract Resolutions, for which no one was to be responsible. It was said at one time, on the question of Reform, that they were within twenty-four hours of a revolution. He believed that they had been within much fewer hours than that of household suffrage. He held household suffrage in great dread; but whatever resting-place there was between the present suffrage and household suffrage he thought would be only temporary. The principle of fancy franchises was a bad one; it was an arbitrary connexion between two things which have no necessary connexion. The proper qualification would be the performance of state duties and the bearing of state burdens. It was only right that the *élite* of the working classes should be admitted to the franchise. The omission of the lodger franchise was a serious omission. He suggested that they should give votes to all payers of the income-tax; but he hoped the House would not act in a spirit of panic. “It is not,” said the hon. gentleman, “scarves and ribbons that will shake the foundations of an ancient monarchy. The possessors of property are singularly well disposed towards a settlement of the question. The agitators who go about the country preaching manhood suffrage will not be satisfied with any thing which we can do. Let us give up this competition between two parties as to who will bid the lowest in the auction in which the country is to be knocked down to the one who proposes the swiftest element for its destruction. Let us bid a long adieu to sham pretences; let us deal more frankly, and call upon the Government to withdraw their Resolutions, and to introduce a Bill, and bring the matter to an issue in the old English fashion. There is no danger in such a course; but there will be enormous danger if every member, during the discussion on these propositions, is to be pressed by his constituency, while the press is hounding all on, so as to bring the institutions of the country down to the level of democracy. Touch the nettle timidly, and it will sting you; but grasp it firmly, you are unhurt, and can tear it at your leisure.”

Mr. Bright said he agreed with Mr. Lowe, that to discuss these Resolutions would be a mere waste of time. The speech of Mr. Disraeli of this night would, if delivered a fortnight ago, have given an opportunity of passing to the propositions of Government. Probably, till within the last two days, the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues had not agreed on their propositions; and now the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement which put the Resolutions altogether out of place. Mr. Bright commented on the new franchises now proposed, and said that the

computations as to the number of voters to be created thereby were like the computations in 1859—nothing but loose guessing. "It is estimated that there may be an increase in the boroughs of 130,000, and of 82,000 voters on the rate-paying qualification. And then it is proposed to make these childish new franchises from the savings' banks and direct taxation. By a Bill now before the House, a rat-catcher who keeps four dogs will pay 20s. of direct taxes, and will come, of course, into one of the new constituencies which are to save the country from destruction. Will these proposals settle, or do any thing to settle, the question of Reform? It is assumed that the House is unanimous for something, and will have a Reform Bill; but there is an essential difference, and a perilous one, between a Reform Bill and a reform." After minutely criticising the proposals now made, the hon. gentleman concluded by saying: "If the Government are willing to produce a substantial and satisfactory Bill, I—although I am not of their party, and they have opposed all the propositions in which I am concerned—should not factiously oppose them. But having changed sides, having become Reformers, having decided at half-past two o'clock to-day to allow the right hon. gentleman to appear in a new character as a Reformer in this House, I ask you, for your own sake and for his sake, and, what is worth infinitely more than your reputation or his position, for the interest of this great nation, and for the satisfaction of an excited and anxious people, that this measure, if it is to be passed this Session, shall be one at least that should release me and other members who are in favour of Reform from further discussion and agitation of the question during our Parliamentary life."

Mr. Walpole, after replying to some of Mr. Bright's sarcasms by a reference to the Bill of 1859, which proved that the Conservatives were not new Reformers, asserted that the Government were not about to abdicate their responsibility, but that they would stand or fall by any Resolution which they deemed vital to the constitutional settlement of the question. He vindicated the procedure by Resolutions as the best means of giving the widest scope to the discussion, and of eliciting every kind of suggestion which could be made for a settlement of the question.

Mr. Laing complained that the claims of Scotland to increased representation were passed over in the Redistribution scheme, and expressed a strong belief that neither this part of the proposed Bill, nor the 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ franchise, had any thing of the character of finality, which he maintained to be indispensable in any attempt to deal with the question. It was useless to propose any thing short of household suffrage; and this he should have preferred, even though qualified by cumulation or duality of votes.

Mr. Gladstone asked Mr. Disraeli on what basis he rested his calculations of the numbers to be admitted by his scheme, for to some of them he had listened with a little incredulity. The lateral franchises would not touch the labouring classes at all;

and as the 6*l.* rating franchise would not admit more than 100,000 voters, he contended that Mr. Disraeli's Bill did not afford as favourable materials for a settlement as his own Bill of last year, which proposed to admit 200,000 of the working classes. He approved Mr. Disraeli's project for the prevention of bribery and corruption, and also the proposal to put it in a separate Bill; and the same course might be taken with the proposals for improving county registration and diminishing expenses. On the mode of procedure, he pointed to the concurrence of Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright as a significant indication of the feeling of the House; but if the Government continued of opinion that Resolutions were preferable to a Bill, he would waive his objections, pressing upon them at the same time that, after Mr. Disraeli's speech, the Resolutions ought to be altered, so as to embody the Government plan. (This suggestion was met with loud cries of "Withdraw," "Bill," from the Opposition.) The very vagueness of the Resolutions, he argued, must now be a source of serious embarrassment to the Government themselves. Illustrating his argument by reference to the Resolutions on redistribution and predominance of classes, and assuming that no attempt would be made to proceed with the Resolutions for a few days, he suggested that the Government should use the interval in considering whether they would not withdraw, or at least modify, the Resolutions.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that some of the Resolutions might now perhaps be unnecessary, and these would be withdrawn; others might be altered; but he declined to withdraw the whole, alleging that there were several on which it was desirable that the Government should have the opinion of the House. Here again there were loud cries of "Withdraw," and "Bring in a Bill." After some further discussion, the motion for going into Committee was withdrawn, and the further consideration of the Resolutions was postponed to the 28th. On the following day, however, the Government came to the resolution of yielding to the clearly-manifested sense of the House. On the 26th, a meeting of the Liberal members of the House of Commons had been held at Mr. Gladstone's house, 289 being present; at which it was unanimously agreed to support an Amendment, of which Mr. Gladstone intended to give notice, with the object of setting aside the Resolutions, and urging the Government to proceed at once, by bringing in a Bill calculated to effect a satisfactory settlement of the question. The necessity of taking such a step was, however, superseded by the spontaneous action of the Government. Upon the meeting of the House the same evening, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government had decided not to ask the House to proceed further with the Reform Resolutions, being satisfied, from the course of last night's and previous discussions, that there was a general disposition to give their proposals a fair and candid consideration, to secure which was the chief object of proceeding by Resolution. A further inference drawn by Mr. Disraeli from

the speeches of Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Gladstone, that the Opposition had virtually engaged to read a Bill a second time, was met by murmurs of dissent; but his final intimation, that in the course of the following week he would bring in a Bill, was received with much cheering.

Mr. Gladstone remarked that much trouble would have been spared had the Government taken this course at first, and informed Mr. Disraeli that he had been just about to give notice of an Amendment which would have urged on the Government the necessity of proceeding in a more definite course than by the present Resolutions. But though that Amendment would not have committed the Government to a Bill, he welcomed this concession as affording the greatest facility for arriving at a settlement. He denied that the Opposition had in any way committed themselves to read the Government Bill a second time, and while reserving to himself and the House generally the fullest liberty on this point, he expressed a hope that the Bill would be such that all differences about it might be settled in Committee.

Mr. Bright recommended the Government to profit by the advice which he had given Lord Russell last year, to bring in a Franchise Bill first; for in that branch of the question lay the greatest grievance—the exclusion of the working classes. In the question of redistribution there was no particular class grievance, and its settlement might be postponed for some time, more particularly as the proposals of the Government on this point were utterly inadequate, not to say absurd. A Franchise Bill might be easily carried this year, if it were not clogged with the debatable details of a Redistribution scheme.

The intimation given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would bring in a Bill to carry out the scheme indicated by his speech on the 25th, was frustrated by an unexpected event, which gave a new diversion to the current of affairs. On the 4th of March, it was made known to the public that three members of the Cabinet, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel, had taken the step of resigning their offices, in consequence of a difference of opinion with their colleagues on the subject of the Reform Bill. This event naturally excited much comment and speculation. It was doubted by many persons whether the Administration thus weakened by the secession of some of its ablest members, could continue to hold office. This doubt, however, was soon removed by the announcement that the vacant places had been filled up, Sir Stafford Northcote succeeding Lord Cranborne, as Secretary of State for India; Sir John Pakington being transferred from the Admiralty to the War Department; and the Duke of Buckingham replacing the Earl of Carnarvon as Colonial Minister. At the same time, Mr. Corry was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond, President of the Board of Trade. An explanation of these events, and of the dissensions in the Cabinet was given to the public through two channels, by the Prime

Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the two Houses, and also by the speech of Sir John Pakington on his re-election at Droitwich, in which the circumstances that led to the Ministerial embarrassment and change of policy were narrated with a singular frankness, which afforded some amusement to the public. As such candid disclosures of the interior proceedings of Cabinets are not of frequent occurrence, we shall give some extracts from the speech made on this occasion by the new Secretary for War to his constituents.

They had heard something, he said, of the circumstances under which he had that day sought a re-election. They knew the changes had been necessitated by the secession of three members of the Cabinet. One of these members, General Peel, had acted a most honourable and consistent part; but the part which General Peel took in bringing about the changes in the Cabinet was in many respects different from that taken by the two noble Lords who resigned with him. They all knew, that on the 23rd of February, a Cabinet Council decided on the Reform Bill which was to be proposed to Parliament. On Monday, the 25th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Derby was to address the whole Conservative party in Downing-street. At half-past four in the afternoon of that day—he mentioned the hour, because it was important—the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to explain the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. When the Cabinet Council rose on the previous Saturday, it was his belief that they were a unanimous Cabinet on the Reform Bill then determined upon. As soon as the Council concluded, Lord Derby went to Windsor to communicate with Her Majesty on the Bill, and he (Sir John Pakington) heard no more on the subject till the Monday morning. On the Monday, between eleven and twelve o'clock, he received an urgent summons to attend Lord Derby's house at half-past twelve o'clock on important business. At that hour he reached Lord Derby's house, but found there only three or four members of the Cabinet. No such summons had been anticipated, and consequently some of the Ministers were at their private houses, some at their offices, and it was nearly half-past one before the members of the Cabinet could be brought together. As each dropped in, the question was put, "What was the matter? why were they convened?" and as they successively came in they were informed that Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon had seceded, objecting to the details of the Bill, which they thought they had adopted on the Saturday. Imagine the difficulty and embarrassment in which the Ministry found themselves placed. It was then past two o'clock. Lord Derby was to address the Conservative party at half-past two; at half-past four Mr. Disraeli was to unfold the Reform scheme before the House of Commons. Literally they had not half-an-hour; they had not more than ten minutes to make up their minds as to what course the Ministry were to adopt. The public knew the rest. They determined to propose, not the Bill agreed to on the Saturday, but an alternative

measure which they had contemplated, in the event of their large and liberal scheme being rejected by the House of Commons. There was no wisdom so easy as that of being wise after the event. They were now told that the course they took was vacillating, and considered chiefly with a view to keeping the Cabinet together. Whether, if the Ministry had had an hour for consideration, they would have taken that course, was perhaps a question. But they did not possess that hour, and were driven to decide upon a line of definite action within the limits of little more than ten minutes. If they had made a mistake by discarding their original scheme, and he would not say that they had not, he would ask their censors to consider what they themselves might have done under circumstances of such peculiar difficulty and embarrassment. The only honourable course open to a Minister who has made a mistake is to retrace his steps. He for one had no hesitation in saying that the course which had been taken on Monday, the 25th of February, had been a mistaken one. He deeply felt, that as a Minister he had been committed to a false position in bringing before Parliament a measure which he did not believe to be the best measure available. Lord Derby's Ministry took the manly course, and retraced their steps. They felt, that however painful the act might be, they must part with those colleagues who took a less liberal view of the Reform question than did the majority of the Cabinet, and they determined to bring in the measure which they had previously intended and previously matured.

On the 4th of March, the causes which had led to the rupture in the Cabinet were communicated by the Prime Minister to the House of Lords. Lord Derby said he would state, without reserve or concealment, the present position of Government and the circumstances which led to it. On taking office, he was practically unpledged to Reform. But his colleagues and himself soon agreed that it was impossible wholly to ignore that question, and that the only mode of attaining a successful issue was to ask the House of Commons what compromise would be more or less acceptable to all parties. With that view, they proceeded in the first instance by Resolutions. As the House of Commons did not adopt that mode of proceeding, Government were deprived of the advantage of ascertaining the general feeling of that House on the main point. Two schemes were originally considered by Government, both differing as to the extent of the franchise. The more extensive of these schemes was more especially pointed to in the fifth Resolution, introducing the plurality of votes, in order to extend the franchise lower. The other was a scheme of large extent. One distinguished member of the Cabinet entertained strong objections to the course pursued, but in order to secure unanimity he waived those objections. He then hoped that the larger and more comprehensive scheme would have been fixed upon; but, to his surprise and regret, he found that two of his most valued colleagues, on reconsideration, disapproved of the scheme, and felt compelled to with-

draw the assent they had given to it. Of course he at once relieved the third colleague from the assent he had given, and it then became necessary for the Government to consider the course they should adopt. Ultimately they determined to submit to the House of Commons a measure which they did not consider thoroughly satisfactory, but which they hoped might for a time settle the question. But it very shortly became obvious that on neither side of the House would the proposition of the Government meet with a satisfactory concurrence; and therefore it became necessary, to consider whether they should adhere to their second proposition or revert to the first. They resolved on taking the latter course. Their scheme would in a short time be laid before the other House of Parliament.

Lord Carnarvon, abstaining from entering upon any detailed explanation, stated that in separating from the Government, it was not because he was indisposed to deal with the question of Reform. On the contrary, he thought it was one needing and demanding settlement. He felt, too, that the working classes had a claim to an extended share in the representation, but at the same time he desired that no measure should be adopted which would have the effect of leaving political power in the hands of two classes only, the rich and the poor, sweeping away all intervening barriers. The measure proposed to the Cabinet would have the effect of altering the character of five-sixths of the boroughs, a change more extensive than he could bring himself to regard as either prudent or desirable. After stating that, so far from objecting to a lowering of the franchise, he was prepared to accept household suffrage in boroughs having a certain limit of population, and a 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ rating in smaller boroughs, Lord Carnarvon assured the House of his deep regret at separating from Lord Derby at the present moment of difficulty, but he felt that consistently and honourably he had no other course to pursue.

Lord Granville abstained from commenting upon the statements that had been made to the House, but complained that, during the eight or nine months the present Government had held office, they had not been able to decide upon any principle of dealing with the question of Reform. The present moment was exceptionally favourable for a settlement of the question; and a serious effort on the part of the Government could only fail from factious opposition, which he did not believe would be offered, or from the inadequacy of the measure proposed.

Lord Grey regarded the speech of Lord Derby as unsatisfactory, because it seemed to hold out little hope that the important subject of Reform would receive this Session that ample consideration which it deserved. He also regretted that the Prime Minister should appear to approve of a Government appealing to the House of Commons on such a subject without any definite opinions of their own, and professing willingness to accept any scheme which the House might favour. He thought the Government ought either to

have introduced a Bill at once, or to have instituted inquiry by a Commission before proceeding to legislation.

Lord Derby, in reply, reminded Lord Granville that the Government had not yet been eight months in office, and stated that a Bill had been agreed upon in November, the question of the extent of reduction in the franchise only remaining to be considered. Noticing Lord Grey's suggestion, he contested its practicability, believing that the country would not have sanctioned a course that would have been imputed solely to a desire to cause delay.

The Ministerial statement in the House of Commons, which was made the same evening, was less explicit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer simply stated that the Ministers had determined "to revert to their original policy" in regard to the franchise. That, in consequence, three members of the Cabinet had resigned office, but that arrangements would be made for supplying their places, which he hoped would receive Her Majesty's sanction. He proposed to bring in the new Reform Bill on the 18th instant, and to move the second reading a few days later.

Some dissatisfaction was expressed by Mr. Bernal Osborne and other members, at the scanty information afforded to the House by the Ministers as to the causes which had led to the rupture in the Cabinet, and their reserve in that House was contrasted with the more frank communication made by Lord Derby to the other. Mr. Gladstone commented with much force on the phrase, "reverting to their original policy," which he pointed out was unnecessary to Mr. Disraeli's explanation, and which he regretted as importing additional difficulty into the situation, since it implied that the three dissentient Ministers had at one time concurred in that policy, and threw upon them the responsibility of some change which had caused the present embarrassment. He drew a forcible picture of the alternate fitful advances and speedy retreats which had marked the course of the Government on this question since the commencement of the Session, comparing it to a Greek dance in which the performers took three steps forward and two back (only in this case the retreat was commensurate with the advance), and warned the House of the impolicy of creating in the country a want of confidence in its capacity to deal with Reform. As to the Bill itself, he hoped (hinting that there were rumours to the contrary afloat) that it would be simple and straightforward, that it would avoid any new-fangled devices, which the people never were less in a mood to receive with favour than now; and that it would not consist of two sets of provisions, one bearing the semblance of giving, the other the reality of taking away. If it avoided these dangers, and contained the elements of a satisfactory settlement, he promised that the Opposition would receive it in no grudging spirit, but with a desire to bring the endeavour of the Government to a prosperous issue.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer declined to enter into further explanation on that occasion, the retiring Ministers who were pre-

sent in the House not having at that time obtained Her Majesty's permission to state what had occurred in the Cabinet; but on the next evening he entered more fully into the recent transactions; and the Ministers who had abdicated office also informed the House of the grounds on which they had taken that course. Mr. Disraeli, in reference to Mr. Gladstone's comments on his phrase, "recurring to the original policy," reminded him that he had stated on the 25th of February, that the Government had originally contemplated a measure different from that which he was then explaining. He vindicated the Government also against another criticism which had been passed upon their conduct, that they had neglected the subject for a long time, and had taken it up all of a sudden; for early in the autumn Lord Derby had imparted to him his deliberate conviction that the question must be dealt with in no niggard spirit, and had requested him to give his serious attention to it. The Cabinet had hoped to submit a measure conceived in this spirit, with the full assent of all their colleagues; but unhappily and unexpectedly, in that hope they were disappointed, and the result was that he was empowered to submit to the House the smaller scheme which he explained on the 25th, and which had before been considered by the Cabinet as an alternative. It was not the measure he should have preferred, but it was one he could honourably and consistently defend as being based on a principle, that it would restore the labouring classes to the position in the electoral body from which they were excluded by the Reform Act; that it would have given them one quarter of the constituencies, while one quarter was given to the agricultural interest, and a half to the middle classes. But that Bill did not give satisfaction to the Conservative party. The Government had received numerous protests against it from persons of rank and influence among their own friends, and, though they had reason to believe that it would be favourably received by many influential members of the Liberal party, it was decisively condemned at Mr. Gladstone's meeting, where there seemed to be a general preference for a 5*l.* franchise. (This statement occasioned some symptoms of dissent from the Opposition.) It seemed then as if the question was fast relapsing into the unsatisfactory condition of last year; and under these circumstances Lord Derby called his colleagues together again, and expressed his strong opinion, that in the policy he had originally suggested lay the solution of the problem; and the adoption of that policy by the majority of the Cabinet led to the resignation of Lord Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel. After expressing his regret at the loss the Government had sustained, Mr. Disraeli added, with much emphasis, that if his own resignation could have averted the secession, it was at Lord Derby's command; for in or out of office he had always expressed himself ready to consent to any personal sacrifice to maintain a united party and Cabinet. But the case would not have been bettered by his resignation; and it would be his duty, at the earliest moment, to bring in a Bill which would be

free from evasion, equivocation, and vacillation, by which the Government would stand; and which, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's gratuitous vaticinations, would not perplex Parliament, and would be intelligible to the country.

General Peel (who sat behind the Treasury bench, and was received with general cheering), after expressing a hope that he had not acted on a feeling of false honour in the course he had taken, acknowledged at the outset that he had gone through several changes of opinion on this matter since his speeches of last Session, some expressions of which he had never since ceased to regret. Had any pledge been asked from him when the Government was formed, he should have refused to accept office; but during the recess he had come to the conclusion that the people were anxious for Reform, and that an immediate settlement was imperative. It was not until the fatal fifth Resolution was drawn up, that he began to hesitate. He had no faith in the compensations with which household suffrage was to be accompanied, for forty years' Parliamentary experience had convinced him, that a security as a security was worth nothing; but being assured by his colleagues that the measure was Conservative, and knowing that no settlement could ever be carried without some mutual sacrifice of opinion, he had yielded at first, until he discovered that two of his colleagues had, independently, by an examination of the figures, come to the same conclusion as himself, that the proposal would swamp the present constituency in small boroughs.

Lord Cranborne said that when the Resolutions were laid on the table, no definite agreement had been arrived at by the Cabinet, and no complete statistics were before them. A general view was entertained that the Resolutions were to be applied on principles which seemed to him just, though he did not expect the House would have assented to them; and when General Peel objected, he joined in entreating him to remain in the Cabinet. But after Mr. Disraeli's speech of the 11th of February it became apparent to several members of the Cabinet that their original view of the application of the fifth Resolution was untenable, and that proposals new at least to him were to be entertained. It was on the 16th that he first heard of the proposition which had now received the formal sanction of the Government; it was discussed in the Cabinet on the 19th and 23rd; and on the Sunday following, having gone carefully through the figures, he came to the conclusion that it would differ little in many boroughs from household suffrage pure and simple. He immediately tendered his resignation, on which Lord Derby (instead of accepting it, as probably would have been the wisest course), put it to him whether he would consent to the smaller scheme, but in the course of the week the Cabinet reverted to the original plan. Painful as it was to separate from his colleagues, he felt that he never could consent to this; and he was convinced that the settlement of the question would not be facili-

tated if a suspicion should be created that public men were ready in handling it to suppress their private convictions.

Mr. Gladstone said it was the first time he had heard it said in that House, that to admit the working classes to the franchise to such an extent that they would form one-fourth of the constituency was establishing a principle. The measure of last Session was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that it contained no principle; and yet it would have admitted more of the working classes to the franchise than the measure of the present Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said he expected that the 6*l.* rating franchise would be accepted on the Opposition side of the House; but how was he justified in that expectation, when the late Government, when it was proposed last Session, stated that they could not accept it? Then the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that at a meeting of the Liberal members it was determined to support no franchise less than a 5*l.* rating, was also utterly groundless. He feared that the constant iteration of these collateral discussions must tend to interpose, both in the minds of the Government and in the minds of the Opposition, an obstacle to the attainment of that which they sought.

Mr. Lowe said it was not to be expected that those members who opposed a 7*l.* borough franchise last year would acquiesce in household suffrage. If they had wanted household suffrage they could have got it easier than by placing the present Government in office. He asked hon. gentlemen opposite if it was to bring in household suffrage that he and others combined to turn out the late Government. He felt bound to pay this tribute to Mr. Bright, that at meetings called to support manhood suffrage he always opposed it, and supported household suffrage. Mr. Bright approached it from below, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer from above, and they met at that point, so that those two were now the great twin brethren; but the ship they were in was called Democracy, and the chief they served under was Anarchy.

Mr. Horsman also made some caustic observations on the position of the Ministry, which he characterized as the weakest that had ever attempted to handle the greatest of questions. Though the Liberals were anxious to assist the Government in passing a Bill, every speech of Mr. Disraeli made it more difficult, and that night had made it patent, that a Conservative Government was about to launch a democratic Reform Bill. When the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel abandoned the traditions of their party on Catholic Emancipation and the Corn Laws, they were not only at the head of a majority, but they were sincere converts, and would have struggled for those changes in Opposition; but when Lord Derby's Government left power in 1859, they immediately became Anti-Reformers; and, having once more abandoned all their old opinions, if now unsuccessful, they would doubtless relapse into the same course.

Lord Stanley replying to the observations of Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman, repudiated with indignation the imputation of desiring to outbid any party, and assured the House that they had not the smallest intention of bringing in a Bill in the sense of the policy advocated by Mr. Bright. The Bill was not before the House, except by some fragmentary descriptions; and as the Government was prepared to stand or fall by it, common fair play required that it should not be discussed in ignorance of its contents.

Mr. Bright advised hon. members not to take counsel from Mr. Lowe, for he opposed the extension of the franchise, although admitting that no other member shared in that opinion. For himself he (Mr. Bright) had always said that household suffrage was the true suffrage for boroughs. He appealed to the Government to deal with the working class as they would with other sections of the community, in a generous and liberal manner, and not to attempt by any tricks to shut them out from that which they had a right to expect. If they could not go so far as he was inclined, he asked them to try something else, but he asked them to let their propositions be simple and intelligible. The working classes, who read every syllable that was uttered in that house on the subject, were not to be deceived in this matter; and their feeling on it was to be gathered from a motto on a banner carried by the carpenters at a late Trades' Demonstration, expressed, not in choice English, but in language that would be well understood, "Deal with us on the square; we have been chiselled long enough."

An important feature in the political transactions of this period was displayed in the meetings summoned from time to time by the Ministerial and Opposition Leaders of their respective supporters in Parliament, for the purpose of communicating to them the line of policy that it was proposed to take, and eliciting their views as to the course indicated. Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone both availed themselves of this mode of ascertaining the inclination of their respective parties on several occasions during the present Session. One of these meetings was summoned to attend at the official residence of the Prime Minister, three days preceding the announcement of the amended scheme of Reform to the House of Commons. On this occasion, 195 members of the House of Commons were present, and forty-three others sent letters excusing their absence, but expressing adhesion to the Government. One of the seceded members of the Cabinet—Lord Cranborne—was also present. The section of the Liberal party commonly known as the Adullamites did not appear.

Lord Derby at once proceeded to explain to the meeting the particulars of the Reform Bill which the Government was about to introduce. Before doing so, he detailed the events which had occurred before the secession of the three members of the Cabinet. So assured was he on that memorable Saturday that his colleagues were unanimous, that he proceeded to consult the Queen upon the measure, and Her Majesty was pleased to express her approval.

He was therefore not prepared for the course adopted by his colleagues, to whose honour and straightforwardness, however, he bore the highest testimony. In the measure they now intended to introduce, Ministers proposed to adopt in counties a rating franchise of 15*l.* annual amount, in place of 50*l.* rental, the other county franchises remaining as at present. With regard to the borough suffrage, his lordship explained at some length his reasons for thinking that a rating or rental valuation did not afford the proper basis for an enduring and satisfactory settlement. The Cabinet had decided on proposing the borough suffrage on the basis of household rating, but coupled with two years' residence and personal payment of rates; these conditions they considered essential. But to admit the largest possible infusion of the best elements now excluded from the privileges of electors, they proposed to create four additional qualifications. One would be based on education, and would include ministers of religion, members of the learned professions, graduates of universities, certificated schoolmasters, and others; such, for instance, as persons who had obtained a middle-class examination certificate. The others would be—the payment of 20*s.* a year direct taxes, the possession of 50*l.* in the Funds, or of the same amount in a savings' bank. In order, however, to give to property, allied with long residence, that legitimate weight to which the Government thought it was entitled, a second vote would be conferred on every man who, besides having occupied a house for two years, should also pay the twenty shillings annually of direct taxation. In other words, a householder paying that amount of income or assessed taxes would have two votes, one as a two years' resident, the other as a contributor to the wants of the State. He intimated, however, that the dual system was not one to which the Government were strongly wedded. It was not proposed to disturb any of the existing franchises, all of which would be preserved. Compound householders already qualified would be exempted from personal payment of rates; but those not yet qualified, who might obtain a qualification under the new scale, would be entitled to have their names put on the register by personally paying their rates, and thus bringing themselves under the conditions named. He concluded by saying that he of course could not tell whether the House of Commons would accept this measure from the Administration; but he had a very strong confidence that it would be acceptable to the country, and if necessary he would appeal to the constituencies. With regard to disfranchisement, the Cabinet adhered to the proposals recently expounded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The address of the Prime Minister was received with considerable indications of approval. One of the leading members of the Conservative party, and whose opinion carried considerable weight with them—Mr. Henley—rose and expressed his full approval of the measure just announced. Faithful to the prin-

ciple on which he seceded from the Cabinet in 1859, he advocated a broad basis for the borough suffrage. He regarded the proposals which professed to confer the franchise on occupiers of a certain amount of rental as not to be justified upon constitutional principles. They could therefore only be of temporary effect, even if carried. Household suffrage with payment of rates he looked upon as the true basis of the right to vote according to the principles of the constitution of England, and that was the foundation of the old rights which conferred the franchise on those who paid scot and lot; that is, who resided where they voted, and bore their part of the local and public burdens. He was prepared not only to approve but to defend those principles, and he promised the measure his fullest support.

Sir John Benn Walsh advocated unanimity among Conservatives above all things. He spoke in the highest terms of eulogy of the conduct of Lord Derby as a party leader, and he regretted deeply that former leaders had not had the courage and the honourable feeling to act as he had done. Had the late Sir Robert Peel treated the party with the same confidence when he changed his views respecting Roman Catholic Emancipation, and again when he had determined to repeal the Corn Laws—had he called the party together, and explained to them that the time was come for enacting those measures, and that they could no longer be withheld, the Conservative party would have accepted that which was inevitable, and would not on those occasions have undergone a disruption from which they had taken so long a period to recover. He expressed his admiration for the courage and confidence which induced Lord Derby to call them together, and to explain, as he had done, that there was nothing else for them but to accept this measure, which he for one was ready to do, and which he hoped the meeting would also accept without dissent.

Sir John Trollope also addressed the meeting in a similar sense to Sir John Walsh.

Sir William Heathcote expressed strong disapproval of the measure, and intimated that he would oppose it in the House. The hon. baronet regarded the proposal placed before the meeting as being too large; and that, if carried out, it would destroy the influence of rank, property, and education, by the force of numbers. This was the only indication given of dissatisfaction with the proposals of the Government, but no formal resolution was adopted by the meeting.

On the 18th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for leave to bring in the Bill for amending the Representation of the People, and explained at length the provisions of the measure on which the Government had at last resolved to take their stand. He said he would confine his observations to two points. He would first state the object of the Government; and, secondly, he would detail the means proposed to accomplish that object. The House would then have to decide whether the

object was desirable, and whether the means proposed would be adequate to effect it. The object was to strengthen the character and functions of that House, and to establish them on a broad and popular basis. Popular privileges and democratic rights were not identical. More than that, they were contradictory; he hoped that it would never be the fate of this country to live under a democracy, and this Bill had no tendency in that direction. Every Reform Bill proposed since 1832 had proceeded on diminishing the amount of the franchise qualification; and the majority in this House on Lord Dunkellin's motion last year decided, with unerring instinct, that rating ought to be the basis of valuation. The Government had accepted the principle that the franchise should be associated with the payment of rates, and they proposed that every householder paying rates and having resided two years should be admitted to vote. This would admit 237,000 men who live in houses under 10*l.* and pay rates, leaving unenfranchised 486,000 householders not paying their own rates. But every facility would be given to compound householders to take upon themselves the payment of their own rates, and to obtain in consequence the right of voting. After an elaborate argument upon the 5*l.* franchise, which he strongly condemned, characterizing it as a Serbonian bog, and asserting that its logical result in many places would be manhood suffrage, Mr. Disraeli next announced that the Bill would confer the franchise on payers of 1*l.* direct taxes (not including licenses of any kind); and householders (in towns only) paying 1*l.* direct taxes would be allowed to exercise the franchise in respect of both suffrages. The Bill would also contain an education franchise, and would give votes to the holders of savings'-bank deposits and funded property to the amount of 50*l.* The direct tax franchise would add a number greatly exceeding 200,000 (though this was only an estimate), the education franchise 35,000, the funded property franchise 25,000, and the savings'-bank franchise 45,000; in all, more than 1,000,000 would be added to the borough constituency. In the counties the franchise would be fixed at 15*l.* rating, which would add 171,000, and the lateral franchises would bring the total additions to the county constituencies to some 330,000. The Government, Mr. Disraeli said, had carefully considered the plan of cumulative voting and three-cornered constituencies, and had tried it at every point, but had come to the conclusion that it was erroneous in principle and would be pernicious in practice; and passing to the Redistribution scheme, he announced that it was substantially the same as that described by him on the 25th February—viz. that thirty seats should be redistributed, fourteen to new boroughs, fifteen to counties, and one to the London University. He defended it from the charge of inadequacy, pointing out that there was no medium between constructing a new electoral map of England, and seizing opportunities as they arose of remedying pressing inequalities by giving members to new boroughs as they

rose into importance, and by adding to the direct representation of important constituencies. The right hon. gentleman, after some further remarks, concluded by saying, "I may be told by some, that this Bill, in providing a system of checks and counterpoises, tends still further to interpose the barriers of class. If it is a measure which involves checks and counterpoises, we live under a constitution whose boast it is that it is made up of checks and counterpoises. And why should we conceal from ourselves that this country is peculiarly one of class composition? And of class it ever will remain. What we desire to do is to give to all worthy of having the privilege conferred, a fair share in the government of this country, so far as that may be attained by the expression of a vote; but at the same time we are equally anxious to maintain the principles on which the constitution is based, and in proposing amendments, to prevent the preponderance of any class, and to give representation to the nation."

Mr. Gladstone said that unusual publicity had been given to the main provisions of this Bill; and yet now, after hearing the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his mind was in a state of obscurity. As to the numbers to be admitted by the proposed secondary franchises, he regarded the figures cited by Mr. Disraeli as erroneous and visionary; and he looked upon the alleged new voters as little more than men in buckram. He did not think that 140,000 voters, after allowing for double qualifications, would be admitted by extending the franchise to all who personally paid their rates. It was said that every facility was to be given to compound householders to obtain the vote. The facility was that the compound householder was to have the privilege of paying over again that which he had already paid. Moreover they would be practically leaving the franchise to the discretion of the vestry; and the practice with regard to compounders varied in almost every parish. He did not agree with those who said that the principle of rating was the bulwark of the constitution; but he did agree with those who thought, that if they enfranchised all householders they would get into a great difficulty at the lower end of the scale, when they came to deal with that class of householders who were habitually excused from poverty. He suggested that the franchise should stop at that line. There were three safeguards proposed, the personal payment of the rates, the length of residence, and dual voting. The first he thought fundamentally wrong. If household suffrage were to be established, let it be established freely, and do not let them leave it to the wealthier classes in a parish to enfranchise or disfranchise the other classes at pleasure. To the proposition for dual voting he, for one, from that moment recorded his implacable hostility. Dual voting would be a gigantic instrument of fraud, and was a proclamation of a war of classes, and he was inflexibly opposed to it. He remarked next on the absence of the lodger franchise from the Bill, quoting Mr. Disraeli's description of it in 1859, and predicting that it would have to be introduced

into the Bill. Duality and personal payment of Rates were practically dead as safeguards already; and, with the addition of a lodger franchise, no doubt it would be a very advantageous Bill for the Liberal party, but how it was to be treated as a whole by them was a question for future consideration.

Sir W. Heathcote expressed an unfavourable impression of the Bill, but would reserve the expression of his opinion till the next stage.

Mr. T. Baring said this was a measure which ought not to be adopted without grave consideration. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not left his mind free from doubts, in the first place, that it would be a settlement at all, and, in the next place, that it would be a satisfactory settlement. There was one thing they ought to understand, and that was to what extent the Government would adhere to the other franchises which were offered as safeguards.

Mr. Lowe remarked that household suffrage was not a novelty. The present suffrage was household suffrage limited by a 10% rent. The question was whether the new safeguards supplied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were superior to the old safeguards. Look at the first safeguard, personal rating. If that went, every thing was gone, and what security had they that it would be retained? The measure of the Government was framed on the assumption that they offered the franchise to a great number of persons who would not accept it. The question really turned on the compound householders. If they granted the vote to the compound householders, they might as well give up the rating altogether, and take the simple occupation of a house. The franchise proposed was different from the municipal franchise. In municipal corporations, the compound householders had a right to vote, and would it not be said that it was invidious to have these different franchises? He thought that, instead of going into these clap-trap schemes, by which they gave a great deal with one hand and took it away with the other, they should take the suggestion of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and let the franchise meet at the point where the collector and the householder met. Was the vital point of this measure the duality of voting, or was dual voting a tub to the whale? He could not express the repugnance he had to that scheme. Any thing more invidious could not be devised. Why was it they gave this second vote? Because they were doing what they believed to be wrong in giving a vote to those who ought not to have it. What they did let them do frankly. He for one would be no party to giving privileges to those he had no confidence in.

Mr. Henley decidedly approved the proposal of the Bill to connect the vote with the payment of rates; and had no doubt that the difficulties as to the compound householders might be easily settled in Committee, if both sides would set their shoulders to the wheel with a firm determination to settle the question. The figure of 15% for the counties, approaching closely to the house-tax, met his

views, but the dual vote he regarded as a piece of unmitigated mischief, which was unnecessary, because the people who were to come in would be as much divided as any other class in opinions.

Mr. Roebuck saw no difficulty in arranging all the objections taken by Mr. Gladstone on the rate-paying part of the scheme in Committee. The dual vote of course was impossible, but it was evidently not a vital point. He urged the House to bear in mind that if this Bill were rejected and the Government thrown out, a dead lock would follow; and he advised it to read the Bill a second time, and deal with it in Committee.

Mr. Beresford Hope made some sarcastic observations on the spectacle of a Conservative Government outbidding Liberals in a Liberal market, and denounced the Bill as a two-faced measure, which might prove so restrictive that it would take away with one hand what it seemed to give with the other, or else would entail household suffrage in a most dangerous form.

Mr. Sandford observed that the dual vote was a proposition at once illusory and insulting.

Mr. B. Osborne exhorted the House not to give way to party spirit, which would strangle the last chance of passing a Reform Bill this Session, nor to be too precipitate in condemning a measure which it had never seen. He hoped there would be no repetition of the mistakes of 1859, but that the Bill would be read a second time and dealt with in Committee. On the merits of the Bill he expressed himself decidedly opposed to the dual vote and the Redistribution scheme.

Lord Cranborne, alluding to a remark of Mr. Osborne, asserted that the House had a right to know what were held to be vital points, particularly as this was a Bill of checks and compensations, and he did not believe that his late colleagues were the men to pass this Bill entirely without compensations. But of the two compensations it proposed, dual voting and personal payment of rates, the first would not only be utterly ineffective, but it was so unpalatable that it had no chance of acceptance; and the second was certain to be swept away by the very first Parliament elected under it. By tracing the practical operation of the security, he showed that the cost to each compound householder for getting his name on the register would be about 5s. a year, and here he predicted the corrupt machinery of the electioneering agents would come in. He showed, too, how unequally it would work in the boroughs (ninety-eight in number) to which the Small Tenements' Act was only partially applied, and from all this he concluded that the security would be swept away immediately; that household suffrage pure and simple would be the result; and this, he maintained, after their conduct last year, the Conservative party ought not to be the persons to pass. If the party accepted the Bill, they would be committing political suicide, but he hoped the moderate party on both sides would retain sufficient influence to secure that,

while skilled artisans were introduced into the electoral body in fair numbers, existing interests would not be subverted.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, attacking Mr. Gladstone for his inconsistency, defending the accuracy of his figures, and asserting that it was a calumny on the working man to assume that he would resent the connexion of the constitutional obligation to pay rates with the political privilege of voting. Replying to an observation of Lord Cranborne, he declared with much emphasis that the Government would never introduce household suffrage pure and simple. He maintained that there was no inconsistency in the present Government bringing in a Reform Bill, for they had brought one in before, and there was nothing in his speeches or in his support of any Resolutions last year inconsistent with his present propositions.

Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

The second reading was moved on the 25th of March, and was discussed during two nights. Mr. Gladstone opened the debate, and criticized with considerable severity the provisions of the Bill, specifying several of them, which he said must be absolutely given up before the measure could be accepted. As then framed, he was confident it would be rejected by a large majority of the House. There was a general agreement, Mr. Gladstone said, that a measure should be passed this year, that it should embrace a liberal enfranchisement of the labouring classes, and that it should carry with it some promise of fixedness; and this last, he added, must be attended by two conditions, that there should be no arbitrary or unintelligible exclusions, and that within the pale of the franchise there should be no needless or vexatious distinctions between individuals. But while the 6*l.* rating scheme, the untimely disappearance of which he regretted, did seem to afford a basis for a settlement, the prospect offered by this Bill was very discouraging, and he summed up thus the alterations it would require:—A lodger franchise must be inserted; means must be provided to prevent traffic in the votes of the lowest classes of householders; the distinction between the different classes of rate-paying householders must be abolished; the tax-paying franchise and the dual vote must be abandoned; the redistribution part of the scheme must be enlarged, the county franchise reduced, and voting-papers must be dropped. For the present he should confine his remarks to the proposed franchise for boroughs. The enfranchising clauses, he said, were devised to bear the appearance of giving household suffrage, while by subsequent restrictions this apparent concession would be entirely nullified; and he showed that, by the operation of the Small Tenements' Act and Local Acts, it would be left to the local authorities and registration agents to decide how far these restrictions should operate. He examined next at length the facilities proposed to be given to compound householders, arguing that by requiring the personal action of the householder and the personal payment of rates, calculated on the full rateable

value, the would-be voter would be fined from 25 to 50 per cent., and in some cases would have to pay his rates twice over. It was not payment of rates, he insisted, but a man's condition in life, his presumable character and independence, which ought to be the criteria of his fitness for the franchise; but even assuming personal payment to be a good basis, the Government had committed an error in applying to it our actual system of law. Mr. Gladstone next shadowed out a plan by which a certain figure of rateable value should be fixed for all the country, below which no man should be liable to pay rates or should have a vote, while all over the line should be rated and enjoy the franchise; and on Mr. Henley asking whether payment of rates was to be essential, Mr. Gladstone replied that he did not look upon this as a matter of much consequence. This would be erecting personal rating into something like a principle, and would be giving the franchise to those judged fit for it in the simplest manner. To define those who were fit for the franchise it was necessary to draw a line between two classes, whereas the Bill endeavoured to set up a Darwinian process of "natural selection," through the operation of legislative difficulties, which would be under the direction of local authorities or registration agents; and while it would be possible to attain fixedness of settlement by drawing a line between classes, if it were a reasonable line, he asserted that it never could be attained by an arbitrary selection of individuals of the same class. Mr. Gladstone next discussed in great detail the last published returns as illustrating the effect of the Bill in open towns and in towns under the operation of the Small Tenements' Act; and showed by numerous quotations from them that it would work very diversely, not only in different towns, but in different parishes of the same town; on one side of a street setting up manhood suffrage, and on the other a mere 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ rental; in one town flooding a constituency with thousands, while in another it admitted new voters by tens only. He condemned the Bill as admitting a principle with needless breadth, but limiting its application by restrictions which would exclude at least two-thirds of those who appeared to be admitted (at the most, he asserted, not more than 120,000 would be admitted to the borough franchise). The quality of its additions was as unsatisfactory as the quantity was insufficient. It created artificial and needless inequalities, and, containing the certain elements of a new agitation, it could not be called a settlement; and he concluded by pressing the Government to give an explicit answer to these questions:—Would they consent to introduce a lodger suffrage? Would they shape the Bill in such a form, that Parliament, and not the vestries, should decide what class of voters, and how many, should be admitted? And would they consent to remove from the Bill all the artificial inequalities it established between different classes of voters?

Mr. Hardy declined at this stage to give any pledge which

would commit the Government to any particular course. No Bill could be passed without mutual concession and forbearance; but if, as Mr. Gladstone had said, every leading provision of this Bill required revision, then he asserted with strong emphasis, the division ought to be taken at this stage, and if such division involved an abandonment of the leading principles of the Bill, he should refuse to be a party to its progress. He denied that it was a Household Suffrage Bill, or that it had ever been represented as such; it was a Rating Franchise Bill; and so far from excluding any body—as Mr. Gladstone had argued, inconsistently with another argument in which he declaimed against the Bill as making indiscriminate admissions—it opened the franchise to every one who chose to claim it. Combating other arguments of Mr. Gladstone, he denied that a compound householder would be “fined” for going on the register, as he would be able to recover whatever rates he paid from the landlord; pointed out the extreme practical difficulty of working a lodger franchise, and that its object would be effectually supplied by the assessed taxes’ vote; and admitted that the payment of rates and the two years’ residence were meant as limitations, contending that they were reasonable, and would be approved by the country. To the argument, derived from the figures, that the Bill would work diversely, Mr. Hardy replied by pointing to the argument used against the Bill of last year—that it was monotonous; and while justifying the dual vote by reminding the House of the numerous corrective proposals, such as the cumulative vote, which had been made at various times, he invited discussion upon it, and intimated that the Government would be open to conviction. After devoting a few words to the defence of voting papers, and urging that any defects of the machinery for the admission of compound householders to the register might be remedied in Committee, he repeated that the Government declined to accept Mr. Gladstone’s dictum, that certain things must be given up. They wished for discussion, which would separate the chaff from the wheat; and if met in a reasonable spirit, they would not show themselves unreasonable, though they would stand by the main principle of accompanying a free enfranchisement by judicious limitations.

Mr. Headlam considered it a radical defect in the Bill, that it ignored all the non-ratepaying occupiers of houses.

Sir F. Goldsmid objected to it, as offering great facilities to corruption, and expressed his preference for a 5*l.* rating franchise.

Lord Amberley, while congratulating the House on the improved tone in which Reform was discussed this year, urged that moderation might be carried too far; and as the Liberals had long had a definite policy, the concessions ought to come from the other side. He discussed at length the assertion that the Bill was founded on a principle, professing himself unable to see the difference between a ratepayer and a compound householder, as both

paid rates, though one of them paid them to his landlord; and he rejected, unreservedly, the argument that a compound householder who would not pay his own rates was not worthy of a vote. He deprecated the connexion of an extension of the franchise with jealous checks and precautions, and predicted that legislation in such a spirit would be futile.

Mr. Banks Stanhope, professing himself to be a staunch Conservative, declared his approval of the Bill, as containing the only principle which was likely to afford a permanent settlement. He urgently advocated the dual vote and the personal payment of rates.

Mr. Lowther, speaking from the same side of the House, opposed the Bill, regarding the alleged securities as inefficient, and fearing the preponderance of the class who would be enfranchised by the Bill.

Mr. Roebuck announced his intention to support the second reading of the Bill; and explained that his motive was not to improve the character of the House—which he did not think necessary—nor to carry out any theory of the “rights of man,” which he did not believe in, but to admit to the franchise the sober, the industrious, and sagacious portion of the working classes, and to keep out the rest, in whose hands he confessed himself afraid to trust it. As a test of this industry and sobriety, he could conceive nothing more satisfactory than residence and personal payment of rates. In the “fancy franchises” he saw no particular harm or good; the county franchise ought to have been fixed at last year’s figure—144; and on the question of Redistribution, Mr. Roebuck intimated that, believing our present haphazard system was the best mode of securing varied representation, he did not wish for any greater redistribution than was necessary to enfranchise large towns which were at present unrepresented. Replying to Mr. Gladstone’s objection to the “fine” on the compound householder, which he characterized as invidious, Mr. Roebuck maintained that it was only just to call upon a man to bear his share in the burdens of the State, when he received a share in its privileges; and he concluded by calling on Mr. Disraeli to pluck up his courage, to yield where concession was reasonable, but not to be frightened by pettifogging cavils.

The Solicitor-General defended the provisions of the Bill, contending that, upon legal and constitutional grounds, the personal payment of rates was a sound principle; and that there was nothing invidious or unjust in the dual vote.

Mr. Butler Johnstone was opposed to the Bill, believing that it would deprive the Conservatives of the County representation, and subtract thereby an important element from the House. He regarded the dual vote as a great blunder, and predicted that the other checks and counterpoises on which the Government relied to indemnify their party, would have to be given up.

Sir R. Palmer looked upon the question of the franchise as of

more importance than that of the redistribution of seats. Mr. Hardy had stated that this Bill, whatever else it might be, was not a Bill for household suffrage. For himself, he was in favour of that suffrage; and he entertained no apprehension of the consequences of granting it. If it were the general opinion of the House that they should not grant this suffrage without safeguards, by all means have those safeguards; but if they did, let them not introduce new differences and distinctions which would create discontent. But this Bill did create new differences, and laid down new principles, and this while they did not interfere with the present franchise. The principle of the Bill, it was stated, was the personal payment of rates, but that was not required at present of the 10*l.* householder, and if they required it of the new voter they were creating an arbitrary distinction. It was even worse if the new voter were required to pay the difference between the compound rate and the full rate. At present the ten-pounder whose rates were compounded for had only to pay the amount compounded for, so that it was proposed to give an advantage to the richer man. They did, then, fine the compounder for claiming his vote. Mr. Hardy said the voter could recover the amount from the landlord, but the Bill contained no such provision. He could only recover from the landlord what was due from him, but that was not due. Passing to the dual vote, the arguments in favour of it were summed up in the phrase of the Solicitor-General—"Half a loaf is better than no bread." In using that phrase, the Solicitor-General unwittingly stated the essence of the proposal, which was to give, not a whole vote, but half a vote. In the county franchise they followed the same process. The 50*l.* occupier was not required to pay rates at all, but the new voters were. The fancy franchises he regarded as, all of them, from beginning to end, wrong in principle and untenable in practice, but he approved of a lodger franchise. If the House thought they could make any thing of the Bill, he should not object to going into Committee; but if the Bill passed as it stood, it would neither improve the representation of the people nor settle it.

Mr. Bright criticised the Bill in a speech of great vigour and with much felicitous sarcasm upon it, the Ministry, and their supporters. He said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been trading for several weeks on this measure, which professed to give a reduction of the borough franchise. The real object of the scheme was to introduce to the suffrage about as many men as would be admitted by an 8*l.* tenure. If this were so, why talk of household franchise? But if this were the step they were taking, they were renewing the error of 1832; they were about to renew the exclusion of the working classes from the franchise. If this were the limit of the concession, the course they were pursuing was a perilous course; for, as a set-off to this concession, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to give

a vote to 200,000 of a higher class. The hon. gentleman having commented upon the various details of the Bill, said:—"The Bill, as a whole, I regard as very unsatisfactory. It has marks upon it of being the product, not of the friends, but of the enemies of Reform. It is wonderful what clever men will do when a dozen of them are shut up in a room. Now look at the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why, he is a marvel of cleverness, or else he would not have been, for twenty years, at the head of hon. gentlemen opposite, to lead them into this—what shall I call it?—great difficulty at last. Take the right hon. member who sits next to him, representing a very learned University, Cambridge. Take the President of the Poor Law Board, who represents the wisdom, and it may be, to some extent, the prejudices of Oxford. Take the right hon. member for Droitwich. I fear to speak of so potent a personage. Why, at this moment he directs the whole of the armies of the empire. There is not a soldier who shivers amid the snows of Canada, or who sweats under the sun of India, but shivers and sweats under the influence of the right hon. gentleman. Why, it was only the other day he was Lord High Admiral of England. 'His march was on the mountain wave, his home was on the deep.' But all these gentlemen retire into a mysterious apartment in Downing-street, and they set to work and concoct a Reform Bill; and with all their capacity, it seems to me to come out a Bill marvellously like that which would have been made by the hon. member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. Banks Stanhope), who last night gave us an account of his conversion. Any thing more affecting could hardly be heard in any class-meeting. But he spoke of 'we' all the time—what 'we' did, what determinations 'we' had come to. In thinking over it to-day I have come to the conclusion that he is the author of this Bill. Now I complain of this Bill, that in regard to the working-class there is in it nothing clear, there is nothing generous, there is nothing statesmanlike. I believe that if the House were to pass it there would be universal dissatisfaction throughout the country. It would leave the greatest question of our time absolutely unsolved. I tell the House frankly, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will believe me when I say there is not a man in this House who would be more glad than I to give the warmest support, whatever it may be worth, to a fair and honest measure on this question. I regret what hon. gentlemen opposite did, led by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his friends, last year. I shall never cease to regret it, and never cease to blame them; but still I would help any Government to bring this question to a just conclusion. But, sir, it seems to me impossible to assist a Government which will not tell us frankly what it intends, what it stands by, what it will get rid of—which asks us to go into its confidence, and yet is probably the most reticent Government that ever sat on those benches. If any gentlemen on this side were to treat you as you treated us last year, I should denounce them with the strongest

language I could use. I hate the ways, I scorn the purposes of faction; and if I am driven now, or at any stage of this Bill, to oppose the Government, it is because the measure they have offered to us bears upon its face marks of deception and disappointment, and because I will be no party to any Bill which would cheat the great body of my countrymen of the possession of that power in this House on which they have set their hearts, and which, as I believe, by the constitution of this country they may most justly claim."

Mr. Laing criticised with much severity the provisions of the Bill relating to the Redistribution of Seats, which would have the effect of creating numerous anomalies, and was in many respects defective. With regard to the enfranchising clauses, it depended on the application of the securities whether they would lead to a democratic invasion, or would be merely of restricted action—whether 500,000 or 120,000 new voters would be admitted to the franchise. Of these securities, personal payment of rates alone needed consideration; the two years' residence could not be maintained, and the novelty of duality was an insuperable objection to it. But to personal payment as a security, there were these objections,—that it was to be applied at the caprice of the vestries, that it might be evaded by corrupt election agents, or by combination of trades' unions,—and it, moreover, could not be maintained as a permanent barrier. Consequently household suffrage, pure and simple, must be the result; half a million of voters would be admitted, of whom 300,000 would come in at the lowest point. To this he could not accede; and he expressed his preference of the 5*l.* rating scheme, coupled with a lowering of the Small Tenements' Act, making it compulsory; and, to arrive at that solution, he recommended that before going into Committee on this Bill, the broad outlines of that scheme should be submitted to the House in a formal manner by some influential member.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated the Bill in a speech of great vigour and ingenuity, in which he combated the arguments and insinuations of the Opposition speakers, especially of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright; and he intimated, in no doubtful terms, the readiness of the Government to consent to some important modifications of their scheme, and to abandon some of the securities which had been the object of especial animadversion in the House. He complained of the tone and manner of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, both on the first and second reading. Of course, he said, the Government never deemed that they could produce a Bill which would not require candid consideration in Committee; and he proceeded to indicate the various points which might be discussed, adopting Mr. Gladstone's enumeration of them in his speech. To the lodger franchise he intimated himself personally favourable, and he had submitted it to his colleagues—in fact, he declared himself to be the father of this suffrage; and if satisfactory arguments should be urged in its favour in Committee,

no doubt the House would adopt it, though he reminded them that last year Mr. Gladstone, who now magnified its importance, had predicted that its effect would be trifling. In the same tone, he discussed Mr. Gladstone's other requirements—the abolition of the distinctions between the different classes of ratepayers, and the abandonment of the taxing franchises and the voting papers—pointing out that the two first had been essential incidents of schemes to which Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone had been parties; that variety of franchises had always been considered desirable, deriding the idea that either of them would give facilities for the manufacture of faggot votes, and on each intimating that they were open to consideration in Committee. Touching on the residential qualification, he assured the House, that in all the communications the Government had received from the working classes, the municipal term of residence was considered by them as an important condition, and that the Government would willingly consider any proposal for remedying the discrepancy in this respect between the ten-pounders and the new voters. The county franchise was likewise a matter for Committee; and replying to Mr. Gladstone's objection to the Redistribution scheme, he insisted that he ought to produce his own plan, so that every one who was menaced by it might have full knowledge of his impending danger. Reviewing next the general effects of the borough franchise proposed by the Bill, he defended the principle on which it was based, contrasting its elastic and varied operation with the rigid line Mr. Gladstone proposed to draw at 5*l*. rating. The Government, he asserted, had never calculated the numbers to be admitted; they had merely endeavoured to lay down a principle, believing that fitness and variety would always be a security against democracy, whatever might be the numbers admitted. The immediate effect might only be to introduce 120,000; but the extreme application could only admit 250,000 compound householders, and he was, therefore, not prepared to insist on the dual vote, which was originally intended to provide against the swamping of the middle-class voters. He defended the original proposal by reminding the House of the many schemes which had been devised of late years by philosophical politicians to preserve the rights of the minority, some of whom, it was understood, had their clauses ready drawn; but, though not at all clear as to what might be the ultimate decision of public opinion on the point, the Government, as practical men, looking to what would pass, and not having received any support or encouragement from their own side, were not prepared to insist upon it. In a vigorous peroration, Mr. Disraeli impressed on the House that the Government had no desire but to co-operate with it in bringing this affair to a settlement. They were convinced that their duty was not to desert their posts until that settlement was attained; and he entreated the House cordially to co-operate with them—to pass the Bill first, and to change the Ministry then, if it pleased.

This speech, which conveyed a clear impression that the Government had made up their minds to yield to any pressure which might be put upon them by the House, and to discard those provisions of the Bill which were generally regarded as obnoxious or impracticable, contributed, no doubt, in a great degree, to the ultimate acceptance of the measure, which was now read a second time without opposition. From this time it was felt that the probabilities of a settlement of the question before the termination of the Session were much increased; the only material doubt that remained depending on the power of the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons to carry his supporters along with him in that course of concession for which it was quite evident that he was individually prepared.

CHAPTER III.

Debates on Parliamentary Reform continued. Mr. Disraeli intimates the intention of the Government to withdraw the proposition of Dual Voting—The conditions of the Borough Franchise in respect to Personal Payment of Rates explained—Much controversy arises as to the position of the "Compound Householder"—Meeting of Liberal Members at Mr. Gladstone's house, at which the Ratepaying Clauses of the Bill are discussed. It is resolved to move an Amendment upon these Clauses, of which Mr. J. D. Coleridge gives notice—Division in the Liberal party, and Meeting of a section, by whom it is resolved not to support the Amendment—The Resolution is communicated to Mr. Gladstone, and the Amendment is abandoned—Comments made in the House upon the dissension in the Liberal camp. The Reform Bill goes into Committee—An Amendment to dispense with the Personal Payment of Rates by the Householder as a condition of the Franchise, is moved by Mr. Gladstone—The Government, after a full debate, obtain a majority of twenty-one in favour of their Clause—Discouragement of the Liberal party in consequence of their ineffectual opposition—Correspondence between Mr. Crawford, M.P. for the City of London, and Mr. Gladstone—The latter declares his intention to withdraw from further Amendments in regard to the Rating Clauses—Public Meetings held during the Easter recess on the subject of Reform—Resolutions as to the expediency of removing the checks imposed by the Bill on the Borough Franchise—Renewal of discussions in Committee—An Amendment, restricting the residence in boroughs to twelve months, is carried against the Government—Mr. M. Torrens proposes a Lodger Franchise, which, with some modifications, is agreed to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Numerous and prolonged discussions respecting the Compound Householders—Eventually, a motion by Mr. Hodgkinson to abolish Composition altogether in Parliamentary Boroughs is accepted as a solution of the difficulty. Mr. J. S. Mill proposes an Amendment, to entitle women to vote, which is rejected, after debate, by a large majority—The Occupation Franchise in Counties, proposed by the Bill to be 15*l.*, is fixed at 12*l.* The Education and Tax-paying Franchises, after a slight resistance from the Government, are struck out—Clauses proposed by Mr. J. S. Mill, to enable minorities to elect Candidates are opposed and withdrawn—The Boroughs of Lancaster, Reigate, and Great Yarmouth, convicted of gross bribery, are sentenced to Disfranchisement—A modification of the Clauses of the Bill relating to the Redistribution of Seats, is proposed by Mr. Laing, and carried against the Government—Motion by Mr. Sergeant Gaselee in a similar direction defeated—The Chancellor of the Exchequer modifies his scheme of Redistribution of Seats, in consequence of Mr. Laing's Amendment—Mr. Laing further proposes to add a third member to six of the largest cities, but is out-voted—Discussion on the use of Voting-papers at

Elections—The Clause is expunged—On the Motion of Mr. Horsfall, a third member is added to the representation of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds.—Proposition by Mr. Lowe to authorize Cumulative Voting at Elections is rejected after full debate by a large majority—The Clauses of the Bill are gone through, and the Schedules adopted—The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to the House the names of the intended Boundary Commissioners—After some discussion, the names are agreed upon—The Bill is read a third time on the 15th of July, when a Debate takes place, turning chiefly on the conduct of the Ministers.—Severe remarks of Viscount Cranborne and Mr. Lowe—Vindication of his own conduct and that of his colleagues by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—The Bill is passed without division, and is sent to the House of Lords.

THE first instalment of the concessions which Mr. Disraeli, in his speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill, had intimated the readiness of the Government to make, in deference to the opinion of the House of Commons, was the abandonment of the clause conferring the dual vote. On the 1st of April, in answer to questions put to him by Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he would, before going into Committee on the Bill on the 8th of April, move the omission of that clause: as to the other controverted points, he said, they would be left to find their solution in Committee. The concession thus made had, indeed, been fully anticipated, the proposition in question having met with little or no support from public opinion, and having been denounced, both in Parliament and out of doors, as invidious and impolitic. The point to which the Liberal party now directed their efforts, with a view to secure a wide extension of the franchise under the Bill, was the requirement of payment of rates. According to the propositions of the Government, the right of household suffrage was to be limited by the condition of a "personal payment" of rates in respect of the qualifying tenement by the occupier. This condition involved a very important restriction, in respect of a numerous class of persons residing in houses of small value, the rates upon which were paid, in accordance with certain Acts of Parliament, not by the tenants, but by the landlords, the latter being allowed a certain abatement from the full rates otherwise payable in consideration of the liability which they undertook. The tenants, in effect, paid the rate in the shape of an addition to their rents; but their houses were not entered in the rate-book, nor had they personally any communication with the overseers. The class of occupiers thus indirectly, but not personally rated went by the familiar name of "compound householders." Now, under the provisions of the Reform Bill as first proposed, it was understood that this very large portion of the householders of the kingdom, comprising, as it was publicly stated, not less than two-thirds of all the occupiers under 10*l.*, would be excluded from the benefit of the franchise. This exclusion formed the topic of a great amount of controversy, and a main point of objection urged by the Opposition party. For a long time, as it will presently appear, the Parliamentary battle raged fiercely round the "Compound Householder." His case was argued, pro. and con., from the opposite sides of the House of Commons, with extraordinary vehemence.

mence and pertinacity: and it was not until an opportunity was afforded to the Government of eliminating this element *in toto* from the discussion, by abolishing the practice of compounding altogether, that the controversy, which had for a time absorbed all other interests, was appeased. But in the early stage of the Bill, before it went into Committee, it was to this point that the Liberal party, and Mr. Gladstone in particular, directed all their attacks, and selected it as the issue to be tried between the Government and themselves. On the 5th of April, an important meeting of that party was held at Mr. Gladstone's residence in Carlton Gardens. No less than 259 members of the House of Commons attended on this occasion; and, though there was some slight difference of opinion as to the precise form of proceeding, there appeared to be a very general feeling of accord as to the necessity of united action and of confidence in their leader. Mr. Gladstone addressed the meeting at some length, dwelling especially upon the ratepaying conditions by which the proposed household franchise would be fettered, the injustice of making the compound householder forfeit his vote because he paid his rates indirectly through his landlord, and the illusory result which the measure would have, since, while professing to dispense the franchise largely with one hand, it took away the boon wholesale with the other. The arrangement which Mr. Gladstone had himself suggested at an early stage of the Bill in the House of Commons was, that the right of voting and the liability to the payment of rates in the case of householders should be co-extensive—that is, that a certain point of value should be fixed, below which there should be neither rate payable nor vote conferred—but that above this point every householder, whether paying his rate through his own hand or the hand of his landlord, should be entitled to the franchise. This view of the subject, which had appeared when first enunciated, to meet with some approval in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone proposed to the meeting should be embodied in an Amendment, upon which the Liberal party should unite their votes, and come to a trial of strength with the Government. The Amendment, he suggested, should be moved by Mr. Coleridge, one of the members for Exeter, and should be in these terms:—“That it be an instruction to the Committee that they have power to alter the law of rating; and to provide that in every Parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given rateable value be relieved from liability to personal rating, with a view to fix a line for the borough franchise, at and above which all occupiers shall be entered on the rate-book, and shall have equal facilities for the enjoyment of such franchise as a residential occupation franchise.”

Some criticisms were offered at the meeting upon the terms of this Amendment; but the proposals to alter it met with little or no support; and the importance of united action being warmly urged upon those present by Mr. Bright, Mr. Ayrton, and other

influential persons, the meeting finally adopted Mr. Gladstone's proposition without any symptom of division or misgiving; and the requisite notice was given in the House of Commons by Mr. Coleridge for the 8th of April. Before that day arrived, however, unexpected difficulties arose. Dissension broke out in the Liberal camp. A meeting of members of the party who were dissatisfied with the course resolved upon was held in the Tea-room of the House of Commons, at which it was resolved that the proposed Amendment should not have their support; and a deputation waited on Mr. Gladstone to communicate to him this result. The consequence was inevitable. All hope of carrying the Amendment with such a division in the Liberal ranks was seen to be at an end, and there remained no alternative but to withdraw the motion. On the meeting of the House, questions were addressed to Mr. Coleridge, which he answered by stating that he should ask leave of the House to withdraw the latter part of his Amendment, retaining only so much as referred to the power of altering the law of rating, and reserving the right to renew the subject of his motion in the Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately declared his acquiescence in conferring the proposed power on the Committee, and that part of the instruction was adopted.

This first break-down of the Opposition party was justly regarded as symptomatic of the disunion which would render their efforts to dictate the terms of the Bill unavailing; and it contributed not a little to give strength and confidence to the Ministers. Mr. B. Osborne gave vent to the disappointment which the failure of the motion excited, in some caustic criticisms on the situation and the sudden collapse caused by the precipitate retreat of forty-eight Liberal members at the mention of a dissolution. The House, he insisted, had never had an opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill; and it was being cajoled and bamboozled into passing a measure which one side disliked and the other distrusted, which was founded on false pretensions, and was in reality a measure of restriction. Quoting from former speeches of Mr. Disraeli, Sir S. Northcote, and other members of the Government, he showed that different portions of the Bill had been at one time or other described by them as "revolutionary recommendations," "degradation of the franchise," and the like; and he created great laughter by likening the Government tactics to the unsportsmanlike practice of "cross-fishing," by which both sides of the stream were swept, and fish attracted from all sides by the display of different coloured baits. Passing to the Bill itself, he condemned unreservedly the principle of personal rating on which it was based, maintaining that it would facilitate the creation of faggot votes, and give preponderance to wealth; and by the light of a confidential circular of the Conservative agents, which he read, to the great amusement of the House, he inferred that Mr. Disraeli's sudden determination to stand by personal rating was due to the

discovery that Lord Grosvenor's 5*l.* rating would not be so favourable to the Conservative party. He warned the "runaways" that Mr. Disraeli would use them for his own purposes in Committee, and would then throw them over; and, after expressing his regret that Mr. Gladstone had not tested the party by a division, he declared, with great warmth, that he would prefer to be left in a miserable minority, rather than be a party to passing a measure which would not settle the question, merely to avoid meeting his constituents.

Sir S. Northcote denied that he or his party had departed from their declarations of last year. The ratepaying franchise was not a substitution for the rental franchise; it was a supplement to it, and for that reason it was impossible to put the ratepayers on exactly the same footing as the ten-pounders. It was founded on the principle of selection, and was not intended to be open to every body, but only to those who showed their fitness for it by taking the trouble to obtain it. The Government, when they determined to deal with Reform, knew that they were exposing themselves to taunts; but that would not deter them, so long as they were conscious they had not deserted a principle. To a mere lowering of the rental franchise he was strongly opposed; but in the Bill as it stood there was nothing of which Conservatives need be ashamed. From personal rating it was impossible for the Government to swerve; and if Mr. Coleridge's instruction had been carried, they could not have accepted it without disgrace.

Mr. Lowe reiterated his warning of a previous evening, that personal rating could not be a lasting barrier. The classes to whom the option of getting the franchise was to be given would soon demand it, and compel it as a right. He scouted, as unsound and unsafe, Mr. Disraeli's principle that every man should have the franchise who showed himself desirous of obtaining it, and predicted nothing but failure and disgrace from the course the House was about to enter upon—going into Committee without guide or compass, with no leaders in whom either party could put entire confidence, and with a complete dislocation of all party ties. The conduct of the Conservative leaders in outbidding the Liberals for Democratic support was a total reversal of their professions last year, when their objection to Mr. Gladstone's Bill, not only in public, but in private communications, was, not that it did not go low enough, but that it was a hazardous experiment; and their tergiversation would meet with the contempt of all honest men and the execration of posterity.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill; and the first trial of strength took place upon an Amendment, which was moved by Mr. Gladstone, upon the clause prescribing the new borough franchise, with the object of making the direct and personal payment of rates by the householder not essential to the franchise. With this view, he proposed to insert in the qualifying clause the words—"Whether he in person, or his landlord, be rated to the

relief of the poor." Upon this Amendment a debate arose, which was continued for two nights. Mr. Gladstone urged his Amendment upon the Committee with great force and subtlety of argument. He said their first object was to pass a Reform Bill; and their second, to pass it this year, and without a change in the Government. He was not prepared to sacrifice the first object to the second. The Bill opposed great barriers to enfranchisement. The rates of two-thirds of the houses under the value of 10*l.* in boroughs were compounded for; and, as the occupiers of these houses would practically remain disfranchised, the Bill would do little towards enfranchising the working class in towns. It was no answer to say that by paying the rates the occupier might get the vote; for, besides the expenditure of money, there would be the expenditure of time to take the necessary steps. Besides, the effect would be different in different towns, and in some cases in different parts of the same town: and it was absurd to suppose that by such a Bill they could settle the question. If they passed the Bill in the form in which it stood, an agitation would commence as soon as its true character was seen, which would never cease till the last vestige of such legislation was swept away.

Sir W. Heathcote said, in his parliamentary experience he had never felt himself in a more unsatisfactory position. He thought they ought to deal with this question this year. He did not desire to hold out in one hand what he appeared to give, and take it away with the other. He did not think they should make concessions, and accompany them with irritating conditions which were charged with the seeds of their own destruction. He looked upon the Bill with terror, because it was at once niggardly and lavish, timid and rash.

Mr. Hibbert said the Amendment put him and many other members in a great difficulty. It very much endangered the Bill. He did not wish the Government to recede from personal rating, but he suggested that they should admit the compound householder on payment of the compound rate. The Bill of the Government was on a larger basis than Mr. Gladstone's proposition, accompanied, as it was to be, by a limit of a 5*l.* value.

Colonel Barttelot said the Conservatives would give up every thing but personal rating and residence. Compounding was an unjust system, and ought to be abolished.

Mr. Coleridge said the Liberal members supported this Amendment with no desire to change the Government; but because they were bound, if they could, to get what they believed to be a liberal measure, and to refuse to accept what they did not believe to be liberal. With the Amendments of Mr. Gladstone the measure might be made satisfactory. If they excluded the compounders, the number enfranchised would be ludicrously small. If they took away the limitations of personal rating and residence, they came to household suffrage, of which he had no apprehension. The Bill, with its restrictions, did not afford the elements of a

settlement of the question, and he looked with alarm to the effect of passing it with these restrictions.

Mr. Henley complained of the indefiniteness and incompleteness of the issue before the House, illustrating his complaint by the different motives assigned by Sir W. Heathcote and Mr. Coleridge for supporting the Amendment—the first treating it as part of a scheme for drawing a line at 5*l.*, the other supporting it as getting rid of an important restriction in the Government Bill,—and inferred that the Amendment had been framed with a view chiefly to catch votes. He could understand Sir William Heathcote, who did not want Reform, arguing for a hard and fast line, but he could not understand why it should be supported by those who were for household suffrage pure and simple, nor why those who asserted that the people were anxious for the suffrage should be the first to predict that these compounders would not come in unless their rates were paid for them. He pointed out to the Liberals that the 5*l.* line would disfranchise the great mass of the compounders, who made so formidable an appearance in the returns, and that the drawing of it would be as much at the discretion of the local authorities as the adoption of the Small Tenements' Act, describing this Act as "a device of Old Nick" for extracting rates from the poorest classes through the medium of rent; and he heartily wished it swept away, though it might entail a little more trouble in collecting rates. He gave a strenuous support to the test proposed by the Bill, as fairer and more honest than the mere payment of rent, as opening the door to every one who chose to enter, and thoroughly intelligible to the people at large.

Lord Cranborne said if the Bill of last year had passed, the prospects of the British constitution would have been brighter than they were now. They had now before them a Bill of a more democratic character. He should not argue now, as he did last year, on the danger of disturbing the balance of political power in particular classes. The only reason for a Reform Bill was that it would quell agitation. If this Bill passed, they would transfer the agitation to the parishes against the Small Tenements' Act. The operation of the Bill would be, that in quiet times these compounders would not be on the register, but in times of excitement they would be placed on the register by rich men or rich associations. For these reasons he should support the Amendments, taking them as a whole. He did not say he would have supported them last year, but they were pitted against a measure which would have the disadvantages of democracy, and which gave a colour to corruption.

Mr. Roebuck compared the rival plans of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, and expressed his preference for the first, because it drew no invidious line between the two classes, and extended to all classes of householders the same privileges as to the ten-pounders. But Mr Gladstone's plan was restrictive, and its true character was shown by the enthusiastic support it had received

from Lord Cranborne and his friends. Discussing the arguments against the Bill, he asked why the compound householder, on being put on the register, should pay a smaller rate than the man directly rated, and insisted that personal payment did not mean payment *propria manu*, but simply that he was held liable; and in conclusion he made some sarcastic reflections on the motives of the Opposition, remarking that, as he had never been in office, he could not share in the bitter feelings caused by a temporary exclusion; and having no object in view but the good of the country, he was not ready to jump from one side of the House to the other on any pretence, however slight.

Mr. B. Hope supported Mr. Gladstone's Amendment, and said that, although he was a Tory or Conservative, he had never consented to fall down and worship the golden image set up in the desert of Arabia, and he had been long enough a free lance not to mind much what might happen in the future. But, sink or swim, dissolution or no dissolution, whether he was in the next Parliament or not, he should with whole heart and conscience vote against the "Asian mystery."

Mr. W. E. Forster was now and had been in favour of household suffrage. But this was not a measure of household suffrage. He objected to the Bill, because it put the new compounder in a worse position than the old, because it would give a great advantage to the monied class, and because the restrictions, which could not last, would lead to a continual agitation. He looked on the threatened dissolution with great equanimity. It was to be deprecated on account of convulsions abroad and financial disturbance at home, but as a Radical Reformer he should not regret it.

Mr. G. Hardy said that Mr. Gladstone's plan—to strike out rating from the qualifications for the franchise—was contrary to the whole current of recent legislation and to all the elements of national representation, and he expressed his extreme astonishment that it should be supported by Lord Cranborne and his friends, who thought there were not sufficient restrictions in the Bill. In fixing on rating as a qualification, the Government, he argued, had acted in accordance with all former precedents and constitutional analogies, while all attempts to extend the franchise by drawing the line at a lower figure of occupation had failed; and he maintained that the line fixed by Mr. Gladstone would give as large a scope for corrupt dealings, would lead to as many inequalities and as much dissatisfaction. He contradicted Mr. Gladstone's assertion that compounders were as truly ratepayers as those who pay personally, illustrating it by the circumstances of several metropolitan parishes; showed that the compounders now took little or no part in local affairs, that Lord Grey's Committee had reported against their interference; and he asked the House whether it wished that men who could not pay their own rates should be placed on the register? The principle

of the Bill, he pointed out, was that of self-selection as opposed to a fixed line—that every man should be admitted to the electoral body who chose to take hold of the handle and open the door for himself; and, on the “fine” objection, he insisted that as all these men paid weekly rents, they would very quickly readjust their rents with their landlords when they began to pay their rates themselves; and that it would cost the working man less time, trouble, and expense to get on the register than to pass a day at one of the great Reform demonstrations. Replying to some of Mr. Gladstone’s arguments, he insisted that much injustice was done by compounding over 10% ; that vestries would neither have the power nor the temptation to manipulate the constituencies; and he contrasted with much force the language used by Mr. Gladstone last year about the lodger franchise with the importance he attached to it now. Reverting to the course taken by Lord Cranborne, he urged that it would have been more straightforward had the opponents confessed that they used the Amendment as a weapon to destroy the Bill (for that must be its effect), since they could not have acquiesced in it as part of a scheme which was opposed to all their previous professions; and he declared that he should feel degraded by taking their advice to accept the Amendment. The Bill was submitted by the Government with an honest desire to settle the question, and he commended it to the fair consideration of the House on its merits, without any of those threats which had been so much talked of, but had never been used in the House, repudiating with scorn those imputations of sordid motives which had been insinuated in rather unparliamentary language.

Mr. Bright said the object of the Amendment was, that every person who had the borough franchise should be put on the same footing. At the present moment the law required the occupier to be on the rate-book, and the landlord’s payment was, for the purposes of enfranchisement, the tenant’s payment. Why, for the purposes of disfranchisement, alter the law? In Birmingham the Bill would enfranchise 2300 persons and exclude 36,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1859 said he knew there were tricks by which it was easy to appear to extend the suffrage and yet not give it, and that he had them all in his pigeon-holes. After examining them, the right hon. gentleman had found and produced this as the cleverest scheme, and by it he had caught many professed Liberals. He did not think it a statesmanlike policy to take a measure partly because it was bad. He did not think the House was in favour of household franchise, and he did not think it for the advantage of the most dependent of the population that they should be subject to the excitement of elections. In his own Bill he had proposed a 3% or 4% rental. He would not quarrel about a pound, but he believed the franchise might be settled on that basis. He wished they could settle this matter without party feeling and without a division, that it should be

settled by the wisdom of statesmanship, and that it should be grappled with by that generosity which ought to characterize every great statesman of this country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Amendment was in reality a counter-proposition. It was a party attack, and must be met as a party attack. He was at a loss to know what concessions had been made on the other side. He had not proposed a lodger franchise, because to propose one that would be satisfactory was a most difficult thing to do. If a satisfactory proposition for a lodger franchise could be made, he should be very glad to accept it. And so, with regard to the voting-papers, he wished to consult the House. He wished to distinguish between the House and Mr. Gladstone; because there was an understanding between the House and the Government that this question should be settled by mutual concession after discussion; but he could not shut his eyes to the object of this Amendment, and must oppose it to the utmost of his power.

Mr. Gladstone said he held his position as leader of the Opposition by the free choice of the members of the Opposition; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would accept no proposition from him, he could not understand how he would consult the House. He thought that the late Government, who left office in June last, when the majority of the House wished them to remain in it, were not amenable to the charge now made against them, that they wished to turn out the Government. Referring to the arguments, on the rating question, he urged, that if it were right to compound, the occupier should not be deprived of his franchise because he lived in a compound house; and if it were wrong to compound, let them alter the law. The principle which he asked the House to adopt was one of permanent application, and was one which never could be wrong. It was, that those whom Parliament admitted to the franchise should be admitted on equal terms. No Bill laying down the principle of personal rating could be satisfactory; and, limit or no limit to the suffrage, his objection was the same.

A division was then taken, when the numbers were:

For the Amendment	289
Against it	310
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Majority for the Government	21

This result was hailed with prolonged cheering from the Ministerial side, and the House immediately adjourned for the Easter recess until the 29th of April.

The result of the division upon Mr. Gladstone's Amendment, considered in reference to the numerical state of parties in the House, clearly showed that the Ministerial side had been reinforced on that occasion, by the support of several members from the Opposition Benches; in other words, that the entire Liberal party were not acting in accord under their ostensible leader. This state of things naturally induced considerable doubt and anxiety as to the

future action of the party, and the prospect of carrying any other Amendments in the Reform Bill; and, with a view to clear up the uncertainty which prevailed, Mr. Crawford, one of the Members for the City of London, addressed the following letter to Mr. Gladstone:—

“20, Eaton-square, S.W., April 17th, 1867.

“Dear Mr. Gladstone,—I find that many members of the House, who supported you on Friday evening, are anxious, like myself, to know what course you propose to take with regard to the remaining Amendments to the Reform Bill standing in your name.

“It would be very useful, I am sure, if you could let me have a line from you on the subject before you leave town for the recess.

“Believe me, yours very faithfully,

“R. W. CRAWFORD.

“The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.”

The answer was in these terms:—

“Hawarden, Chester, April 18th, 1867.

“My dear Mr. Crawford,—I thank you for giving me an opportunity which enables me to make known to you, and to others, the course I propose to take with regard to the Amendments on the Reform Bill as yet standing in my name on the notice-paper of the House of Commons.

“I need not state what must be in the minds of all, the nature of the Amendment which the House rejected on Friday, the 12th, by twenty-one voices, or the composition of the body of Noes by which it was so rejected.

“The country can hardly fail now to be aware, that those gentlemen of Liberal opinions whose convictions allow them to act unitedly upon this question, are not a majority, but a minority of the existing House of Commons; and that they have not the power they were supposed to possess, of limiting or directing the action of the Administration, or of shaping the provisions of the Reform Bill. Still, having regard to the support which my proposal with respect to personal rating received from so large a number of Liberal members, I am not less willing than heretofore, to remain at the service of the party to which they belong; and when any suitable occasion shall arise, if it shall be their wish, I shall be prepared again to attempt concerted action upon this or any other subject for the public good.

“But until then, desirous to avoid misleading the country and our friends, I feel that prudence requires me to withdraw from my attempts to assume the initiative in amending a measure which cannot, perhaps, be effectually amended except by a reversal, either formal or virtual, of the vote of Friday, the 12th; for such attempts, if made by me, would, I believe, at the present critical moment, not be the most likely means of advancing their own purpose.

"Accordingly, I shall not proceed with the Amendments now on the paper in my name, nor give notice of other Amendments such as I had contemplated; but I shall gladly accompany others in voting against any attempt, from whatever quarter, to limit yet further the scanty modicum of enfranchisement proposed by the Government, or in improving, where it may be practicable, the provisions of the Bill.

"I remain, my dear Mr. Crawford,

"Most faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"R. W. Crawford, Esq., M.P."

The expressions used by Mr. Gladstone in this letter occasioned some uncertainty as to the intentions of the right hon. gentleman with respect to the future. Some interpreted his letter to indicate an intention of throwing up altogether the post of leader of the Liberal party; others, more correctly, as it afterwards appeared, understood him to mean only that he should personally desist from any further attempt to alter the basis of the borough franchise as prescribed by the Bill, and sanctioned by the recent decision of the House.

During the Easter recess, some large and important public meetings were held, both in the metropolis and the principal provincial towns, with reference to the proposed measure of Reform. The object insisted on at most of these meetings was that of removing or diminishing some of the restrictions by which the Bill proposed to limit the borough franchise, especially the requirements of personal rating, and of two years' residence, and also to promote the insertion of clauses enabling lodgers to exercise the franchise. At one of the largest of these gatherings, held at Birmingham, and at which it was computed that about 50,000 persons were present, the following were the terms of the Resolution agreed to, and which were similar in effect to those adopted in other towns, viz:—

"That this meeting regards the limitations of the borough franchise in the Government Bill as wholly inconsistent with an honest and sufficient extension of the franchise, and declares its opinion that the measure now before Parliament, inasmuch as it requires the personal payment of rates by every occupier, and a residence of two years, and does not include any clause for the enfranchisement of lodgers, is a virtual denial of the claims of the working classes to their rightful or any real share of political power."

On the 2nd of May, the House resumed its discussions of the Bill in Committee. Previously to entering upon the consideration of the first Amendment on the paper,

Earl Grosvenor, who had given notice of an Amendment to substitute a 5*l.* rating for household suffrage, said that since the late decision, which gave a victory to the Government, he had consulted with other members, and he now believed that it would be

useless to propose that franchise. He justified his vote against Mr. Gladstone's Amendment, on the ground that had it been carried the Government would have been overthrown, and the progress of the Bill stopped. The noble earl then withdrew his Amendment.

Mr. Ayrton moved an Amendment to that part of the clause which required a residence of two years. He moved that "twelve months" be substituted. Practically the provisions of the Bill would require a residence of two years and four months, which was longer than was required under the Municipal Act.

Sir J. Pakington agreed that there was no principle in this provision, but the Government could not adopt the Amendment. They thought they should not open the franchise to every migratory sojourner in a borough. The Municipal Act, which was brought in by a Liberal Government, required a residence of two years and eight months, and the Reform Bill of 1854, brought in by Earl Russell, required a residence of two years and six months. It was said that the provision for the payment of rates gave facilities for corrupt practices, but surely those facilities would be decreased by requiring a residence of two years instead of one. It must be remembered that the Government were making concessions.

Sir R. Palmer asked if this restriction was the price of the concessions the Government were making. He rejoiced that they had given up the hard-and-fast line, but if they gave it up they must give it up altogether. They must make the conditions of the franchise the same for those they were about to admit as for those who were already admitted to it. If two years were a proper time, why not apply it to a 10*l*. householder?

Mr. Bass, who was one of the Liberal members who had voted against Mr. Gladstone's Amendment on the 12th of April, expressed his opinion that unless they required a residence of two years from the ten-pounder it was impossible to require it from voters. He complained of the hard words that had been applied to him by Mr. Bright and others. He thought these hard words ought not to be applied to men who had followed the fortunes of the Liberal party for twenty years. He had not deserted Mr. Gladstone, but had acted on his instructions and advice, for he told them that they must have a Bill this Session. Instead of his having deserted his party, he thought his party had deserted him.

Mr. Bright said the clause requiring two years' residence would apply with great severity and injustice to new voters. The restriction was proposed, not in order to improve the quality of the constituency, but in order to restrict the numbers.

The Solicitor-General defended the two years' residence clause, which was opposed by Mr. Denman. The Committee then divided, when there appeared,—

For Mr. Ayrton's Amendment	287
Against it	197

Majority 81

So decisive a majority placed the Government in the alternative of accepting the Amendment or throwing up the Bill. They decided on the former course. The next evening, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that he regretted the decision which they had come to of reducing the qualification of two years' residence to one. That provision was intended to insure the locality of the voter. He had brought the vote of this House under the consideration of his colleagues, and although they regretted this vote, they did not think it inconsistent with their duty to defer to the opinion of the House.

The next Amendment of importance was one moved by Mr. McCullagh Torrens, with a view to procure the enfranchisement of that important class, the lodgers. He proposed to extend the franchise in boroughs to those lodgers who had occupied for the whole of the preceding twelve months. He said that in London there were two millions and a half of people, who lived in about 300,000 houses, and consequently on an average each house was occupied by two families. There were 233,000 occupiers in the seven constituencies in the metropolis who would be in a condition to claim the franchise, and consequently a large number of male adults who would be excluded unless lodgers were admitted.

After a discussion, in which several members took part, the Chancellor of the Exchequer intimated that if Mr. Torrens would propose the lodger franchise in a distinct shape, it would receive a friendly consideration, with an anxious desire to adopt it.

Ultimately Mr. Torrens withdrew the Clause proposed by him, on the understanding that Government would embody the lodger franchise in their Bill. It was ultimately settled that the occupier of lodgings which would let unfurnished at 10*l.* a year, should be entitled to vote, subject to the condition of twelve months' residence.

The much-vexed question of the "compound householder" now became the subject of long and perplexing discussions. The chief debate arose upon an Amendment moved by Mr. Hibbert, the object of which was to provide that householders under 10*l.* should come in on the same terms as the compound householders at and above that amount, namely, by simply paying the amount of the composition and not the full rate. He admitted that the Bill in its present shape was perfectly satisfactory, so far as it affected his own constituency, Oldham, as well as other boroughs where neither the Small Tenements' Acts nor any local Acts were in operation; but in other places it would still leave 475,000 compound occupiers in an inferior position, both civilly and politically. The hon. member observed that he should be glad if all rate-compounding Acts were swept away.

The House went into Committee, and the discussion on the third clause was resumed, on the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that "a compound occupier claiming to be registered as a voter should be rated as an ordinary occupier."

Mr. J. S. Mill's objections to the Government proposal were, that the landlord's consent to the compound tenant claiming to be personally rated would have to be first obtained, that organizations would be formed in the various boroughs to get this class of occupiers upon the rate-book, and that thereby a perennial registration campaign would be in operation among the small householders, which would cost much money. He hoped that gentlemen who loved household suffrage "not wisely but too well," would be prepared to come down handsomely and assist the registration societies, which hereafter would be regarded as one of the great institutions of the country. Which side would have the best of it when it came to a contest of purses it was not difficult to say. Each party would bring its peculiar influences to bear; and whilst Conservatives appealed to their purses, the Radicals would resort to agitation. Under these circumstances he should vote for the Amendment of Mr. Hibbert.

General Peel avowed that he attached no importance to the personal rating and the personal payment of rates as a security against household suffrage, pure and simple. Securities of this artificial character, introduced as securities, were sure to be swept away. If the effect of them was to keep off any large number of persons who were entitled to a vote they would be swept away on that account; and in the small boroughs, where every vote would be of consequence, not only would the whole of the householders find themselves placed upon the register, but their rates paid for them also.

Mr. Gladstone said the words moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would greatly deteriorate the value of the measure. They would establish an invidious distinction between classes, for although there were tens of thousands of men now on the register who were not personally rated, they were called upon to reverse their previous legislation, and lay down, in a restrictive sense, the new principle that no man was to become an elector unless in virtue of personal rating. On the whole, with respect to what was good for the country, and what was to suit the public mind, he believed it was not possible to invent a proposal savouring more grievously of the worst spirit of class legislation than to take the mass of these householders and put them in such a position that they would have to change the tenure of their occupation in order to obtain admission to the franchise.

Mr. Bright said he viewed with admiration and wonder the change that had come over the mind of the Conservative party on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. As they had advanced so far, what he wanted was that they should go a little further, and accept the Amendment which Mr. Hibbert offered them. If the

proposal of Ministers were adopted it would perpetrate a gross injustice upon the vast majority of the towns of England and Wales; and if ever he gave his support to such a measure he hoped that the hour in which he did so would be the last that he ever stood on the floor of the House of Commons. Commenting on the probable effects of the measure, the hon. member complained, that whilst in Sheffield, where the Small Tenements' Acts were not in force, the Bill would admit 28,000 householders to the franchise, in Birmingham, where these Acts were in operation, not less than 36,000 men, equally intelligent and capable of exercising the right of voting, would be disqualified and excluded from the franchise. He asked them, then, to do in reality what they professed to do, but which the Bill did not do, and make the Bill in this respect equal and just towards all the boroughs in the country. If this were not done, he promised that year after year the extension of the suffrage would continue to be discussed as it had been of late, and in connexion with it other questions would crop up which men had not thought of at present. However the matter might be decided that night, of this he was satisfied, that the subject of the borough franchise had attained a point from which it could not be dislodged, and received an impetus which could not be stayed.

Mr. Roebuck pronounced the statement of Mr. Bright to be a farce, and a part of that stump oratory which any one who went about the country, telling the people that they were unjustly dealt with, would always find people to listen to. He denied that great excitement prevailed out of doors on the subject. On the contrary, the country was sick of it; and the fantastic objections raised to the measure by Mr. Gladstone and his friends were made for purposes which none could fail to understand.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he retained, as strongly as ever, the opinion that the right principle on which the borough franchise should be founded was that of personal payment of rates, accompanied by adequate residence, and that this public right should be conferred only upon those who fulfilled a public duty. It was objected, however, that admission to the franchise was to be accompanied by conditions and restrictions; but he reminded the House that even Mr. Gladstone, who had so eloquently descanted on the grievances of the compound householders, was not prepared to admit them all, and Mr. Bright himself had talked of a "residuum." Adverting to the objection of Mr. Mill, that personal payment of rates would open the door to the establishment of a general system of corruption, the right hon. gentleman pointed out the absurdity of supposing that they would find election agents prepared to pay rates for the new voters, to the extent, it might be, of many thousands a year. Referring, then, to Mr. Hibbert's Amendment, Mr. Disraeli claimed for the Government the credit of having done as much as they could to meet his views, and regretted that the hon. member had found it to be consistent with

his duty to ask the opinion of the House on the question. All he could say for the Government was, that they had no other wish than to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, though not for the sake of retaining power or obtaining reputation, because they were ready at all times to give to the House, in the conduct of this business, that influential position which would show to the country that, if the measure passed, it was the measure of the House of Commons, and not of the Government. He commended it, then, to the consideration of the Committee; and he still hoped that, with their aid, Her Majesty's Ministers might conduct the question to a happy termination.

The division which took place on Mr. Hibbert's Amendment gave a decisive victory to the Government, the numbers being,—

For the Amendment	.	.	.	.	256
Against it	.	.	.	.	322
					<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	.	66

Another proviso was now moved by Mr. Hodgkinson, the object of which was to get rid of the difficulty arising from the compound householder in a very summary way: in fact, by abolishing composition altogether. He moved "that no person other than the occupier shall be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a Parliamentary borough, all Acts to the contrary notwithstanding." He said this proposition was not inconsistent with the principle of the Bill, and might well be accepted by the Government. If Stockport and Sheffield could do without compounding, he did not see why Manchester and Birmingham could not.

Mr. Gladstone said the House had on two occasions, once by a large, and on the other occasion by a considerable majority, determined that the compound householder should not have a vote. He could not acquiesce in these decisions, which established household suffrage indeed, but accompanied by unjust and vexatious restrictions, and to which he believed that the country would not submit; and he should take advantage of every legitimate occasion to induce the House to abolish those restrictions. By this Amendment they were offered an extension of the franchise, at the expense of foregoing an economical advantage which parishes now had in the system of compounding, and he was ready to pay the price for the sake of obtaining a settlement of the question that was now agitating the country. But he should recall his assent, if there was an attempt to put off the question involved in the proviso, by dealing with it in a separate Bill next year. There was now the opportunity—perhaps the last that would offer—of peace and concord in the settlement of the Reform question; but the Government of the country went beyond the walls of that House when, on a vital question of this kind, the people met in thousands

in every part of the country, for the purpose of protesting against the proceedings of Parliament. He therefore hoped the Ministers would accept the Amendment. In consenting to it, he and those who acted with him waived their views for the sake of peace; and if it were not accepted by the Government, he should feel that he had done all that peace required.

Mr. Bass supported the Amendment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said this Amendment would really carry out the principle of the Bill; and in their original scheme the Government introduced a similar provision; but, on consideration, they came to the conclusion that it would so encumber the ship as to imperil the voyage, and they therefore struck it out. He should, therefore, offer no opposition to the proviso. It was exactly one of those questions that the House should decide. But it was a subject which would be best dealt with by separate legislation; and if the Amendment were withdrawn, he would undertake to bring in a Bill to carry out the object of the Amendment. They had had dark allusions to the state of the country, which, it was stated, was in a state of great dissatisfaction. He did not believe in any thing of the kind.

The announcement thus made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer created considerable sensation in the House. Some of the Conservative members viewed the concession with considerable apprehension.

Mr. Sandford asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had he the approval of the Cabinet in his intention to concede household suffrage pure and simple? This was a matter which the supporters of Government had a right to know. The Bill had now become a measure of pure household suffrage.

Mr. Henley replied to him, and insisted that there was no change in the principle of the Bill, which had always offered the franchise to every householder who paid his rates. He recommended the Government to accept the Resolution as the easiest and readiest mode of effecting the object; for in passing a Bill they would be met with the sordid opposition of those interested in maintaining the system of robbing the poor.

Mr. W. E. Forster, speaking on behalf of the advanced Liberals, on the other hand, observed, that there was now a hope of settling the borough franchise in a way that would be satisfactory to the country.

Mr. B. Osborne advised the Liberal members to depend on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he said, was the greatest Radical in the House; and who, he believed, would not only settle the Reform question, but that of the Irish Church, with the aid of members sitting behind him.

Lord Cranborne said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced that evening a change of startling magnitude—a change that involved the certain instead of the doubtful admission, of some 500,000 persons to the franchise. It was an entire

negation of all the principles by which his party had been actuated. A change so important should not be discussed without more time for consideration, and he therefore moved that the Chairman report progress.

This was assented to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, on the next sitting of the Committee, stated that it had been determined by the Government to propose a new clause, with a view to giving effect to Mr. Hodgkinson's Amendment, and abolishing the practice of compounding.

On the question that the clause do stand part of the Bill,

Mr. Lowe said they all now knew that the real principle of the Bill was, that all householders were to have votes except persons excused on the ground of their poverty from the payment of rates. Heretofore the franchise appeared with restrictions, but now the restrictions were swept away. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not shown his supporters his whole plan at once, for they would have been frightened at it; but he told them it was not a democratic measure, and he dandled before them dual voting, and personal payment of rates, and other restrictions. But now these were all removed. The right hon. gentleman had also conceded the lodger franchise, which might be defined to be a franchise to give every body a vote who liked to have one, provided he is not a householder. They were going to transfer power to the most dependent and the most ignorant. He warned the House of the dangers they would incur in doing this. The transfer, once made, would be irrevocable. He asked if the new electors would not elect members pledged to substitute direct for indirect taxation; and when they learned that 26,000,000*l.* a year were paid for the interest on the debt, whether they would not say that it was incurred when they were not represented, and for purposes with which they had no sympathy, and whether they would not refuse to pay it? In passing this Bill, they were going to embark in a sea of corruption; and could any one doubt that this was the beginning of that downward course which would place the House of Commons in the position in which so many legislatures had been placed? Did they think that the House of Peers could co-exist with this state of things, and were they prepared for its abolition? How was that House to face the country, and how was it to face history, when it was recorded of them that the same Parliament that had rejected a Bill for a 7*l.* franchise had passed a Bill for household suffrage? He had before predicted that hon. gentlemen opposite, by passing this Bill, would ruin either their party or their country. He was wrong; they would ruin both.

Mr. Henley said he considered this proposal of the Government the most conservative that could be made. They could not pretend to be dealing with a question that was optional. When they considered how often the question had been mooted in that House, and how much agitation had been going on out of doors, was it

not better to settle the matter than let the pot go on boiling till it boiled over, and brought about even a much worse state of things than Mr. Lowe had pointed out?

Sir R. Knightley complained that the Conservative party had not been fairly dealt with by the Government.

After some further discussion, the clause was added to the Bill, and the question of the definition of the borough franchise was disposed of.

The next Amendment was of rather a singular character; it was moved by Mr. J. S. Mill, the object being to enable women to vote. This discussion assumed a somewhat jocular character; but the proposition was advocated with serious earnestness by Mr. Mill, who said he did not claim the vote for women as an abstract right, but his argument was entirely one of expediency and justice. It was a doctrine of the British Constitution that taxation and representation should co-exist; and many women paid taxes, and therefore should be allowed to vote. There was evidence in our records that women, in a distant period of our history, had voted for counties and some boroughs, and there was no reason why they should not vote now. Women, he submitted, ought no longer to be classed with children, and idiots, and lunatics, who needed to have every thing done for them, but they ought to be treated as being equal in intelligence to, and having rights equally with men; and the disadvantages under which they now laboured with respect to the laws affecting property, and the admission to professions, ought to be removed.

Mr. E. K. Karslake, in opposing the Motion, urged that it would lead to the enfranchisement of married women. But suppose the wife went "gadding about," which she might do at an election, the husband might legally lock her up, and then what became of her vote?

Mr. Laing pointed out that the concession of the franchise would be followed out by the admission of women to be members of the House of Commons. Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Denman, and Sir G. Bowyer, supported the Amendment, which, on a division, was negatived by 196 to 73.

Another Amendment, proposed by Mr. Colville, to reduce the copyhold franchise from 10*l.*, as proposed by the Bill, to 5*l.*, was carried by 201 to 157. This provision of the Bill afterwards underwent alteration in the Lords, as will appear in the sequel.

The question of the occupation franchise in counties next came under discussion. By the original clause of the Bill, it had been proposed to fix it at 15*l.*; Mr. Locke King had, however, given notice of an Amendment, making it 10*l.*; and Sir Edward Dering, by another Amendment, had suggested 12*l.* Mr. King moved, accordingly, that the blank be filled up with 10*l.*, and was supported by Mr. Bright, Mr. Pease, Mr. Pugh, and other members.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Government were willing to accede to the 12*l.* line as a compromise, which would satisfy all moderate men; and he urged the Committee not to throw serious obstacles in the way of the Bill, by rejecting this settlement.

Mr. Gladstone concurred with Mr. Bright, that 10*l.* would be the more permanent line, and intimated that he should vote for it, if it went to a division; but as the difference was hardly worth insisting on, he recommended Mr. King to accept the proffered compromise.

Mr. King, following this advice, withdrew his Amendment; and the figure 12 was inserted in the clause. After some further Amendments had been discussed and rejected, the clause constituting the County Franchise was agreed to. A proviso, moved by Mr. Poulett Scrope, which had reference to the point already so elaborately canvassed, of the rating qualification, gave rise to some general discussion on the changes which, during the progress of the Committee, had been effected in the scope and character of the Bill. Mr. Scrope's proposed addition was in these words:—"That no person, whether owner or occupier of a dwelling-house in a borough, the rateable value of which shall be less than 4*l.*, shall be hereafter rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such dwelling-house." This he urged principally on account of the difficulty of collecting rates from the class of persons who occupied such houses.

The effect of this proviso would have been to limit the borough franchise to the occupiers of houses rated at or above 4*l.*

Mr. Bright said in 1858 and 1859 he addressed a great number of large meetings on this subject, and he then proposed a Reform Bill, and the provisions of that Bill so far as regarded the borough franchise were almost identical with those of the present Bill; but in his Bill he disfranchised those who were excused their rates on the ground of poverty. The proviso now before the House might have been accepted some months ago, but they were now in a different position, and they could not go back. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed the extremest measure of enfranchisement in boroughs that he (Mr. Bright) had ever proposed in public or private, and it would be ungrateful and unhandsome in him if he were to say any thing against it, or withdraw his cordial support from the Bill, which was now giving satisfaction to the country. He did not want to taunt gentlemen opposite with the change they had undergone; it was one of the marvels of our time, but it was one which would be of advantage to them and the country. But if they had conceded the Bill of last year they would have settled the question for twenty years, and when they had been called upon to take the next step, they might have found a population well qualified by education to receive the franchise.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked in what respect he and

the other members of the Government had changed their opinions since last year? (This question was met with a considerable outburst of laughter.) The Government, he said, had not changed their opinions, but they opposed the Bill of last year, which they considered imperfect in its conception and crude in its details; and they had now brought forward a measure which was distinguished by characteristics which the former Bill did not possess. He trusted that the Committee would not adopt this motion, for it would disturb every thing that they had settled as regarded the borough franchise.

Mr. Gladstone regretted that the question of consistency or inconsistency of the Government had been mooted, but he could not confirm by silence what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer and those who supported him were in favour of household suffrage last year, why did not they let the speeches of Mr. Lowe fall dead on the House? And if they opposed the Bill of last year, not because it went too far, but because it did not go far enough, why did they not say so? In 1865 the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was in favour of a lateral and not a downward extension of the franchise; and that although he and the other members of Lord Derby's Government in 1859, to some extent, agreed to an extension of the 10% franchise, his present opinion was opposed to any thing of the kind. The Secretary for India had stated that the Government would never consent to introduce a Bill giving household suffrage. But this was a Bill that satisfied the greatest desires of those who had asked for household suffrage. As to the motion immediately before the House, he agreed with Mr. Bright that there was no sufficient cause for their joining issue with the Government on it at this stage of the question.

Mr. P. Scrope withdrew his Amendment.

The question of the educational and other miscellaneous qualifications, commonly known as "the fancy franchises" next came under consideration. Upon the first of these series of clauses being proposed, much opposition was manifested.

Mr. Bouverie said he did not think that a number of Masters of Arts should be allowed to go about the country holding examinations, about the conditions of which the House knew nothing, and granting certificates which were to confer a vote for life.

Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Acland, and Mr. Goldsmid took an equally adverse view of the clause, which was also emphatically condemned by Mr. Henley; Mr. Fawcett alone supported it.

Sir R. Palmer moved its omission, arguing that it introduced a new principle and a new point of departure—personal instead of local qualification, which was manhood suffrage in embryo, and contained the germ of fresh agitation. Now that the dual vote had been cast aside, the lodger franchise introduced, and the borough franchise based on household suffrage, these fancy franchises were entirely unnecessary. If they were once adopted

they must be extended indefinitely to all professions and many trades.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a few words, agreed to give up the clause.

Sir R. Palmer then moved that another Clause, which conferred the franchise on persons having 50*l.* in the savings' banks or in the public funds, or who paid 20*s.* a year in assessed tax and income tax, be also expunged. The same general reasons, he said, applied as to the last Clause. The giving of the franchise to the holder of 50*l.* in the funds or in savings' banks would establish a principle leading to serious consequences.

This clause was also struck out, after a slight protest from the Chancellor of the Exchequer; as was also the Clause which gave the dual vote; and this completed the first part of the Bill, which related to the franchise. The Committee then proceeded with the enfranchising clauses, respecting which several important modifications of the Ministerial scheme were proposed. But, before entering upon these, a novel principle was brought under discussion by Mr. J. S. Mill, who moved a series of Amendments to enable minorities to elect candidates. This he proposed to do by enacting that those who declined to vote for the candidates of the locality should have the power of bestowing their votes on one who was a candidate for Parliament generally; and if there were found in the whole country a sufficient number who had fixed their choice on the same person he would be elected. The plan, he said, was known as Mr. Hare's plan; and there was not really any difficulty in it. At present the representation was imperfect and insufficient, inasmuch as there was a great minority who were not represented at all. They were as completely blotted out as if they were expressly disfranchised. The apprehended evil of democracy was that particular classes would swamp the others, but under this plan that could not happen, for no considerable minority would remain unrepresented. In that way it would have a conservative effect. It would also have a democratic effect, because every man would be represented, which at present was not the case; for how could an elector be said to be represented by a man against whom he had voted? Without some plan of the kind it was impossible to have a representative system applicable to the exigencies of modern society.

Lord Cranborne said he should not be accused of sympathy with the views of Mr. Mill, but he protested against the indifference with which his speech had been received. With respect to the plan itself, they all knew instinctively that it had no chance of success. Nevertheless, he thought it was one that was worthy of attention. The evil that the hon. member had pointed out was real, but the remedy he proposed was impracticable.

Several practical objections were raised by other members, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while speaking in complimentary terms of Mr. Mill's efforts, and expressing his satisfaction that the

subject had undergone a discussion, recommended the withdrawal of the Amendment, to which course Mr. Mill assented.

Before proceeding to enfranchise new constituencies, the Committee did justice upon certain delinquent boroughs, which had been convicted after full and prolonged inquiry by Commissioners, of gross and wide-spread corruption. These were Reigate, Lancaster, and Great Yarmouth, which, notwithstanding the efforts made to exculpate them or to alleviate their sentence, were condemned by the votes of large majorities to total disfranchisement. It may be observed that no part of the Ministerial Bill obtained more entire and general approbation than this act of just retribution.

An important Motion was now made by Mr. Laing, which had the effect of modifying, to a considerable extent, the original scheme of the latter portion of the Bill. Certain boroughs named in the schedule were designed by the Government to be deprived of one of their members. This proposition Mr. Laing sought to extend further by a series of Amendments embracing an entire new plan for the distribution of seats. In his opinion the scheme of the Government did not go far enough to give a reasonable hope of a permanent settlement. It proposed to go no further than to take the second member from boroughs having a population of less than 7000, and it left uncorrected great anomalies. Take, for instance, Cockermouth. It had a population of 7075, and it was to continue to return two members; being the same share in the national representation as Liverpool, with a population of 442,000. The present Bill made a much smaller proposal than the Bill of last year, or the Bill of 1854. The first proposal which he made was that every borough with a population of 10,000 persons, which now returns two members, shall in future return only one. There were thirty-eight boroughs in that condition, and therefore by this means he should obtain thirty-eight seats. He further proposed the grouping of some of the smaller boroughs, by which he would gain seven seats, and seven seats more by the disfranchisement of the corrupt boroughs already agreed upon, making an entire gain of fifty-two seats. In distributing these seats, he assumed that the demand of Scotland for an addition to its representation, to which it was fairly entitled, was to be met, not by taking away from the representation of England or of Ireland, but by the only other possible alternative, namely, a small addition to the number of members. He further proposed that six towns, with a population of more than 150,000 each, should have their representatives increased from two to three. Next, he proposed that large towns with a population exceeding 50,000, and which had now one member, should have two. Of these towns there were four. Then as to new boroughs, he proposed to adopt the proposal of the Government, giving twelve members to those boroughs, and he also adopted the proposal to give two additional members to the Tower Hamlets; that made a total of twenty-four

seats assigned to cities and boroughs, and one to the London University, making twenty-five; then he applied the same principle to counties that he applied to boroughs, by giving to counties with a population of 150,000, a third member; that would require twenty-six seats, which, added to the twenty-five given to boroughs, made fifty-one, leaving a small margin to be dealt with hereafter.

Many members took part in the discussion, and much diversity of opinion was expressed.

Sir G. Grey said no one could look on the scheme of distribution proposed by this Bill and say it was a settlement of this question. He thought they must necessarily hear of it again next session. Mr. Laing had laid before them a new scheme of redistribution, but the immediate proposition before them was that boroughs with a population of less than 10,000 should return only one member, and he could not hesitate to vote for it. Other reasons for adopting it were, that it would furnish the sources from which additional representation could be given to Scotland and to counties in England. He also thought that the boroughs with a population under 4000, now returning one member, should be dealt with.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he should not argue the case upon anomalies. It was very likely that by sudden changes they might produce anomalies as flagrant as those which now existed. Besides, anomalies would still remain; there would still be towns with a population of a little more than ten thousand returning as many members as another town with a population of half a million. In a question of this kind they must go on some principle, and the principle that had guided the Government was to supply representation to those communities that had sprung up or greatly increased since the Bill of 1832, and which were not represented. But he thought they should not have a mere knot of towns enfranchised in one portion of the kingdom. With the exception of giving one seat to the London University, that was the principle on which the Government had proceeded. It was a practical principle which met the exigencies of the moment, and he advised the Committee to pause before they passed that line. It was easy to disfranchise, but when they came to apply the seats at their disposal they would find themselves in a great difficulty. They were perfectly safe, as long as they confined themselves to giving representation to places that were not represented. If they departed from that, they would have all kinds of proposals. On a former occasion, a distinguished member of the House had brought forward a scheme for the representation of minorities. Another plan was, when a place returned three members, to enable a voter to give three votes to one candidate. He thought that the House, before it sanctioned any of these schemes, should consider whether the business of that House was not to represent the majority, and that all those schemes for the representation of minorities would only tend to form a feeble Executive. It was said that agitation

would follow unless there was a more extensive scheme of redistribution, but where was it to come from? The dissatisfaction now was in the communities that were not represented; but by this Bill their claims would be satisfied.

Mr. Gladstone said the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was based on an assumption which was not well founded; namely, that if they were to have a large system of redistribution, there was no method of assigning these seats, but by having what was called the "unicorn" system of representation. But that was not the general desire. He had that morning been told by a deputation from Birmingham that if that town had three members they would wish that the town should be divided—one portion returning two members, and the other returning one. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government plan was based on the principle of meeting existing wants and necessities; but was that altogether true? He thought that in the redistribution but very few members were given to satisfy the claims of a large population. He did not deny the claims of the county constituencies. On the contrary, one of the objects he had in view in voting for this Amendment was that they might be able to increase the number of members given to counties. In conclusion, he suggested to the Scotch members that it was a more easy way to obtain the increased representation for Scotland which they desired by supporting this Motion than by depending on the House resolving to increase the existing number of 658 members.

It having been observed by some speakers that many Conservative members would be disposed to support the Amendment, if Mr. Laing would give way on the point of grouping, that gentleman stated that he considered this only an accessory matter, and he would not insist upon it. A division then took place on the Amendment, which was carried by 179 against 127. A subsequent motion, however, by Mr. Serjeant Gaselee, to exclude from representation all boroughs having a less population than 5000, met with a different result, being rejected by 269 to 217. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of the discussion, intimated that the effect of adopting Mr. Laing's motion must be that the whole scheme of Redistribution of Seats would have to be reconsidered. He therefore proposed to take some little time to decide what course should be adopted; and intimated that it would probably be necessary for him to propose an increased representation of the Counties.

The Whitsuntide recess having intervened, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 13th of June, stated the propositions which the Government had to make, in consequence of the vote which the Committee came to on Mr. Laing's Resolution. By that Resolution they took away one member from every borough now returning two which has a population not amounting to 10,000; and fifteen members were thereby added to the thirty originally contemplated for reappropriation; and as they had to deal with

forty-five seats, they had thought it better to consider the whole question *de novo*. They proposed that the representation of the metropolis should be increased by four members—two of the additional members to be given to the Tower Hamlets, which would be divided into two boroughs, one of them to be called the borough of Hackney, which would return two members, making four altogether. The other two members would be given to a new metropolitan borough, comprising Chelsea and the parts adjacent. Then they recommended the House to confer one member on each of the following towns: Hartlepool, Darlington, Middlesborough, Burnley, St. Helen's, Barnsley, Dewsbury, Staleybridge, Wednesbury, and Gravesend. These were the towns that were comprised in the former plan. He now proposed to add the towns of Stockton, Keighley, and Luton (with the parts adjacent). He proposed, also, an additional member for the two boroughs of Salford and Merthyr Tydvil. These made nineteen additional borough seats. The Government were still of opinion that the London University should be represented in Parliament; but they recommended the Committee to consider whether it would not be expedient to connect with it the representation of the University of Durham. There remained twenty-five seats, which he proposed should be allotted to counties. He proposed that West Kent, North Lancashire, East Surrey, and South Lancashire should be divided, and have seven additional members amongst them. He then took nine of the most considerable counties in England—Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex—and he proposed that these counties should each be divided into three parts, and that each part should be represented by two members; and the eighteen seats thus allotted would make up the forty-five seats which were placed at their disposal. He believed that these counties contained a population, irrespective of that of the Parliamentary boroughs in them, of something like four millions; and they represented agricultural, manufacturing, and mineral industries to an enormous extent. This plan, he added, had been prepared without any view to party interests. Nevertheless, he was not sanguine enough to hope that it would escape criticism; and what, therefore, he recommended was, that the House should give large but well-defined powers to the Boundary Commissioners, and that they should reserve their criticism until that Commission had dealt with the Schedules, which were necessarily and avowedly of a temporary character, and they had the Boundary Bill before them. He hoped, in a few days, to lay on the table Amendments on the third portion of the Bill, which would define the duties and powers of the Boundary Commissioners, and also well-prepared clauses on registration, which, in consequence of the changes made in the franchises, were necessary.

Mr. Laing agreed that it would be more convenient to postpone the discussion. The plan of the Government was not very

different from his own, except that it did not give, as he proposed, additional representation to six or seven large towns. He should certainly move that additional members be given to those towns.

On the next sitting of the Committee, Mr. Laing adopted the course of which he had thus given notice, and moved an Amendment, giving an additional member, making three members each, to the following towns:—Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield. He said there were three other large cities with a population of more than 150,000—Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin. The Government had already proposed to give a third member to Glasgow; and Dublin, not being in England, could not be dealt with by this Bill; but if this Amendment were carried, Dublin would no doubt be dealt with in the same manner; and the proposition, therefore, involved eight seats. These six cities comprised a population altogether of 1,644,000 persons, while six boroughs which the House had refused to disfranchise contained a population of only 20,728 persons. He had already stated that the precise number of twenty-five seats, which the Government had taken to increase the county representation, was not more than the counties were fairly entitled to; and he therefore did not propose to take these seats from the counties, but he proposed to obtain them by grouping the smaller boroughs.

Mr. Baines seconded the Amendment, which was also supported by Mr. Gladstone. The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed it, stating the reason why the Government proposed to give additional representatives to counties and not to large boroughs, namely, that the population of the counties exceeded the population of the boroughs, and they had proposed to give the counties additional members, in order to create a counterbalance. As he stated last year, out of the 334 members, eighty-four might fairly be considered as indirectly representing the county interest; and if they added them to the 162 county members, they had a total of 246 members representing the county interests, against 250 representing boroughs. What had they done thus far to disturb this arrangement? They had taken away forty-five seats from boroughs; and of those, thirty-four were part of the eighty-four which were considered as representing the landed interest. It was, therefore, but right to give the additional members which he had proposed to the counties.

On a division, Mr. Laing's Amendment was rejected by 247 to 239. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved an addition to the existing clause of the Bill, for the purpose of creating a borough, to be called the borough of Chelsea, consisting of the parishes of Chelsea, Kensington, and Hammersmith, which was carried; the parish of Fulham being also, on the suggestion of Mr. Ayrton, annexed.

On the following day, the Government were defeated by a majority of six, on a proposition made by them to annex the

University of Durham to that of London, for the purpose of electing a member. In the first instance, this Motion was carried on a very close division; but the opponents, who remonstrated with great force against forming a constituency by the junction of two such incongruous elements, succeeded in inducing the House to reverse its vote,—and the University of London was allowed to elect a member for itself.

The next discussion of importance to which the Bill gave rise was upon the Clause authorizing the use of voting-papers in lieu of personal voting at the poll. This proposal led to an animated debate. Mr. McCullagh Torrens moved to expunge the clause, which he thought was open to great objection. In the first place, voting-papers might be mislaid, tampered with, not properly collected, or, if collected, not brought forward. Such papers had failed in the elections of guardians, and a number of frauds and forgeries had been committed. The system was liable to every species of fraud whenever the motive was strong enough; and in support of his argument he quoted passages from a speech of Lord Stanley in 1857, in which that noble lord said he objected to voting-papers, because they would greatly increase the practice of personation, would aggravate the practice of intimidation, and still more increase bribery, by making it safe, because, instead of the briber getting a mere promise, he would get the thing itself.

Viscount Cranborne said the system under this Clause was different from that of voting-papers for guardians. All that this Clause did was to carry the poll into the magistrate's room. By the precautions taken every abuse would be prevented, for the paper must be signed in the presence of a magistrate, and it must be attested by a person personally acquainted with the voter, and the paper, so attested, must be presented at the poll by another elector. He supported the Clause, also, because it would save expense. In counties the great burden of the expense of a contested election was the conveyance of voters to the poll; and as the House had increased the number of voters, the expense would be proportionably increased. At present a great proportion of the voters in large constituencies did not vote, because they objected to mixing in the turmoil of elections; but if they could vote by voting-papers, this objection would be obviated.

Sir R. Palmer, while admitting that there were some reasons in favour of the proposal, thought that the reasons against it greatly preponderated. He knew, from his position as legal adviser to the Oxford University, where the system of voting-papers was in force, that difficulties were continually arising, and great practical difficulties would arise. Then there was no security that the papers, when collected, might not be withheld. This system would open the door to every kind of influence, and would give facilities to personation. Another objection was, that it would very much increase the influence of the wealthier classes, who, by this means, would be enabled to vote in many places.

Mr. H. Berkeley believed that the system of voting-papers, instead of a beneficial, would have a contrary effect. If they passed the Bill with this obnoxious clause in it, at the next election intimidation would be stronger than ever, and bribery more prevalent.

Sir J. Pakington had always felt strongly that elections by voting-papers would be a great improvement, provided only they could be protected from abuse. He believed they would prevent intimidation and reduce bribery.

Mr. Ayrton said the Committee, on whose report the Act for allowing voting-papers to be used in the elections for the Universities was founded, only recommended it in the case of the Universities, because they were exceptional; but they passed a resolution that it ought not to establish a precedent. The class of voters for whom the system of voting-papers was wanted was not five per cent. of the whole; and were they, for so small a class, to subvert their whole electoral system? This system would indefinitely increase the expense of elections, and would be the foundation of a system of manufacturing votes which would pull down the whole of their electoral system.

Mr. Newdegate objected to the proposal, because he regarded the vote as a trust which ought to be exercised openly.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he did not think that this mode of voting was subject to the abuses which had been described by Mr. Torrens, for it was protected by safeguards. He admitted that there was much to be said on both sides; but he believed that the use of voting-papers would greatly reduce the expense of elections, and particularly in counties. The principle was a sound principle, and was first proclaimed in the writings of political philosophers.

Mr. Bright said the Clause would enable non-residents of counties to overrule the honest expression of opinion of the residents; and although it partly sheltered the voter from public opinion, it did not give the advantage of the real secret vote. If it were adopted, it would be met by amazement and consternation in every part of the country.

On a division, there appeared,

For the Amendment	272
Against it	234

Majority against the Clause . . 38

Passing over a number of Amendments and discussions of minor importance, which occupied the Committee almost daily during the latter part of June and beginning of July, we shall briefly notice two or three more questions which came under consideration, and involved material consequences, in a constitutional point of view. The enfranchising clauses of the Bill underwent some

modification, in consequence of a Motion by Mr. Horsfall, one of the members for Liverpool, for giving an additional member to that town, as well as to Manchester and Birmingham. The hon. member founded the claim of these towns on their population, property, and intelligence. Birmingham, he said, had 296,000 inhabitants, and Manchester 357,000. He contrasted the population and the assessed property of the city of London with those of Liverpool, showing that, in both respects, Liverpool was superior; but London had four members, and Liverpool only two.

Mr. Adderley opposed the Motion. It was supported by Mr. Bright and Mr. Baines, who advocated the claim of Leeds also to an additional representative.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated the arguments of Mr. Adderley against the principle of the Motion, but went on to say that all these questions must be dealt with on the principle of compromise, and on that ground the Government would assent to the Motion. But he must say that, considering the honourable rivalry of Lancashire and Yorkshire, Leeds ought to have an additional member, as well as the two chief cities of Lancashire. He added that the new members for these places would have to be obtained by omitting from the schedule some of the proposed new boroughs, and that he should withdraw the proposition to give an additional member to Salford.

General Peel said he voted against the Motion made by Mr. Laing, and it was his intention to vote against this Motion. He did not think that, with such a franchise as they had given, such a scheme of redistribution as was proposed by this Bill could stand. It would not survive the next Parliament. The proceedings in reference to this Bill had taught him three things—first, that nothing had so little vitality as a “vital point;” second, that nothing was so insecure as a “security;” and, third, that nothing was so elastic as the conscience of a Cabinet Minister.

Mr. Roebuck pressed the claim of Sheffield to be placed on a par with the other towns in respect to representation. Mr. Dilwyn put in a similar claim for Swansea. Mr. Berkeley desired to include Bristol. In the result, the Committee adopted the clause giving the privilege of a third member to Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. In consequence of the alteration thus made in the scheme for the redistribution of Seats, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he should now propose to limit the number of new boroughs to nine, and that the boroughs of St. Helen's, Barnsley, Luton, and Keighley should not be enfranchised.

A novel and very important principle was now brought under the consideration of the Committee by Mr. Lowe, which was generally described by the term, “cumulative voting.” The right hon. gentleman moved to add a clause, enacting that at any contested election for a county or borough every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of vacant seats,

and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates, as he thinks fit. The system of majority and minority, he said, worked well where there was only one candidate; but where there were two or more, it had a tendency to make the strong party stronger and the weak party weaker. As a matter of abstract justice, the minority ought to be represented; and as a matter of expediency the House ought to take measures to ensure that it was so. He believed that by these means there would be returned men of a different stamp and character from those who would be returned by the democracy.

Mr. Lefevre opposed the Clause, deeming it inexpedient that minorities should be thus represented; also because the Clause involved the principle of class representation.

Mr. Morrison and Mr. Beach supported the Clause; Sir R. Collier and Mr Adderley opposed it.

Mr. Fawcett, in supporting the Clause, said: "I wish to see communities, as far as possible, represented, and I do not see how they can otherwise be represented. It does not seem to me to be right that in a community, say of 11,000 Liberals and 9000 Conservatives, or *vice versa*, the 11,000 majority should alone have a voice, and that the 9000 should have no voice whatever. Yet that is what obtains under our present system."

Mr. Bright said that Mr. Lowe, who had besought the House to avoid the abyss into which Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had been inviting their party to follow them, was quite consistent in proposing this clause. But it was surprising that Liberal members, especially Mr. Fawcett, who made declarations of democracy from which he (Mr. Bright) would shrink, should support the most violent attack on the principle of representation ever made in that House. He had not, and never had, sympathy with the disposition to adopt new-fangled propositions. He had always invited the House to march along the "ancient paths." Mr. Lowe had told them of the terrific state of things approaching, and said this Clause afforded the only chance of arresting the impending ruin. But if a man should extract a snowball from an avalanche, would that avert the impending danger of destruction? If the fears regarding this Bill had any foundation, this proposition would be insignificant and utterly worthless. In constituencies returning two members each the majority would return one and the minority the other. You might as well put into an Act of Parliament that, in all boroughs returning two members to Parliament, the Liberals should send one member and the Tories the other. Then the House would be divided into equal portions, and they would always have to call upon Mr. Speaker to decide what the House intended to do. The minority could be excluded only if the whole country were one constituency, returning the 658 members upon one "ticket." But that is not the case any where. In this country the minority in one constituency is represented through the majority in another constituency. The scheme proposed would, in the City of London,

supposing it to return four members, and to have 20,000 electors, of whom 12,000 were Liberals and 8000 Tories, work thus—the Liberals would have 48,000 votes to distribute amongst four candidates; and if the Tories, finding they could only carry one, put up only one, he would get 32,000 votes, and thus be a long way at the head of the poll. Such a system is like a donkey-race, where the last is destined to win. If, in the same constituency, the Liberals put up three candidates, they could only give each 16,000 votes; and if the Tories put up two, they could give each of them 16,000. Such a proposition was somewhat inconsistent from a man like the member for Calne, who had a horror of every thing revolutionary. He wished to guard against sudden changes of opinion in constituencies. There was no danger of such changes. The right hon. gentleman himself had been one of the most potent influences in producing the present great change in the country, but that change might yet prove to be a great advantage to the country, and of signal advantage to hon. gentlemen opposite, as they would live to know. Such propositions were made by those who, like the member for Calne, were alarmed at all change, and supported by those who, like the member for Brighton, wanted to go to some unknown length. The scheme would not be worth a straw as regards the object it was proposed to secure, but it would destroy all that is living and energetic in the constituencies, and would be fatal to the principle of representation.

Lord Cranborne said the monarchical principle was dead, the aristocratical principle doomed to death, and the democratic principle was triumphant. He warned the House not to be deceived by the glamour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The smaller boroughs would, in a future Parliament, be disfranchised, and the seats would go to the larger constituencies. This clause would enable the minority in those larger constituencies to be adequately heard in the House of Commons, and though small in its immediate effect, it was great in its ultimate bearings. They only asked that, when they were giving absolute political power to a class which had never yet had it, the other classes should not be utterly effaced, but should have at least the power of pleading their cause in the face of those who would be their masters.

Mr. J. S. Mill said it appeared to him that all persons should have power in that House in proportion to the power that they exercised out of the House. The other principle on which he supported the Clause was, that he wished the majority to govern. But if they eliminated the minority out of the House, and then they eliminated the minority in the House, the minority out of the House and the minority in the House might be greater than the majority out of the House. What they wanted to be represented was intelligence. If a member represented a constituency, two-thirds of which were Liberals and one-third Conservatives, it was a falsehood for him to say that he represented the whole intelligence of the borough. He was anxious that it should not get

abroad that this was a Conservative proposition. The reason why it was said to be in favour of the Conservatives was, that it was really in favour of those who would be the weakest.

Mr. Henley said this Clause would apply to only twelve constituencies, and what was gained by the boroughs would probably be lost in the counties.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said nothing could offer a greater contrast than the largeness of the principle involved in this Clause and the smallness of its application. He denied that monarchy was dead, that aristocracy was doomed, or that democracy was triumphant. Aristocracy could not be doomed while it produced such men as the noble lord (Cranborne), and democracy could not be said to be triumphant because the Bill gave household suffrage. There were only four millions and a half of inhabited houses in England, and less than a moiety of the occupiers of these would be qualified. In the boroughs there were only 1,500,000 houses, and probably household suffrage would not enfranchise more than 300,000, or at the utmost 350,000 persons. But the Bill of last year would have enfranchised 200,000 persons, and the Bills of former years from 100,000 to 150,000. And who was it they were going to enfranchise? They were Englishmen, who had been born and lived under the law and manners and customs of the country. He objected to these bugbears being made the foundation for new legislation, which was to change the character of the constitution of this country.

Sir George Grey approved of the plan of giving to every voter two, but not three, cumulative votes.

Mr. Lowe replied, and on a division the numbers stood thus :

For the Clause	.	.	.	.	.	173
Against it	.	.	.	.	.	314
						<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	.	.	141

The Clause was therefore lost.

The Committee having at length gone through all the Clauses of the Bill, the Schedules which specified the boroughs and counties which were to be affected either by increase or decrease of members, or were to receive the boon of enfranchisement, were next submitted to discussion.

A great number of propositions were made for the alteration of this part of the scheme in favour of particular localities; but, after more or less debate, the Amendments were successively negatived, and the scheme of the Government, subject to such modifications as the House had resolved to make, and of which an account has already been given, was passed by the Committee. Before the close of the discussion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid before the House the names of the noblemen and gentlemen proposed to be inserted in a Clause of the Bill as "Boundary Commissioners,"

to whom it would be referred to determine, subject to the ultimate approval of Parliament, the boundaries of boroughs. The list which was first submitted to the Committee was subjected to some criticism, and personal comments were made upon the names of individuals composing it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his anxiety to make an impartial selection, and to be guided by the judgment of the House; and he afterwards brought in a revised list, consisting of five persons, whose names being considered acceptable, were inserted in the Bill; viz., Viscount Eversley, Sir John Duckworth, Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London; Sir Francis Crossley, and Mr. John Walter.

The Bill, which went into Committee on the 2nd of May, finally emerged from it in its amended shape on the 9th of July; when, amidst considerable cheering, the Preamble, which is always considered last, was agreed to, and the Bill was ordered to be reported to the House.

The consideration of the Report gave occasion to the discussion of a variety of fresh Amendments, the proposition of which, however, led to no result. One point of importance, however, was determined at this stage. A clause was inserted which specified a number of offices of profit under the Crown, which a member already holding another such office was enabled to take without vacating his seat by such acceptance. By this alteration in the existing law a serious inconvenience was obviated, arising from the necessity of a member who is merely transferred from one seat in the Government to another, having to go back to his constituents for re-election. An excess of constitutional jealousy had imposed this obligation, which had, however, led to much inconvenience in practice, and which the present measure afforded a good occasion to dispense with.

The Motion to read the Reform Bill a third time was made on the 15th of July, and afforded a last opportunity for reviewing the work which the House had done, and forecasting the consequences of a measure which was probably destined to affect, in an important degree, the institutions and future policy of the nation. But the debate which now took place, and which engaged the House of Commons for eight hours, partook much more of a retrospective character than of the exercise of a prescient sagacity as to the consequences of the legislation which had been thus far accomplished. The House was occupied much more with the character of the Ministry than with the character of the Bill. The speeches turned on the effect of the conduct of the Administration upon the confidence and organization of parties, and scarcely at all on the anticipated effects of reduced franchises and enlarged representation. Viscount Cranborne, the most prominent of the seceders from the Cabinet, commenced the debate, and descanted in terms of great severity on the conduct of those who were responsible for the existing shape of the Bill, which he said had been so enormously changed that it was in no sense the same Bill

which the Government had originally introduced. When it passed the second reading it bristled with securities and precautions, but these had now wholly disappeared. He was astonished to hear the passing of this Bill described as a Conservative triumph, and it was right that its real parentage should be established. This Bill had been modified at the dictation of Mr. Gladstone; who demanded, first, the lodger franchise—that had been given; secondly, the abolition of distinctions between compounders and non-compounders had been conceded; as likewise had been, thirdly, a provision to prevent traffic in votes; fourthly, the omission of the taxing franchise; fifthly, the omission of the dual vote; sixthly, the enlargement of the distribution of seats, which had been enlarged by fifty per cent.; seventhly, the reduction of the county franchise; eighthly, the omission of voting-papers; ninthly and tenthly, the omission of the educational and savings' banks franchises. If the omission of these clauses and the adoption of the principles of Mr. Bright be a triumph, then the Conservative party, in the whole history of its previous annals, had won no triumph so signal as this. The Conservative party had been almost involuntarily led to support the change by the mystery and reticence of their leaders. The battle against Reform had been conducted by Lord Derby since 1852, but none of his followers could suppose that he had in contemplation the sweeping changes now proposed. Could they have penetrated this mystery, they never would have given the Chancellor of the Exchequer the majority which had enabled him to oust the late Government on the 18th of June, 1866. He feared the effect of the change about to be made would be to lower the character of public men, and to transfer authority to political adventurers. He protested against the political morality on which the manœuvres of the year had been based, and he deplored that the great gift, if gift it were, about to be conferred upon the people, had been purchased by a political betrayal which had no parallel in our annals, and which had struck at the roots of that Parliamentary confidence upon which alone the strength of our representative system was maintained.

Mr. Lowe criticised the measure and its authors in not more indulgent terms. He said the House was now closing an era of prosperity and confidence, in order to enter upon a new epoch of change and revolution. The Bill was founded on the principle of equality, and on the presumption that all men were equally entitled to the franchise. He protested against this dangerous innovation. Now, however, that the House had declared in its favour, all he could do was to express a hope that the people would be educated up to the standard to which they were to be raised. For his own part, he would have endeavoured to prevail upon his master to learn his letters before giving him so much power. But as matters now stood, all he could do was to urge upon the House the necessity of turning its early attention to the education of the people, in order to avert the consequences of a

measure which every honest and educated Englishman regarded with shame, scorn, and indignation.

Mr. Bright said the preceding speakers had alleged that the Conservative party had advanced to a point that he (Mr. Bright) thought dangerous, and beyond the point to which he had gone. But they knew that he had always maintained that household suffrage was the best permanent foundation for the franchise. But in practically dealing with the subject he had been ready to accept propositions falling short of his own views; and although he would have accepted a more limited measure, he was not sorry that the House had agreed to this Bill, his own conviction being that it was safe in the end to grant household suffrage.

Lord Elcho, speaking for the Moderate Liberals—the party of the “Cave” who opposed Mr. Gladstone’s Bill—avowed that even at this last stage he did not regret what had occurred last year, as it had led, as he had predicted it would, to a settlement of Reform. The question set before them at the commencement of the Session was, ‘Should the Bill be improved or the Government turned out?’ and he rejoiced that events had taken their present course, as he held it to be much safer to go down at once to household suffrage than to admit merely a portion of the working classes; and as for the securities with which it had originally been accompanied, it was Mr. Gladstone who had struck them out. After contrasting, much to Mr. Gladstone’s disadvantage, the management of the question by the late and the present Government, and commenting on the strictures of Mr. Bright and others on the conduct of the “Adullamites,” he stated that he accepted the Bill as a satisfactory settlement, and expressed a hope that its result would conduce to the stability and prosperity of the country.

Mr. Osborne declared himself surprised at the sudden conversion of the noble lord who spoke last, and who, although willing enough to accept the Bill, was very unlikely to honour it when due. The real author of the Bill was not the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the hon. member for Birmingham. In 1858, the latter brought in a Bill, the principle of which was rating and household suffrage. This principle had been seized by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who played the part of a gipsy in the matter. He had stolen the child, and disfigured it, in order to make it pass for his own. But immense credit attached to him for the tact and temper he had shown in the conduct of the measure. The conversion wrought by him in the obtuse and obstinate party which sat behind him was without a precedent since the days of St. Augustine, for he had effected a perfect change in the opinions of the most aristocratic Cabinet which had ever governed since that of Pelham, which contained eight dukes, five earls, and only one commoner. Having taunted the principal members of the Government with flagrant tergiversation, Mr. Osborne admitted that, having gone so far, the House had no alternative but to go on, and pass the Bill. He hoped that the

ory in future would be, not "Register, register," but "Educate, educate," for it would be dangerous, in the last degree, to Americanize our institutions without, at the same time, raising our standard of education up to that of America.

Lord E. Cecil said that, like some members of the late Conservative party, he disapproved of the Bill from the first; but the moment had arrived when every independent Conservative must speak out, or for ever hold his tongue. He agreed with the right hon. member for Calne, that the measure would perpetuate bribery, give greater influence to wealth, and lead to manhood suffrage and electoral districts.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer commenced by replying to what he termed the two violent and abusive speeches by which the debate had been opened; and asserted, in defending the consistency of the Government, that so far back as 1852—speaking for Lord Derby's Cabinet—he had stated that if the question of Reform were reopened, the defect of the Act of 1832—that it did not give a due share of representation to the working classes—would have to be remedied; and, in tracing the history of Reform, he mentioned that in 1859 it was proposed in Lord Derby's Cabinet to base the borough franchise on household suffrage; and though the idea was rejected, because it was felt that the country would not accept such a settlement, the Cabinet was of opinion that if the borough franchise were disturbed, there was no resting-place short of rated household suffrage. The Government had never agreed with the views of those who advocated the admission of a certain portion of the working classes to serve as a sort of Prætorian guard to the middle classes; but they were of opinion that there was a better chance of arriving at the patriotic and national feelings of the country by largely increasing the body to be admitted. Justifying the manner in which the Government had handled the question, having to deal with it in the face of a hostile majority, he maintained that, though the Resolutions had at first been derided, the House had finally accepted the policy on which they were based, and had acted on it; and, answering Lord Cranborne, he denied that the securities in the original Bill had been "obsequiously" yielded to Mr. Gladstone's "imperious" dictation, showing that some were given up to the unanimous wish of the House, and more to the wishes of the Conservative party, which, he asserted, had been frequently in advance of the Government; and as out of twenty-six divisions in Committee Mr. Gladstone had voted in eighteen against the Government, his dictation, though imperious, had not been successful. He denied, too, that the Bill had been altogether altered in its vital conditions; on the contrary, as it now stood it was in accordance with the general principles which the Government had always maintained, and he congratulated the House on its having passed, with a greater absence of party feeling and party management than had been known in any measure of similar importance, and

with an amount of co-operation and assistance for which he tendered his thanks. Lord Cranborne's prognostications he respected, knowing that they were sincere; but Mr. Lowe's vaticinations he treated in a different spirit; and to the epithet "infamous," as applied to the conduct of the Government, he retorted by referring to Mr. Lowe's course in 1859 and 1860, when, having in one year been a chief manager in the intrigue which overthrew Lord Derby's Government, on the ground of refusing an extension of the suffrage, he next year, when in office, invited the aid of the Opposition to throw out the Reform Bill which Lord Palmerston's Government then brought in. Mr. Disraeli concluded by expressing his thorough disbelief in the gloomy predictions of Mr. Lowe and Lord Cranborne. England was safe, he said, in the race of men who inhabit her, in her accumulated experience, in the traditions of a thousand years, and in the glorious future which awaits her.

The Speaker then put the question, "That this Bill be read a third time." There was a loud and general cry of "Aye;" and only one solitary voice uttered "No." Whereupon the further question, "That the Bill do pass," was declared, amidst considerable cheering, to be carried.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings in regard to the Reform Bill continued.—Meeting of Conservative Peers summoned by Lord Derby in Downing-street—Results of the Discussion—The Second Reading is moved by the Prime Minister on July 22nd, and is debated with much vigour and earnestness for two nights—An Amendment is moved by Earl Grey, deprecating the inefficiency and shortcomings of the Bill—Speeches of the Earls of Carnarvon and Shaftesbury, the Duke of Rutland, Earls Russell and Granville, Lord Houghton, the Duke of Argyll, and other Peers—Earl Grey's Amendment is not pressed, and the Second Reading passes *nem. con.*—The Bill is Committed—Prolonged Discussions on various Amendments—Those moved by Lord Halifax, Earl Grey, and Lord Lyveden, for widening and extending the Scheme of Redistribution of Seats, are rejected after debate by considerable Majorities—Lord Cairns carries a motion to increase the Qualification of the Lodger Franchise from 10*l.* to 15*l.*; also a Clause to promote the Representation of Minorities in certain Boroughs by Cumulative Voting—The Marquis of Salisbury proposes a system of taking the Votes of Electors by means of Voting-papers, which is supported by the Government and carried—Amendments for increasing the Copyhold Qualification, and for altering the Law as to a Dissolution of Parliament on a Demise of the Crown, are inserted in the Bill—Further alterations on consideration of Report of Committee—At the instance of Lord Derby, and with consent of Lord Cairns, the augmentation of the Lodger Franchise is abandoned—The Bill is read a Third Time—Remarkable Expressions used by Lord Derby in characterizing the Measure—Consideration of the Lords' Amendments by the House of Commons—Principal Points at issue between the two Houses—Lord Cairns's Clause for Cumulative Voting is adopted by a considerable Majority after a full Discussion—The Voting-paper Clauses are warmly opposed, and rejected by a decisive Division—The Commons' standard for the Copyhold Franchise is restored—Other Amendments are negatived, and the Bill is returned to the Lords—The Earl of Derby recommends their Lordships to assent to the conclusions of the other House

—After some discussion the Motion is agreed to, the Bill is passed, and receives the Royal Assent on the 15th of August—*Singular History of the Bill, and Remarkable Changes undergone by it since its Introduction. The Reform Bills of Ireland and Scotland.*—Postponement of the former Measure to another year in consequence of the unsettled state of Ireland—Statement of Mr. Disraeli on this subject—Acquiescence of the House in the Proposal—The Scottish Bill is brought in and its Provisions undergo some discussion—It is read a Second Time, and then withdrawn with a view to re-introduction in the next Session.

In accordance with that course of proceeding which was so generally adopted during this Session, the Prime Minister, a few days previously to the second reading in the House of Lords, of the Bill for improving the Representation of the People, summoned the members of that House whom he regarded as the supporters of his Administration, to a meeting at his official residence in Downing-street. About 100 peers of Conservative politics attended in obedience to this summons.

The Earl of Derby received them, and thanked them for their attendance. He said that it was highly desirable that the Reform Bill, which had been carefully considered by the House of Commons, and which had given much anxiety to Her Majesty's Government during its progress in the Lower House, should be passed as speedily as possible through the House of Lords, and that it should be subjected to as few alterations as possible, the discussion of which would necessarily prolong the Session to an inconvenient period. He said he was not yet aware of the precise nature of all the Amendments which were to be proposed; but to some of those which were to be placed on the paper he should give his decided opposition. Some of the Amendments which he understood were to be proposed would entirely invalidate the Bill, and open the path for a renewed discussion of the whole subject in another Session of Parliament. The Bill, as it at present stood, would, he trusted, prove a satisfactory settlement of the question for a long time to come.

A long discussion ensued, in the course of which a strong impression seemed to prevail that the lodger franchise, as settled by the House of Commons Bill, should be adhered to in its integrity; but that at some future time there might be some better plan adopted for the redistribution of seats.

Their lordships separated with the full understanding that every effort should be made to carry through the Bill as speedily, and with as few alterations, as possible.

On the 22nd of July, the discussion of the Bill commenced in the House of Peers, and was conducted with that gravity and ability which usually marks the debates of the Upper House, when a worthy occasion calls into exercise the deliberative powers of that assembly. Lord Derby, in moving the Second Reading of the measure which had been sent up from the House of Commons, said, that if on this occasion he had to move a Bill which was to cause so great a revolution as that caused by the Bill of 1832, he should feel some trepidation. At that time such towns as Man-

chester and Birmingham were unrepresented, and rotten boroughs were rife. He did not think that under this Bill they would have a House of Commons representing the people more faithfully than the present House; but the effect of this Bill would be to cause the people to feel and to appreciate that fact. During the last fifteen years, several Reform Bills had been proposed; and in the last Session a Bill was prematurely introduced in a new Parliament, and in a dictatorial manner. If the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had known how to consult the feelings and prejudices of the House of Commons, he would have passed that measure. He (Lord Derby) had on two previous occasions endeavoured to carry on the Government with a minority in the House of Commons, and had failed; and when undertaking the office of Prime Minister for the third time, he determined that he would not again be a mere stop-gap till it suited the convenience of the Liberals to take office again, but that he would endeavour to settle this question which had agitated the public mind for so long a period. And in order to effect this object, the Government determined to take the House of Commons into their confidence. They first proposed a series of Resolutions; but the House of Commons would not accept them; and they then determined to bring in a Bill; and considering there was no other stand-point below the 10*l.* line, they based the borough franchise on the occupation of a house, conditionally on the payment of rates. They were desirous of accompanying this with other qualifications, such as the payment of a certain amount of taxes, and the possession of a certain amount in the savings' banks; but of these the House of Commons disapproved. They proposed certain other restrictions; but these were also disapproved of. The franchise, however, was limited to the occupiers of dwellings, and did not, as did the Reform Act of 1832, include the occupants of warehouses, shops, or buildings. The present borough constituency comprised 452,000 persons; by the Bill it was estimated that about 387,000 occupiers of houses below 10*l.* in value would be added to the constituencies; but of these, three-fifths resided in thirty-seven large boroughs. He then referred to the lodger franchise, and said he did not for a moment question that many lodgers were of high social position; and he approved of the franchise under the restrictions imposed by the Bill. He then passed to the county franchise, and stated that the 12*l.* occupation franchise would add about 171,000 to the constituency. Next, passing on to the question of the redistribution of seats, he said the principle they (the Ministers) went upon was not wholly to disfranchise any borough, but to take the second member from boroughs with a population under 7000. The House of Commons went further. It took the second member from boroughs with a population under 10,000; and these with seven seats taken from four boroughs where bribery had prevailed, gave them forty-five seats for disposal. Of these, twenty-five were given to counties, fifteen to new boroughs, four to four large boroughs, which will in future each

return three members, and the remaining member to the London University. The Amendment about to be proposed by Earl Grey seemed useless for any practical purpose, and was simply calculated to stigmatize a measure which had been passed in the House of Commons without a single dissentient vote; a measure which he (Lord Derby) considered to be at once large and Conservative, and one which would settle the question of Reform for a long time, and prevent agitation.

Lord Grey moved as an Amendment:—"That the Representation of the People Bill does not appear to this House to be calculated, in its present shape, to effect a permanent settlement of this important question, or to promote the future good government of the country; but the House, recognizing the urgent necessity for the passing of a Bill to amend the existing system of representation, will not refuse to give a second reading to that which has been brought to it from the House of Commons, in the hope that in its future stages it may be found possible to correct some of its faults, and to render it better fitted to accomplish the proper objects of such a measure." The noble lord justified his proposition by the peculiar circumstances of the period, and by the admitted fact that a majority of the House of Commons really disapproved the Bill to which they had formally assented. He conceded the difficulty of finding any safe resting-place short of household suffrage, if the 10*l*. limit of the borough franchise was abolished; but insisted that such abolition was inexpedient, as under its operation the best portion of the working classes already enjoyed the franchise, and their numbers were continually increasing. He strongly objected to the abolition of the compound house-rating, which would have ruinous effects in many parishes, as it would be impossible to collect rates from the tenants of small houses, and an additional burden would thus be cast upon a class of persons but little richer. He argued that the Bill, if passed in its present shape, would cause so much discontent that agitation would be revived; and it would, consequently, fail to fulfil its object as a settlement of the question. He condemned the lowering of the borough franchise, as transferring the electoral power to unknown, and, he feared, not the most trustworthy hands, as giving greater influence to the managers of Trades' Unions, and as certain to increase the expenses of Parliamentary elections.

Lord Ravensworth objected to the Amendment, one part of which he considered inconsistent with the other. He gave his adhesion to the Bill as a settlement of the question, though he feared it would tend to increase the expense of elections, and lead to more bribery.

Lord Morley regretted that the Bill of last year had not been accepted. He saw nothing Conservative in the present measure, unless it were that the lower class of voters which it admitted, being less intelligent, would probably be more Conservative.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe considered that a necessity for such

a Bill as this arose from the natural progress of society. Any changes in the details might be made in Committee; but he objected to the Amendment as ill-timed, and calculated to lead to conflict with the other House.

The Duke of Rutland expressed in unequivocal terms his aversion to the Bill, believing that it had been introduced at a wrong time, and by the wrong persons. All the securities originally proposed, save one, had been given up; and the remaining one would, he feared, speedily disappear, if the Bill were passed in its present shape. Although he could not support Lord Grey's Amendment, he hoped that the Bill would be returned to the Commons in an amended form.

The Earl of Carnarvon remarked that the Bill of the late Government was opposed on the grounds of imperfect information and its tendency to swamp the existing constituencies; but he contended that the Bill now proposed was based upon no fuller knowledge, and would admit a still larger proportion of new voters. The result of the lowering of the franchise to the extent now suggested must be to disfranchise the representatives of wealth and education by the influence of mere numbers, a result which he regarded as of extreme gravity. Although he admitted that the working classes were entitled to a distinct representation, yet a paramount influence of that one class, which he believed this Bill would create, was a vital change, and in times of strong excitement might lead to consequences which did not seem to have been contemplated by the Government. Referring to the county franchise, Lord Carnarvon argued, that the effect of the reduced franchise would be in urban and manufacturing counties to place the representation in the hands of the voters in unrepresented towns. He attributed the present position to the party uses to which the Reform question had been put. Strongly dissenting from the statement that household suffrage had been the secret faith of the Conservative Cabinet, he commented severely upon the rapid change of opinion in the leaders of the Government, which, he said, had destroyed the foundations of political truth. He, however, recommended that the Amendment should not be pressed, as there would be a fitting opportunity for improving the Bill in Committee.

Earl Granville said that Lord Derby had given a history of the Reform question; but in his history there were dates, quotations, and statements which had no foundation, and the object of his Government seemed to be to injure his political adversaries. Some one had said that he did not care who made the laws of a country if he made the songs. That would not be said now; but there were, nevertheless, at these times jokes flying about the town which were attributed to various persons. It was said that a few weeks ago one of the Conservative friends of the noble Earl complained to him of the extremely revolutionary character of the measure he was passing through Parliament, and it was stated that the noble lord gave no defence, but merely said, "Don't you see how we have

dished the Whigs?" It seemed that this was the spirit which, in many important instances, had guided the policy of the Government. He should have been glad if what had been called the residuum had been excluded; but he did not participate in the fears which had been expressed, and, so far as regarded the franchise, he gave the Bill his support. But with regard to the redistribution scheme, which was almost universally condemned, he asked Government if they thought it would last three years; and he put it to them, whether it would not have been better to have offered a more extensive measure now? If they would agree to a redistribution scheme which would be calculated to meet the just demands of the country, the peers on the Opposition side of the House would support them.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, in a speech of considerable weight, expressed his dissatisfaction with the Bill, and his apprehensions as to its effect on the institutions of the country. He admitted that he looked on Reform as inevitable, but it should have gone step by step, and the franchise should be bestowed as a reward to honesty and industry. He believed that Mr. Gladstone's Bill of last year would have been accepted with satisfaction by the people. He did not think this would be. Mr. Gladstone's Bill would have been gradual in its effects. This Bill dragged them to the edge of the Tarpeian rock, and threw them over like criminals. Ministers said they had come to household suffrage because they were sure of coming to it at last. There could be no doubt of that; but why were they to jump out of the window when they could walk out of the door? He held that household suffrage was no resting-place whatever. The introduction of the lodger franchise affirmed the principle that the franchise was a right rather than a trust. It contemplated the voter simply as a man, and not as a man connected with his duties as a citizen. Then he believed there would be an agitation to reduce the lodger qualification from 4s. a week to 2s. 6d., and that brought them almost to universal suffrage. He believed that a House of Commons elected by the preponderating class would be dangerous to the old institutions of the country, and that it would act prejudicially to the Established Church. That House might resist some violent and unjust measure, but would soon be told that the people were to govern, and not a set of hereditary peers. He did not think that their lordships would be put out of their existence by a violent act, but they would be made to disappear with the elegant softness of a dissolving view. Beyond these there were questions of social importance which would be pressed—questions as to the relations of capital and labour, and the accumulation of property in private hands. As to the redistribution scheme, he was satisfied it must be re-opened. All this tended to a Republic. Every thing in the present day was gigantic. They had gigantic ships, gigantic companies, and he was afraid they would have a gigantic downfall. In the meanwhile, let them indulge their imaginations, and picture to themselves the

rising out of this wreck of British institutions the glorious phoenix of Conservative democracy.

The Lord Chancellor, after criticising the terms of Lord Grey's Resolution, which he could not believe would be pressed to a division, proceeded to defend the Bill, which he maintained had been well considered, and was satisfactory to the majority of the nation. Not accepting the dark forebodings of Lord Shaftesbury, he denied that household suffrage, guarded as it was in this Bill, must necessarily lead to universal suffrage; and insisted that the intelligible basis that had been adopted was more likely to be retained than a mere arbitrary limit of 6*l.* or 7*l.*

The Duke of Argyll did not adopt the gloomy anticipations of Lord Shaftesbury, but he considered that the Bill was calculated to effect great changes. He refused credit to the Government for any merit in connexion with the measure; as their share had been, not concession, but complete surrender of all their former positions. The portion of the Bill relating to the borough franchise he declared to be substantially identical with that propounded by Mr. Bright in 1858, which was then denounced by the members of the present Government as democratic in the extreme. The Resolution of Lord Grey he declined to support, believing that the Bill should be carried; and, in a review of the debates upon the Bill of 1866, he attributed to Mr. Lowe, and others who acted with him, the defeat of that measure; observing that for that Parliamentary sin they were now punished by this Conservative measure, which went far beyond the plan they had so strenuously opposed. The Duke, however, did not share in their apprehensions of the consequences of a large extension of the franchise, believing that these would not be realized, any more than were the sinister prophecies uttered upon the passing of the Act of 1832; but he strongly objected to the insincere manner in which this subject had been dealt with by the Government.

The Duke of Richmond vindicated the consistency of the Government in proposing a measure of Reform, denying that any party had an exclusive right to deal with a subject which affected the whole nation. He regretted the bitterness of Lord Carnarvon's speech, and repudiated the unworthy motives attributed to the Government, replying to the charge of unduly pressing on the Bill by referring to the thirty divisions upon various points that had been taken in the other House as evidence of the attention it had received; and he quoted Lord Russell's authority for household and lodger suffrage, adding that he had no doubt the fears that had been expressed by some peers would be found to be unjustified by the event.

Lord Houghton, though he felt satisfaction at the passing of a measure for the proposed object, regretted, for the sake of public morality, that it should be passed, as in the instance of Roman Catholic Relief and Corn Law Repeal, by the party who had, up to the last moment, been the zealous opponents of the measure.

The Earl of Harrowby feared that the practical effect of the Bill would be, that the boroughs in which the lower class of voters preponderated would become the ruling power in the country. He declared his intention of voting for the Amendment.

Lord Cairns, in a speech of much ability, defended the measure on its own merits, regarding the qualified household suffrage as a safe and proper arrangement, it being impossible to expect that any mere figure of rating or rental would remain undisturbed. Residence, rating, and prepayment of rates, he considered, made the proposal in the Bill the best that could be devised, and he could not perceive that any injury would accrue from the abolition of compound rating. The lodger franchise, he thought, was also a judicious arrangement; and he replied to Lord Carnarvon's objections by citing Mr. Lowe's advocacy of that franchise as an obstacle to a demand for universal suffrage, but intimating a personal desire that the line of qualification should be varied in large or small towns. He approved the proposed reduced county franchise; and said no better plan than that in the Bill for a redistribution of seats had been suggested, although he was disposed to favour Lord Russell's idea of allowing each elector for constituencies returning three members to vote only for two candidates. The Resolution now proposed, he regarded as mischievous and impossible of acceptance by the Government. Replying at length to Lord Carnarvon's criticism of the Bill, he contended that the possible dangers arising from household suffrage had been greatly exaggerated, that the so-called checks or safeguards would have been useless, and that this Bill was a Conservative measure, because it would strengthen and maintain the institutions of the country.

Lord Russell said he had been ready to support any measure which should enfranchise skilled artisans, and he had also been prepared to accede to any scheme which should promise a settlement of the Reform question for a considerable period of time. But the Bill now proposed, it appeared to him, would fail to achieve those objects, and it would also encourage the election of ignorant, but wealthy, persons by means of corrupt expenditure. The Redistribution scheme was so defective that it could not be accepted as lasting. A money figure of qualification, which was called a "hard and fast" line in respect of borough householders, was yet adopted in respect of lodgers and for county voters. He could not, therefore, see why some fixed basis of that kind might not have been taken for householders. While he did not share the apprehensions of some as to the effects of household suffrage, he did anticipate an increase of bribery and corruption at elections under such a system. The plan of Redistribution was faulty, because it did not give to the counties that increased representation to which they were entitled, and by means of which any innovating tide from the new borough constituencies could be repelled. After expressing an opinion in favour of limiting the

electors in constituencies returning three members to two votes, Lord Russell gave an explanation of the circumstances attending the introduction of the Franchise Bill of last year, which, he said, was done by the advice of Mr. Brand, whose opinion was endorsed by Mr. Bright; but that, contrary to the views of the last-named gentleman, the Government had intended to have introduced a Redistribution Bill in the same Parliament. Although entertaining strong doubts in respect of the present Bill, he thought the House ought not to support the present Amendment.

Lord Derby, observing that the Amendment appeared to be quite unsupported, expressed his satisfaction with the debate, as, although many objections had been raised against the Bill, the objectors had taken various and mutually destructive grounds, from which he argued that the plan proposed in the Bill was a reasonable and safe proposal. With respect to the Redistribution scheme, although objections had been made, no alternative plan had been suggested, and it was well that the decision of the House of Commons upon that point should not be upset at this period of the Session.

Earl Grey declined to press his Amendment, seeing it had not received the support he anticipated, and the Bill was read a second time *nem. con.*

The committal of the Bill was moved on the 29th of July, when, unfortunately, the absence of the Prime Minister from the discussion was necessitated by severe indisposition. In his absence the Earl of Malmesbury undertook the conduct of the Bill. Previously to going into Committee, an Amendment was moved by Viscount Halifax, which was in these terms:—"That for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the question of the Redistribution of Seats, the proposed scheme is inadequate; and that it is expedient to provide the means of giving more representatives to large and important constituencies than are given by this Bill." He said the Bill only proposed that one member should be taken from boroughs with a population under 10,000 returning two members; but there were ten boroughs each returning one member with a population under 5000, and with an aggregate population of only 38,000. Strongly opposed as he was to electoral districts, he denounced this scheme as full of inequalities and anomalies. He considered that they ought to abolish some of the small boroughs. He did not think it was desirable to lay down any limit; but that the case of each borough should be considered on its own merits, and its representation transferred to whatever place was more worthy of it. As to the increase of the Scotch representation, he should prefer that the seats should be taken from small English constituencies, and given to places in Scotland that were more worthy, rather than that the number of members of the House of Commons should be increased. He also suggested that it was desirable to give three members to the largest counties and divisions of counties, rather than to divide

them into three constituencies. The claims of the metropolis stood on a different footing; and the Government had given it a fair proportion of the seats at its disposal. If the scheme were enlarged, as he hoped it would be, it might be desirable to further acknowledge the claims of the metropolis.

The Earl of Malmesbury said it was hardly to be expected that this Bill should be complete, for it was a measure of compromise, and it was only possible to pass it as a compromise. The House of Commons had occupied five months in passing it; and it was only passed then after repeated discussion of every possible point, and the exercise of the highest diplomacy and conciliation on the part of the leaders of parties. It was, therefore, hardly becoming for their lordships at the eleventh hour to interfere with a scheme that was the result of so much time and labour, and which was so peculiarly the province of the House of Commons. If they adopted this Amendment, it would, when carried out in its details, really amount to another Reform Bill; and could they expect the House of Commons to go through all their labours again at this late period of the Session? The only result would be to defeat the Bill for this year, and throw the question again into chaos and confusion. He had been accused by a late colleague of having been an "organized hypocrite" on the subject of household suffrage; but that noble lord (the Earl of Carnarvon) would, doubtless, remember that, long before they became colleagues, he (Lord Malmesbury) had expressly told him in conversation that there was no resting-place but household suffrage, and that it was the only hope of passing a Reform Bill.

The Earl of Carnarvon declined to enter into matters which had passed in private conversation. He repudiated the doctrine which had been put forth, that the redistribution of seats was a matter to be dealt with by the House of Commons only. He stated his objections to the proposed redistribution, and that he would be prepared to vote for Earl Grey's Resolution to deprive of double representation boroughs with less than 12,000 inhabitants.

Earl Russell remarked that it was impossible not to feel that, within a few years, there would be an agitation for a great change in the redistribution of seats; and it was in their power now to prevent it. If the Government induced the House to reject this Amendment, they must take the responsibility of the agitation which would undoubtedly be raised in a very short time.

The Amendment was advocated by the Duke of Cleveland, Earls Fortescue, Harrowby, and De Grey, and Lords Taunton and Stratford de Redcliffe.

The Duke of Buckingham opposed it as unfair. It was intended to enlist all the opposition against the Bill without committing those who voted for it to any scheme of their own. The Government were bound, after all their professions, to accept the decision of the House of Commons, and support it to the best of

their power; but they had not the least desire to prevent their lordships from considering and amending the Bill. All they objected to was, the rejection of the Bill in this peremptory manner before they had the opportunity of even considering it in Committee.

Upon a division, Lord Halifax's Amendment was lost by 100 to 59 votes. The House then went into Committee. Upon the Clause conferring the lodger franchise, an Amendment, moved by Lord Romney, increasing the term of occupancy required, was negatived without a division.

A more important question was raised on this Clause by Lord Cairns, who proposed an alteration, which would admit as voters the occupants of sets of chambers and of rooms in Halls and Colleges. This was generally supported by the members of the Government, and strongly opposed for various reasons by Lord Grey, Lord Westbury, Lord Abingdon, and Lord Granville. Eventually, on a division, the numbers were—

For the Amendment	124
Against it	76
	<hr/>
Majority	48

An Amendment was then proposed by Lord Cairns, to raise the qualification of the lodger franchise from 10*l.* to 15*l.* Lord Malmesbury intimated the willingness of the Government to accept this Amendment, which was also warmly supported by Lord Hardwick and by the Duke of Rutland. Earl Granville earnestly objected to the proposal, and warned the House that if this Amendment should be carried, all hopes of a settlement of the Reform question this year would be scattered to the winds. The Duke of Argyll also forcibly urged the impolicy of the course proposed, and the inconsistent position taken by the Government. If Liberal peers proposed liberalizing Amendments, they were met by the objection that in altering the Bill they were breaking a compact with the House of Commons; but when a Tory Amendment, limiting the franchise which the other House had agreed to, was put forward, it was adopted without a word of explanation. Such a course on this question would be regarded by the country as an indication of the reaction which had already set in.

Lord Carnarvon, though not opposed to the Amendment, was not, under all the peculiar circumstances of the present case, prepared to go so far as to vote for it; and Lord Russell thought that by its being carried, and the qualification raised, a fresh opening would be given to an agitation for manhood suffrage, and to get rid of any limit whatever.

After a somewhat warm discussion, in which many peers took part, and Lord Malmesbury vindicated the course taken by the

Government, the House divided, when the Amendment was carried by 121 to 89.

An Amendment, moved by the Earl of Harrowby, to raise the Copyhold franchise from 5*l.* to 10*l.* (the original figure contained in the Bill, but altered in the Commons) was also carried. The case of the Compound Householder, which had been fought over with so much pertinacity in the House of Commons, again underwent an animated, though much briefer, discussion in the Lords. Earl Grey objected to the Clause abolishing composition for rates. He expatiated on the advantages of compounding in certain parishes, and thought it ought not to be prohibited by a Bill introduced for entirely different objects. Earl Russell also regretted the abolition of a practice which was found very convenient, but thought that the clause could not now be struck out of the Bill. The Duke of Argyll called attention to serious difficulties which would arise from the operation of the Clause, illustrating his argument by the state of the rating system in Scotland, especially in Glasgow.

The Lord Chancellor strongly supported the Clause. It merely put the compound householder, paying his full rates, on the same footing as any other ratepayer. The very principle of the Bill was, that the compound householder, who claimed the right of franchise, should prove that he personally paid the rates.

On a division, the Clause was affirmed by a majority of 148 to 43.

The next Amendment of importance was one moved by Lord Cairns, the object of which, like those of Mr. J. S. Mill and Mr. Lowe in the House of Commons, was to provide means whereby, in certain constituencies, minorities might obtain representation. The motion now proposed was that, in constituencies returning three members, the voters should be respectively entitled to vote for two candidates only. There were, Lord Cairns said, eight constituencies of the kind now existing; and if the Bill passed in its present shape, there would be eleven, besides the city of London, which returned four members. He enforced the proposition as the only means of giving representation to the minorities in these constituencies, which, he said, numbered hundreds of thousands of persons. Another advantage of the plan would be, that it would prevent contests.

The Earl of Malmesbury objected to the proposal, because it was new-fangled. Besides, Englishmen had always been accustomed to obey majorities. Another objection to the proposal was, that the Bill gave an additional member to Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Leeds; and these members were given them that they might have more strength in the division-lobbies; but if this proposal were adopted, they would practically be taking away with one hand what they gave with the other.

Earl Russell asked if they were to reject every novelty because it was a novelty? By the present working of our constitution,

the principal members of the Administration must be members of the House of Commons; and he asked if we were likely to find men fit to hold those offices in the members for large manufacturing towns, who were generally engaged in large manufacturing or commercial operations, or the members for counties, who were generally given to agricultural pursuits; therefore it was that small boroughs were useful, because their members were generally men who had leisure to devote themselves to the public service. He thought that, by the adoption of this proposition, they would be more likely to get men of moderate views, who would give the weight of their influence and votes to moderate party action, and in that way the House of Commons would derive great advantage.

The Duke of Marlborough defended the course taken by the Government, and denied that the three-cornered constituency plan had originated with Her Majesty's Ministers, though they had acquiesced in the suggestion when it was put before them. The inevitable effect of the proposed Clause would be to reduce the number of candidates. The whole thing would then be managed by an Election Committee, who would settle among themselves who was to be their member; and if that system once prevailed, Parliament would lose the great influence it now possessed as representing the feelings and opinions of the majority.

Earl Cowper, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Houghton, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Stanhope, and Spencer, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, gave their support to the Motion. On a division, the numbers were—

Contents	.	.	.	.	142
Non-contents	.	.	.	.	51
					<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	.	91

The disfranchisement of the boroughs convicted of corruption was affirmed, after an ineffectual attempt made by Lord Romilly to mitigate the sentence.

The Committee then entered upon the Redistribution Clauses. The first Amendment, moved by Earl Grey, was to substitute 12,000 for 10,000 as the minimum population entitling a borough to two members. The noble earl stated that this Amendment was in no way intended to cripple the Bill, but rather to widen its sphere, and to extend proportionately its real usefulness. It had never been questioned but that a larger and more liberal scheme of Redistribution of Seats was required than that offered under this Bill; and but for the many interests it touched, and the personal influence it affected, a broader one, he believed, would have been brought forward by the Government. It was not too late, however, even now to provide a remedy against the threatened mischief. The small boroughs, if retained,

would, in the present tendencies of the age, and the efforts made by successful speculators and men newly rich to obtain seats in Parliament, become mere nests of corruption and venality. It was not in human nature to expect a different result when privileges so valuable were entrusted to comparatively small communities of poor people. It had been said that some of the worst effects of bribery would be mitigated by the present Bill, but in his opinion, no idea could be more fallacious. The scheme which he ventured to submit was not so much a reduction of Members as by grouping together several of these towns with their outlying districts, and forming them into three-membered constituencies; constituencies which by their number and variety would almost insure their independence. By this plan, if adopted, eleven seats would be gained by grouping, and twelve seats by the disfranchisement of the small boroughs. These twenty-three seats he would divide among the counties and portions of counties having a population of more than 150,000, thus—Middlesex, North Riding, North Durham, West Cornwall, East Kent, North and South Lancashire, and the three divisions of the West Riding of York. To the boroughs of Bristol, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, Westminster, and Southwark he would give an additional member. Their lordships would be throwing away a great opportunity and losing a chance of obtaining additional respect in the country if they failed now to use the power they possessed of equalizing the differences which existed in the Parliamentary representation of different parts of the country. If they did not make an actually permanent settlement of this question, they would at least set it at rest for many years to come.

Lord Derby said he was afraid that the motion of the noble lord would have seriously embarrassed the Government, but he was quite relieved of his apprehension when he found how crude and how incomplete was the proposition submitted—a proposition which, incomplete as it was, was extensive enough to amount almost to a new Reform Bill brought in on the 1st of August. What were the boroughs which it was proposed to disfranchise? Were they falling off either in industry or population; or, on the contrary, were they not thriving and increasing in every way? Why should they go beyond the House of Commons in this matter? It was especially a question for their consideration what number of voters should be entitled to return members to their House, and what boroughs should be disfranchised. The House had fixed the limit at 10,000; why should their lordships be invited to take up this ill-digested plan, which the very proposer admitted he had not proper information to enable him to develope, and for the carrying out of which he offered no method whatever? To upset every thing and to settle nothing, to break through all the maturely considered plans of the House of Commons, and to virtually send them back another Reform Bill at this period of the Session, was a responsibility which he, as the head of Her Majesty's Government, was

not prepared to take; and if this Amendment were carried, it would be his duty at once to consult his colleagues as to the possibility of carrying this Bill through Parliament.

The Duke of Argyll thought their Lordships had much cause to complain of the intimation contained in the concluding remarks of the Earl of Derby, which virtually told them that the mouth of the House of Lords was to be closed upon the great question of the distribution of seats. He hoped, however, that their lordships would preserve their freedom and independence unfettered, and that they would vote for the Amendment if they thought its adoption would improve the Bill. If the question of redistribution was to be dealt with at all it should be dealt with in a complete manner.

Lord Cairns said there were many portions of the redistribution scheme which he did not approve of; but, as the re-opening of the question of redistribution must lead to the abandonment of the Bill for this Session, he should vote against the Amendment.

The Earl of Harrowby supported the Amendment, it being calculated, in his opinion, to secure the free expression of opinion in the great towns.

Earl Russell said he should vote for the Amendment so far as it related to the boroughs that were in future to return one member each, but could not pledge himself to the details of the scheme submitted by Lord Grey for redistributing the seats that would be gained.

Earl Stanhope said that he had come prepared to vote for the Amendment, but Earl Grey's speech had induced him to adopt the opposite course. He thought it hardly fair, after the House had so recently affirmed the principle of the representation of minorities, to endeavour to cut up the country into three-membered constituencies. He would prefer that the Bill should be lost rather than that such a result should arise.

The Earl of Kimberley thought the Amendment offered a much better prospect of a permanent settlement of the question than the plan of the Government. He should therefore vote for the former.

The Lord Chancellor was of opinion that the Government scheme afforded as good a pause and resting-place as they were ever likely to get on this subject. He had not heard a single objection made to their plan as far as their general purpose was concerned. All that had been urged against it was that some of their lordships thought it did not go far enough. He did not and could not see why, if stopping at a limit of 10,000 was not a final settlement, the limit of 12,000 should be considered final. There was no reason offered for stopping at 12,000, or why that number should be considered more satisfactory than that which had been chosen by the House of Commons after careful consideration and mutual compromise. It would be wisdom not to disturb that settlement, but to allow time to show whether the country was not satisfied with what had been done. He objected very

strongly to the Amendment, as it really upset every thing and settled nothing; still more strongly did he object to it on the ground of its uncertainty as to the mode of distributing the seats proposed to be obtained. Lord Grey had no right to force upon the Government the performance of a duty which was a task which properly belonged to himself. If a complete scheme of this kind were brought forward, he, for himself, did not care how much labour it would entail if they could pass it; but it was impossible to class the present crude Amendment in the category of finished plans.

The Earl of Carnarvon stated his reasons for voting for the Amendment. He was in favour of the system of grouping boroughs, which had worked well in England and Wales, and had almost put an end to bribery there. The more important question was how to dispose of the seats so gained. It was proposed to assign them to large and important constituencies, both counties and boroughs, which the plan of the Government left untouched.

Earl Granville supported the Amendment, contending that the arrangement of seats proposed by the Bill could never settle the question.

The Earl of Derby informed the House that should this Amendment be forced upon the Government it would be his duty to ask the Committee to report progress, until he could consult with his colleagues as to the course proper to be pursued by them in regard to the Bill.

Lord Grey said, that to complain of the time at which he brought his Motion forward was most unreasonable, inasmuch as so early as March last he had taken the opportunity of stating his views on Reform, and on that occasion Lord Derby had rebuked him as being premature. After pointing out what he considered the merits of his plan—its completeness and its definite character—he went on to criticise with keen irony the concluding threat, as he termed it, of Lord Derby, which, if it was a threat, he said, was one which would only have influence on those of the smallest political experience. He, however, denied that it was in the power of Lord Derby to take so extreme a step as to drop the Bill, and plunge the country into renewed agitation and excitement, especially when he was sure the decision of the peers would be supported by the public feeling and opinion of the country.

The Committee then divided on Earl Grey's Amendment, which was negatived by 98 votes to 86.

Lord Lyveden then moved an Amendment, with the object of disfranchising all boroughs with a population of less than 5000 inhabitants. After a very short discussion it was rejected by 93 to 37.

The next question discussed was that of the Voting-Papers, which had been rejected by the House of Commons. The Marquis of Salisbury proposed to insert clauses enabling electors to give their votes by this method, the advantages of which he urged strongly upon the Committee, contending that by no other means

would intimidation and violence, which now prevailed at many elections, especially in Ireland, be so effectually counteracted. That whereas in the great constituencies at the present time very little more than half the whole number of registered voters exercised their franchise, they would be enabled to do so by this method with ease and security, while the abuses which had been described as incident to the system might easily be prevented by the adoption of proper checks and safeguards.

The Earl of Derby gave his unqualified adhesion to the proposal. It would enable the aged, the infirm, the sick, and the timid to give their votes without concealment and without disturbance. But if their lordships preferred it, he would acquiesce in its adoption in county constituencies only as a trial. He was not prepared to give an opinion on the machinery to be adopted, but he was glad that the House of Commons would be enabled to again consider the question.

Earl de Grey expressed his surprise at Lord Derby's statement. The whole point of the question lay in the practical working of the system, and he entreated the House not to sanction the principle by their vote, without knowing the details. He was not satisfied with the working of voting-papers in the election of Poor Law Guardians, and he thought the tendency of them would be to increase bribery and intimidation rather than to diminish them.

Lord Cairns, Lord de Ros, Lord Cloncurry, the Duke of Cleveland, and Earl Fortescue supported the Amendment, which was opposed by the Earl of Kimberley and Earl Granville. On a division it was adopted by 114 to 36.

An important Clause was added to the Bill at the instance of Earl Stanhope, enacting that Parliament should not henceforward be dissolved on the demise of the Crown, but should continue until dissolved in the ordinary way. Another Clause, moved by Earl Grey, providing that a member of the House of Commons accepting an office under Government, which does not disqualify for Parliament, should not vacate his seat, was opposed by Lord Derby, who preferred the arrangement already sanctioned by the other House, that change from one office to another should not necessitate re-election; and it was rejected without a division. A few other Amendments of minor importance having been moved and negatived, the Bill was declared to have passed through Committee.

The consideration of the report of the Committee proved to be not so merely formal a stage as it is frequently found to be. A material Amendment which had been adopted on the Motion of Lord Cairns, increasing the lodger franchise from 10*l.* to 15*l.*, appeared, upon further consideration, so unlikely to be accepted by the other House that the Government deemed it prudent to recede from the position, and consent to restore the clause to its former shape. Earl Russell moved to reinstate the standard of 10*l.* value; and Lord Derby, who had been absent

from the Committee when Lord Cairn's Amendment was adopted; expressed his readiness to acquiesce in the restoration of the original Clause. Lord Cairns stated that he was not aware, when he moved his Amendment, that the franchise adopted by the Committee of the Commons was the result of a compromise; but finding such to be the case, he was now quite willing to forego his own proposition. The House finally resolved *nem. con.* to restore the 10% franchise.

Clauses framed for the purpose of carrying out the system of voting-papers, which the Committee had resolved to adopt, were now proposed by the Marquis of Salisbury, and after some opposition were inserted. Other propositions affecting the county franchise and metropolitan constituencies were negatived.

The Third Reading was moved on the 6th of August. The debate which took place on this occasion was short and unimportant. Lord Ravensworth entered his protest against the reversal of the decision of the Committee with respect to the lodger franchise, which he considered had now been fixed too low. He feared that the Bill would give a great preponderance of political power to artisans, who were very much under the control of Trades' Unions. Lord Redesdale expressed his belief that the measure would be final if the leaders of the two great parties refused to countenance any further agitation of the question for party objects.

Earl Russell hoped that, whatever might be the merits or demerits of the measure itself, it would, at least for some time to come, effect a settlement of the question; but he could not conceal his fears that it would lead to a great increase of corruption among the classes who really took no interest in politics. Nevertheless, he had no apprehension that the people would abuse the powers conferred upon them; and, so far as the great body of the people were concerned, he did not think that the institutions of the country were in danger. But with regard to the distribution of seats, he could not agree that the final decision rested, as alleged by Lord Redesdale, with the leaders of parties. It rested rather with public opinion. But though he regretted that the redistribution scheme was not more extensive, he did not believe that it would lead to any serious agitation. He taunted the Government with their sudden change of opinion, and while he admitted that their policy had been successful, said it was quite unprecedented, and he trusted would never be practised again.

The Bill was then read a third time *nem. con.*, after which, on the Motion "that the Bill do pass," the Earl of Derby, on the part of the Government, expressed his thanks to their lordships for the spirit of impartiality and consideration in which they had dealt with the measure. During an experience of forty-five years, he said, he never knew a Bill of so much importance discussed with so little acerbity and party spirit. He then spoke of the experimental character of the Bill; and in so doing let fall an expression

which was afterwards much commented on, and formed the theme of many criticisms in the public press. "No doubt we are making a great experiment *and taking a leap in the dark*, but I have the greatest confidence in the sound sense of my fellow-countrymen, and I entertain a strong hope that the extended franchise which we are now conferring upon them will be the means of placing the institutions of this country on a firmer basis, and that the passing of this measure will tend to increase the loyalty and contentment of a great portion of Her Majesty's subjects."

The Bill was then passed.

Of the three important alterations which the Lords had introduced in its provisions; viz., that of the lodger franchise, the system of voting-papers, and the cumulative vote, the first, as we have seen, had been afterwards rescinded by their own act. The two latter points remained to be settled by a concession on one side or the other. There were also some Amendments of a secondary character, such as those affecting the copyhold franchise and the voting of University graduates for the towns of Oxford and Cambridge, in which the two Houses had adopted adverse conclusions. It was not, however, anticipated that these differences would obstruct the passing of the Bill, which was now regarded as virtually carried.

On the 8th of August, the House of Commons entered upon the consideration of the Amendments introduced by the Lords. In inviting the House to enter upon this discussion in a conciliatory spirit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the members that in the Amendments which the House of Lords had made, they had not challenged any of the principles on which the measure was founded, but had shown a desire to act in harmony with the House of Commons. The three principal Amendments which were made by the Lords were—first, an Amendment raising the copyhold and leasehold qualification for counties from 5*l.* to 10*l.* It was the opinion of the Government that this House should concur in that decision. The second Amendment was the insertion of a new clause, enacting that in constituencies returning three members, no elector should vote for more than two candidates. This was carried by a very large majority of their lordships; and in the opinion of the Government that almost unanimous opinion of the House of Lords should be deferred to, although he did not say that he himself approved of the principle. The third Amendment was to enable electors to vote by means of voting-papers. It could not be denied that if that plan were adopted many persons would record their votes, who under the present system would not do so. Under these circumstances, the Government recommended the House to adopt this Amendment also.

Mr. Gladstone said it was quite right of the right hon. gentleman to describe the course that Government intended to pursue; and for his (Mr. Gladstone's) part he should not have said a word on the right hon. gentleman's speech, except for his earnest appeals to

recognize the conciliatory spirit displayed in these Amendments. It must be observed that all the Amendments made by the House of Lords were of a reactionary character, and therefore the less that was said about their conciliatory character the better.

Sir R. Palmer moved to disagree to an Amendment in the fourth Clause, which would have had the effect of enabling students in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford who occupied chambers to vote for the city of Oxford and the borough of Cambridge. He pointed out the injustice of this to those constituencies, especially considering that the Universities had their own representation.

This Motion, after some discussion, was agreed to.

On the next Amendment, which raised the value of the copyhold and leasehold qualification from 5*l.* to 10*l.*, Mr. Colville, upon whose Motion it had been reduced to 5*l.* in the Commons, moved to restore that figure in the Clause, and carried it by a majority of forty-seven on a division. The next Amendment for consideration was Lord Cairns' Clause for the representation of minorities, the rejection of which was moved by Mr. Bright, who considered it as a restriction of electoral power, and pointed out to those who, like Mr. Mill, supported it more as a mode of representing every body than, like Lord Cranborne, as a corrective of the democratic tendencies of the Bill, that it would create such ill-feeling in the country, as for a long time to prevent the consideration of any comprehensive scheme such as Mr. Hare's. To Mr. Disraeli's single plea for accepting it, he replied that the Commons had originally rejected the idea by a large majority, and insisted that on a point affecting their own constitution the vote of the House of Commons was of more authority than that of the Lords. The scheme had never been asked for by any constituency, it had never been discussed in the country; and the least the House could do was to suspend its decision until the idea had become more familiar. The Clause, he argued, would extinguish the political life of the country; it would nullify the boon conferred on the four great towns, each of which would, for the future, in all divisions on great political questions, be represented by one member. He avowed that, had he suspected the House would sanction this scheme, he would have voted against giving these towns a third member; and, after showing that it would be inapplicable to by-elections, caused either by the death or the appointment to office of some member representing a minority, he concluded by a powerful denunciation of the scheme as utterly inconsistent with constitutional principles.

The Clause was opposed also in an able argument by Mr. Goschen, who said, "Minorities are already over-represented, and this further step would only be mischievous. We are to have nomination minorities in place of nomination boroughs. In trying this experiment, Liberal members are simply proposing to limit the power of the large towns. It is taking a step towards making

members delegates, and not representatives. The Amendment would do two things: it would substitute personal, instead of local, representation; and would make the members more dependent on their constituents, or rather on the election agents. It is a great mistake in members of the Liberal party to support this Amendment till they get a better redistribution of seats."

Mr. Gladstone said this was a great innovation, and unless there were powerful reasons for it, Conservatives ought to unite with him in opposing it. As regards its party operation, he believed it would be in favour of the party he supported, but that was not the consideration that moved him. The importance of the measure was not to be estimated by the limited range of the present proposal. The form in which it was now made was not the last form in which it might come before them. It was said that progress in England was slow, but it was sure, because of the opportunities of repeated discussion; but this proposal was first made nine days ago, and now it was asked to incorporate it into the Constitution. He did not agree in the principle of representation of individuals instead of the representation of communities. The latter had always been the principle of representation in this country. Then the proposal would inflict great injustice on the large towns, and he asked the House not to give to those towns—excited by the sense of wrong—the provocation to commence a new agitation for further changes.

Mr. Lowe replied to Mr. Gladstone, pointing out inconsistencies in his arguments, and reminding him, in answer to his complaint of want of time for consideration, that as far back as 1854 he had been party to a Bill containing the same plan. Both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright had been misled by the fallacy that the majority was the constituency; they overlooked the minority altogether: but there was no reason why the representatives of minorities should be mere delegates or less local representatives than the members for majorities. The aim of these plans was to give to these communities a representation corresponding to the state of opinion in them, and the argument on which he supported it was that the worship of numbers was a political superstition, and that the true end of representation was to represent as nearly as possible all classes in a community. As to the antiquity of our present system, this was one of the improvements of modern civilization, from which great results might be expected.

Mr. C. Buxton and Mr. Knatchbull Huggessen also supported the Lords' Amendment. Sir C. Russell, as representing a three-membered constituency, opposed it. On a division, the Amendment was declared to be carried by 253 to 204.

The voting-paper Clause was next taken into consideration. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, by way of compromise, to exclude boroughs from its operation; but Mr. Gladstone objected to this proposition, considering that it would be even more objectionable in counties. Lord Cranborne argued in favour of

the Amendment; and Mr. Dodson, Mr. J. G. Mills, Mr. McCullagh-Torrens, and other members, opposed it. Ultimately the Motion to disagree with the Lords' Amendment was carried by 258 against 206. A Committee was then appointed to draw up the reasons of the House for dissenting from the Amendments rejected.

On the 12th of August, the end of the Session being close at hand, the House of Lords took into consideration the Amendments which had been made by the Commons upon those introduced by themselves. The Earl of Derbysaid, in explaining the views of the Government, he should confine himself to the three principal Amendments of the Lords, to one of which that House had assented, while rejecting the other two. The Amendment that in three-membered constituencies every elector should have two votes only, was assented to by a considerable majority of the House of Commons. He was not himself favourable to three-membered constituencies; they were a novelty at the time of the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, and he doubted the expediency of extending them, in order to give effect to the principle of the representation of minorities. He reminded their lordships that of the counties now returning three members, there were only three—Bucks, Berks, and Oxfordshire—which returned three members who were all of the same political opinions. The noble Earl criticised severely the reasons assigned by the Commons for disagreeing with the Amendments raising the leasehold and copyhold qualification for counties from 5*l.* to 10*l.*, and for striking out the Clause enabling the electors to vote by means of voting-papers. The Amendments had, however, been carried by large majorities in a full House; and at this period of the Session he did not flatter himself that, if their lordships were to insist upon their Amendments, there would be the slightest prospect of inducing the House of Commons to alter their view. And he had still less reliance upon the result of a conference between the two Houses, where the principal business was for the Lords to sit with their cocked hats on, and the Commons to stand before them. With regard to voting by voting-papers, he believed the principle was sound, and that they would ultimately see it carried into effect. As the Commons had introduced nothing objectionable into the Bill, and had simply deprived the measure of an adjunct which he thought would have been valuable, he did not think it worth while for their lordships to insist on their Amendments, and he moved a Resolution to that effect.

The Marquis of Salisbury expressed his own unaltered opinion in favour of the voting-paper system, but in deference to the Prime Minister's appeal he would not press his Amendment.

Lord Stanhope expressed himself strongly in favour of voting-papers, and trusted the day was not far distant when they would not only be permissive, but made obligatory at county elections. His lordship also expressed his strong concurrence in the scheme

for the representation of minorities, and intimated that had that wise and useful measure been rejected by the House of Commons it would have been the duty of their Lordships to the country to make a firm stand upon the point.

Lord Harrowby also regretted the rejection of the voting-paper clause, but congratulated the House on the acceptance of their Amendment giving representation to minorities.

Lord Russell quite concurred in all that had been done by the House of Commons. Their Amendments had, in his opinion, been as judicious as their rejections. He condemned, in strong terms, the use of voting-papers, and felt sure that neither branch of the Legislature would ever give its hearty approval to the scheme.

The Motion for agreeing to the Commons' Amendments was then assented to *nem. con.*

On the 15th of August the Bill for Amending the Representation of the People, which had passed through so many perils and vicissitudes, and during the many months spent in its discussion had undergone changes so numerous and extensive as almost to destroy its identity, received the Royal Assent, and became a part of the constitution of the kingdom. It emerged from the long discussions which it underwent, an extremely liberal, not to say democratic measure; the checks and restrictions by which the extension of the franchise had been limited by its framers having been one by one withdrawn, and the requirements of the most advanced Reformers more than satisfied by the concessions made to popular demands. It was sent forth at last rather in anxious hope than in sanguine confidence by its authors, the Minister chiefly responsible for it himself characterizing it as a "leap in the dark," and recommending it to the Legislature rather as a politic settlement of a long-pending and irrepressible question, than as a change of assured and calculated advantage to the commonwealth. The majority of educated and thoughtful people probably considered with Lord Derby that the best security that could be relied upon to neutralize whatever elements of danger the measure might contain, were to be found in the good sense of the nation, their attachment to the traditions of the past, and to that order of society which habit and reason had alike disposed them to value and uphold. It remains, before closing this chapter, to give a short account of the proceedings adopted in regard to the measures announced by the Government for improving the representation of Ireland and Scotland. With regard to the former, the Ministers found in the unfortunately disturbed state of the sister kingdom a justification which few were disposed to question for postponing to another year the attempt to alter its electoral constitution. Being questioned on the 17th of June as to his intentions on this subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said: "There is no subject which has caused the Government more anxiety than the Reform Bill for Ireland. I can say this for the Government

collectively, and I can say it for myself and for my noble friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that we have at all times been anxious to deal with that question in a spirit of the utmost confidence, and we have prepared the details of the measure entirely in that spirit. But it is impossible to conceal from ourselves that the circumstances of the time are exceedingly unpropitious. There is no doubt that, owing to a foreign and external agency acting upon sentiments of a morbid character in a portion of the population, there is in Ireland at the present moment a very general feeling of distrust, and—I cannot conceal it from myself—a considerable sense of danger. It is very difficult to deal with questions involving the redistribution of electoral rights among a people under circumstances of that description, although I am glad to think that whatever discontent or distrust may exist in Ireland does not arise from the present state of their electoral privileges. Under these circumstances, we feel that it is not possible for us to deal with the question of Parliamentary Reform in Ireland in the spirit in which we could have wished to deal with it; and, therefore, it is the determination of Her Majesty's Government to postpone until a more favourable opportunity any legislation on this question.

Some days afterwards the policy of thus deferring legislation was questioned in the House of Commons, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue proposed a resolution affirming the inexpediency of delay. But this opinion, though to some extent countenanced by Mr. Gladstone, met with little concurrence, and the Motion was withdrawn.

With regard to a Reform Bill for Scotland, the progress made was somewhat greater. The outlines of the Bill were stated to the House of Commons, and it was advanced a stage or two; but ultimately, on account of the great length of time absorbed by the English Bill, it shared the fate of the Irish measure in being deferred till the following year. On the 13th of May, while the Committee on the English Bill was proceeding with the clauses, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for leave to bring in the Bill for Scotland, and explained its leading features. It would include, he said, two branches, one regarding the franchise, the other the distribution of seats. The proposed borough franchise was similar to that of England, allowing for the different state of the law of Scotland. It was founded on the same principle as to the payment of rates. There was no compounding for rates in Scotland, and therefore every householder would have a vote. The Government accepted the decision to which the House had come in regard to the borough franchise in England, and he hoped that there would be no attempt indirectly to reverse that vote. He regretted to find from recent speeches which had been made elsewhere by "spouters of stale sedition" and "obsolete incendiaries," that political agitation was to be removed from the country to London, whether to obtain manhood suffrage or a 5/.

rating franchise he did not know. Reverting to the Bill, the right hon. gentleman proposed that the franchise in counties should be reduced in Scotland to the same scale exactly as was proposed for England, and the property franchises untouched in England would be untouched in Scotland. With regard to the second division of the subject, the distribution of seats, he stated that by the Reform Act of 1832 eight members were added to the representation of Scotland, making fifty-three. He proposed to increase that number by seven. Of these two would be given to the Scotch Universities, one being given to the University of Edinburgh combined with that of St. Andrew's, and the other to the University of Glasgow combined with that of Aberdeen. Then they proposed to give three additional members to counties—one each to Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Aberdeenshire, and as no county in Scotland had more than one member, it was proposed to divide those counties. With regard to the burghs, it was proposed to give one additional member to Glasgow, the city being divided in two parts, and North Glasgow having two members and South Glasgow one. It was intended to dissolve the two groups of burghs called the Falkirk district and the Kilmarnock district, re-arranging them and adding other towns, the principle being that throughout Scotland every town with 6000 inhabitants should be a burgh; and one new group, called the Hamilton group, would be created, which would have one member. This made up the seven members. Additions would also be made to the Ayr burghs and the Haddington burghs.

Some diversity of opinion was expressed by the Scotch members who commented on the measure thus described.

Mr. Moncreiff thought that the householders of England had cause to complain that they were not as well treated as the Scottish householders. As to the county franchise, he hoped that residence would be required, in order to prevent the manufacture of faggot votes.

Mr. Bouverie thought the House would hardly be prepared to support the proposition for eliminating from the counties all towns having a population of 6000. He objected to the proposed grouping of the burghs, and said he hoped the House would insist on lowering the proprietary franchise in the counties.

Mr. Gladstone raised another point. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not indicated, he said, from whence the additional Scottish members were to be taken. The scheme for the representation of England was settled, and unless it were intended to take some from Ireland he supposed it was intended to increase the number of members of the House. But that was a constitutional question which required grave consideration. The borough franchise was a liberal enfranchisement without any odious distinction between man and man, but it depended on the parochial board to determine the amount at which the tenant should be rated, and it would be better, therefore, to fix the franchise at 4*l*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied to Mr. Gladstone's and other criticisms. He saw no reason, he said, to lower the proprietary franchise in Scotland. He denied that he aimed at giving increased influence to the landlords; and said that only eleven towns, with an aggregate population of 75,000, would be taken out of all the counties. With regard to the additional members, he said that they would not be abstracted from England or from Ireland. They would consequently cause an increase of the number of the House.

After some further discussion, leave was given to bring in the Bill, and it was read a second time, though without any debate, on the 22nd of July, after which the order for further proceeding with it was discharged.

CHAPTER V.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.—The Budget is produced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 4th of April—Character of his Financial Statement—Satisfactory results of the Revenue of the Year—Proposed application of part of the Surplus to a reduction of the National Debt—Comments of various Members on this plan—Speech of Mr. Gladstone in approbation of the Scheme—Complaints by Agricultural Members of the continuance of the Malt Duties—Bill for the Redemption of the Debt brought in—Mr. H. Sheridan moves an Amendment in favour of reducing the Duties on Fire Insurance, which is rejected after debate by a large Majority—The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Bill is passed—Appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the operation of the Malt Duties.—*Public Expenditure. The Army Estimates.*—They are moved by General Peel, who also explains the proposed scheme for improving the Recruiting Service and for creating an Army of Reserve—General discussion on these Propositions—Debate in the House of Lords upon the proposed changes in the Military Service—Speeches of Lord Dalhousie, Lords Longford and De Grey, and H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief.—*Flogging in the Army.*—A Resolution condemnatory of the practice is moved by Mr. Otway, and is carried by a Majority of One—The Government, notwithstanding, insert the usual Clause in the Mutiny Bill authorizing this punishment—The Clause is afterwards modified, and is passed by the House. *The Naval Estimates.*—They are moved by Lord H. Lennox, Secretary to the Admiralty, in the absence of the First Lord—Mr. Childers criticises the Estimates in detail, and raises important Questions as to our Naval Administration—Mr. Seely inculcates the Management of the Dockyards, which he charges with great Extravagance—Mr. L. Corry defends the Estimates and the Policy of the Government—The Votes are agreed to—Supplementary Estimates for the Army moved by Sir J. Pakington, who proposes Votes to defray the increased cost of Militia and of Army of Reserve—Renewed discussions of that Scheme—The Votes are agreed to—Also a further Vote for the Construction of Fortifications. *The Indian Budget.*—Preliminary debate on the Administration of India at Home and at Calcutta—Mr. Ayrton moves Resolutions, which are withdrawn—Sir Stafford Northcote makes his Statement respecting the Revenue and Expenditure of our Indian Empire—His Resolutions are adopted.

THE Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was made just before the adjournment of the House of Commons for

the Easter recess on the 4th of April. The speech of Mr. Disraeli on this occasion was brief, simple and business-like, and consisted of little more than a recapitulation of the leading facts and figures out of which the national balance-sheet was composed. His propositions, too, were as unambitious as his mode of enunciating them. The interest of the House at this time was centred upon the Reform Bill, which had just passed the second reading; and there was also no feature in the financial situation at this time which required special illustration, or which called for the exercise of any ingenuity or dexterous manipulation on the part of the Finance Minister. There was no urgent demand for fiscal changes, nor any agitation worth speaking of against particular branches of taxation. There was a good surplus to be dealt with, and the appropriation of this balance formed the only question for the discretion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Even in this matter the example of his predecessor in office offered the advantage of a safe guidance and a guarantee against political opposition. Entering at once into figures, without any further preface than to remind the House of the extreme financial peril through which we had passed since Mr. Gladstone made his calculations, Mr. Disraeli stated that, notwithstanding this financial pressure, the actual income of 1866-67 had exceeded the estimate by 2,421,000*l.*, being 69,434,000*l.*; as against 67,013,000*l.*; and this surplus, he explained, had chiefly arisen from the Customs and Excise, each item having produced considerably over one million more than Mr. Gladstone's estimate. The expenditure of the year was estimated at 67,031,000*l.*, but the actual issues from the Exchequer were only 66,780,000*l.*, showing a saving of 251,000*l.*, which, taken with the excess of revenue, showed a balanced surplus of 2,654,172*l.* In the same way the balances in the Exchequer, which on the 31st of March, 1866, were 5,851,314*l.*, had risen on the 31st of March, 1867, to 7,294,000*l.*; and the "dead weight" annuity also, amounting to 585,740*l.*, would fall in on the following day (April 5th), though it would be necessary to provide 284,000*l.* on account of it in this year's Estimates. Passing to the finance of the present year, Mr. Disraeli stated the estimated expenditure of the year thus:—

Interest on Debt	£26,000,000
Other Consolidated Fund Charges	1,900,000
Army Services	15,253,000
Navy Services	10,926,000
Civil Services	8,203,000
Revenue Departments	5,143,000
Packet Service	807,000
Total	£68,134,000

And these would be defrayed by an estimated revenue of 69,340,000*l.*, thus produced :—

Customs	£22,000,000
Excise	20,700,000
Stamps	9,550,000
Assessed Taxes	3,500,000
Property Tax.	6,000,000
Post Office	4,650,000
Crown Lands	340,000
Miscellaneous	2,600,000
Total	£69,340,000

Showing a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 1,206,000*l.* At this stage, Mr. Disraeli remarked, commenced the chief difficulty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer in framing his Budget—the disposal of the surplus; and he prefaced his announcements on this point by reminding the House that during the last ten years there had been reductions of taxation, irrespective of the Income Tax, to the amount of 11,000,000*l.* a year, consequently it was difficult to fix upon any tax so extremely severe and unjust that all sides would unite in calling for its removal. Except the Malt Tax, there was no duty which injuriously affected the industry of any large portion of the people, but as this tax could only be dealt with on a large and comprehensive scale, the resources he had at his disposal this year would not enable him to touch it, anxious though he might be to do so. Next to the appropriation of the surplus to the diminution of taxes came its application to the reduction of debt, and the only way of doing this was by charging some specific annual amount on the Consolidated Fund. After discussing how this method could be best applied—such as by an annual vote in the Financial Statement, or by a Sinking Fund (which he strongly condemned)—he expressed his preference for the plan proposed by Mr. Gladstone last year, abandoning the more complicated and too far-reaching part of it. Last year Mr. Gladstone had proposed and carried a measure for cancelling 5,000,000*l.* of debt due to the Post Office and Old Savings' Banks by a terminable annuity, half of which sum had already been operated on and the other half would be cancelled immediately, provision for the purpose being taken in this year's Budget; and he also proposed to cancel a sum of 24,000,000*l.* by an annuity terminating in 1885, and a further sum by a second operation extending to 1905. Approving this plan, or at least the first part of it, Mr. Disraeli proposed to devote a portion of the surplus to the cancelling of 24,000,000*l.* of debt, and he thus explained the particulars of the operation :—It would be effected on two sums of the Public Debt, one of 18,000,000*l.*, the other of 6,000,000*l.* The first amount, now bearing interest to the amount of 540,000*l.*, would be converted into an annuity of 1,332,000*l.*, terminating on

July 5, 1885, and the second sum, now bearing 180,000*l.* a year interest, would be converted into an annuity of 444,000*l.*, terminating on April 5, 1885, the joint amount of the two annuities being 1,776,000*l.* The charge on this year's revenue from this operation would be three quarters' interest on the sum of 18,000,000*l.*, and one quarter's interest on the 6,000,000*l.*, amounting to 1,110,000*l.*; but to this must be added the interest on the two sums until they were converted (360,000*l.*), and from it must be deducted the interest we should have to pay if they were not converted (720,000*l.*), by which the total charge on the year 1867-8 from the conversion would be reduced to 750,000*l.* Mr. Disraeli next described how the conversion would affect the revenue of future years from 1868 to 1885. Its total annual cost would be 1,776,000*l.*, from which must be deducted the annual interest paid on the Debt in its present form (720,000*l.*); and, taking into account the total removal of the dead weight next year, the operation might be described as the complete cancelling of 24,000,000*l.* at a cost of something under half a million a year until 1885. This would reduce the present surplus to 456,000*l.*, and 210,000*l.* of this he proposed to devote to the reduction of the Marine Insurance Duties, whether on time or voyage policies, to an uniform rate of 3*d.* per cent., except in the case of time policies exceeding six months, which would be fixed at 6*d.* per cent. The result of these two operations would be to leave a surplus in hand of 246,000*l.*, which he did not propose further to trench upon; and, after speaking less than an hour, Mr. Disraeli concluded, amid expressions of general approbation, by moving a Resolution for the renewal of the Income Tax, which was that day to expire.

A desultory discussion took place, in which the principle features of the Budget were generally commented upon with approbation. Mr. Laing, however, expressed a doubt whether it was not wiser policy to leave the money to fructify in the pockets of the taxpayers than to apply it in reduction of debt, especially considering that we had not yet arrived at a time when there were no bad taxes left existing. Sir G. Bowyer also objected to the redemption of the debt, insisting that the proposition amounted only to a Sinking Fund in disguise.

Mr. Hubbard declared his adhesion to the same opinion, and gave notice that he should move a Resolution to defer any reduction of Debt so long as the Fire Insurance duties were unrepealed. He, however, gave a warm approval to the project of reducing the duties on Marine Insurance.

Mr. Gladstone said that the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so lucid and simple, that he was tempted out of the usual course to at once express his opinion on its proposals, instead of waiting for a later opportunity. Considering the severe financial crisis to which the country had been subjected during the past year—which it might have been supposed would have seriously affected the consuming powers of the country—the great increase in the

Customs and the Excise was at once most extraordinary and most gratifying. On these points he could have wished to have had some further information, and he would also like to know what had been the effect of the reduction on the Fire Insurance duty. There were, no doubt, many taxes which hon. members would prefer to have reduced, but as it was impossible to satisfy all their demands at once, he could only hope that the elasticity of the revenue would in due time give each their turn for consideration. There was one portion of the financial statement which he could not contemplate with satisfaction, and that was the increase in the estimates over those of last year, which amounted to no less a sum for the Supply Services alone, than 2,290,000*l*. But he was aware that they were affected by peculiar circumstances this year, and could not be attacked without provoking a serious issue with the Government. Considering the important political matters now pending, he should be most unwilling to embarrass them in any way. Neither would he quarrel with the very simple proposal for dealing with Marine Insurances, but he trusted that the House would not sanction any proposal for further reducing the surplus of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded at some length to consider the scheme for the reduction of the National Debt; upon the necessity of which he argued with great force, highly eulogizing the efforts made by the United States for this object, which they felt to be essential to their future power. He sincerely trusted that their conduct would shame the nations of Europe into following their patriotic example. He approved of the scheme of the Government, observing that it would have been a dereliction of duty not to have made some proposal of the kind, when a considerable sum was falling in, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer deserved credit for resisting the temptation of gaining a temporary popularity by proposing this instead of a reduction of taxation.

Some of the representatives of the agricultural interest made complaint of the omission of any relief to the farmers, who had looked for some relief from the Malt Duties at the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Fawcett observed that it could not be said that all the objectionable imposts were removed so long as the taxes on locomotion were retained. He criticised unfavorably the scheme for the reduction of the Debt, and expressed a hope that this country would be kept out of the serious complications which it was evident were brewing on the Continent.

Sir F. Crossley observed upon the excessive amount of the Army and Navy charges, which practically impeded the mitigation of existing taxes.

Mr. Sheridan expressed his intention of taking the opinion of the House on the reduction of the Fire Insurance duty.

The Financial Statement having been thus favourably received, the legislative steps necessary for carrying it into effect met with

little discussion. The Bill for the Renewal of the Income Tax was carried through without any difficulty. The National Debt Bill, which was brought in to give effect to the proposals for reducing a portion of the Debt by the application of surplus revenue, was a subject of more controversy; and a debate, though not an important or protracted one, took place on the second reading. On that occasion, Mr. H. B. Sheridan moved as an Amendment that a further reduction of the duty on Fire Insurances would be a better disposal of the surplus of the revenue for the present year, than the creation of Terminable Annuities proposed by the Bill. He contended that to tax Fire Insurances was unjust, and that the policy ought to be to remit the worst part of the present taxation, rather than devote the surplus to paying off the National Debt.

Mr. Hubbard supported the Amendment. He thought the mode of paying off the Debt by Terminable Annuities was undesirable, and that to continue the duty on Fire Insurances was unjust and injurious. He did not think the Government would ever be able to place Terminable Annuities in the market so long as the Income Tax was levied, as it now was in effect, both on capital and income. Besides, he submitted that it was not desirable that the savings' banks should have their funds locked up in Terminable Annuities, because if there was a drain upon them, though they would have a valid security, they would have no means of meeting it.

Mr. Thomson Hankey supported the measure, as one which provided a simple machinery by which twenty-four millions of Public Debt would be extinguished in seventeen or eighteen years.

Mr. Laing again asserted his doctrine, that the wiser plan was to reduce taxes, and allow the money so saved to fructify in the hands of the tax-payer.

Mr. T. Cave condemned the time of introducing the Bill, and its inadequate mode of dealing with the Debt, and suggested the imposition of a tax of twopence farthing per ton on Coal, which by the time the whole of our supply was exhausted would have paid off the National Debt.

Mr. Gorst regarded the scheme as a sham bargain between two offices of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's department, which would not be binding; for if there was a deficit, the Terminable Annuities would be reconverted into a Book Debt, and if there was a surplus, the million raised for these Annuities would not be exempt from the attacks of gentlemen who wished to abolish particular taxes. If a contract had been made with a third party there would have been some reality in the transaction, and to this illusory juggle he preferred the straightforward course of raising so much taxation a year for the avowed purpose of reducing Debt.

Mr. Gladstone said there were many taxes which ought to be repealed before they meddled with the duty on Fire Insurances. One was the tax on Corn, which was preventing this country from being what it ought to become—the greatest entrepôt of corn from all parts of the world, and there were license duties which

were most impolitic. The argument of Mr. Laing went against applying any portion of the revenue to the payment of the National Debt, and this Bill was only carrying out that policy. The objection that the incidence of the Income Tax operated unjustly against the Annuities did not apply, because the Annuities were not thrown on the market, and the tax was not levied on them.

Mr. Alderman Salomons and Sir F. Crossley argued in favour of the Bill, which was opposed by Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Read.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer defended the principle of Terminable Annuities, which he pointed out to the advocates of "fructification" had contributed greatly to the reduction of taxation, and notably had enabled Mr. Gladstone to carry out the French Treaty, and as this generation had profited by the adoption of this policy by our ancestors, so we were bound to pursue it for the benefit of the next generation. In answer to the arguments that this was not a real transaction, he insisted that 24,000,000*l.* of Debt would be absolutely cancelled; the Terminable Annuities could be placed on the market at any time; and that it was not a Sinking Fund, was shown by the different fates which had befallen the last—Sir G. C. Lewis's Sinking Fund, which perished in a year or two, and the different Terminable Annuities, which had been allowed to run their course and perform their functions. The Dead Weight Annuity falling in made it imperative on the Government to consider whether they would pursue the policy of Terminable Annuities acted on for the last half-century—which was the question they had now to decide—and they presented the Bill, not as part of a great scheme for reducing the National Debt, but as the sequel of a system of continuous and moderate action on the permanent Debt by means of Terminable Annuities.

On a division, the second reading was affirmed by a great majority, 162 to 38, and the Bill passed speedily through its remaining stages.

Unusually few attempts to obtain a reduction of particular taxes were made during the present Session. Previously to the introduction of the Budget, Mr. Sheridan had made an attempt to obtain a distinct vote of the House condemnatory of the Insurance Duties; but his Motion was defeated, on a division, by 215 votes against 156 upon the Motion of "the previous question."

The farmer's friends, who were disappointed at the omission of any operation on the Malt Duties in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme, obtained some satisfaction in the appointment of a Select Committee, moved for by Colonel Bartelot, to inquire into the operation of the tax, as to its effects on the proper rotation of crops, on the price of beer, and as to the fitness of malt for feeding cattle.

Mr. Gladstone hoped the effect of the appointment of a Committee would not be to produce an impression out of doors that the present or any future Chancellor of the Exchequer could dispense with the revenue derived from malt or from the conversion of barley into beer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer approved of the motion, saying it was a long time since the incidence of the tax had been investigated, and he had no doubt the result of the labours of the Committee would be advantageous to the country.

The annual demands for the great branches of the Public Service, the Army and Navy, were brought under the consideration of the House of Commons at an early period of the Session. General Peel, who, at the time had actually tendered his resignation of office, retained it just long enough to enable him to move the Army Estimates, which he did on the 7th of March, when he entered into a full explanatory statement of the condition, requirements, and demands of our military establishments. The total charges, he said, exceeded those of the preceding year by 412,806*l.*, and the actual expenditure of 1865-6 by 637,467*l.*, raising the ordinary average from 100*l.* per man to 106*l.* But this excess arose from a series of exceptional causes entirely beyond control, and not from any increase in the number of men. The extra day of leap-year would cost 24,700*l.*; the warrant for the increase of medical pay 18,000*l.*; the garrisoning of the Straits Settlement and certain alterations in the Commissariat in Ceylon (brought for the first time into the Estimates) absorbed 128,000*l.*; the extra cost of provisions and forage 92,700*l.*; the additional cost of recruiting (caused by the necessity of raising 32,600, instead of 18,000 recruits, to supply the place of the large number of ten years' men discharged this year) was 69,000*l.*; the issues of clothing due this year would cost 79,000*l.*; and furlough pay 20,000*l.* But when the accounts of the actual expenditure of last year were made out, he maintained that the excess of this year's Estimate would not appear so great, and in proof of this he went into an elaborate comparison of the first seven votes, which depended entirely on the number of men voted, and showed that the average cost per man was almost identically the same in the two years. General Peel then passed cursorily over the various votes, mentioning that twenty men per regiment were to be added to the Indian depôts, a new corps was to be raised for Hong Kong, and an addition to be made to the Staff corps; while, on the other side, regiments returning home would be reduced to 600 for the first year, and gradually increased until their turn for foreign service came round again. On the vote for the Manufacturing Departments, he stated that 426 rifled guns had been turned out during the year, including the first instalment of the heavy guns for the fortifications, and he gave a long account of the experiments with the Snider-Enfield, from which he drew the reassuring conclusion that it was quite as good a weapon as was possessed by any other country. It was intended to convert 350,000, but there he recommended the conversion should stop. Passing next to the Report of the Army Recruiting Commission, and mentioning that the mere impression created by the appointment of the Commission that something was to be done for the improve-

ment of the soldier's condition, had produced a considerable effect on recruiting, he went through their various recommendations, specifying those which he had adopted; such as the appointment of an Inspector of Recruiting, enlisting for general service instead of for particular regiments, and that rewards should be given to enlisters. Instead of granting additional rations and paying for certain necessities, as recommended by the Commission, he proposed to give an additional twopence per day to the soldier during the first term of service—which was to be fixed at twelve years,—and another penny per day during the second term of nine years. The cost of this would be 390,900*l.*; and he defended the course he proposed, on the ground that it would be more attractive to the men themselves, and that every shilling of the increased cost would go directly into the pockets of the soldiers. General Peel next explained his proposals for the establishment of an Army of Reserve. This army would be divided into a First and Second Reserve, and when a regiment came home from foreign service, instead of being sent into camp or garrison, it would be placed in some town where the duty was light. Long furloughs would be granted to the men, and if they could succeed in obtaining employment, such of them as had served two-thirds of their first term of service, including five years abroad, would be allowed to complete the term in the First Reserve. This Reserve would be attached to the Militia, and would be liable to be drafted into the regular army and sent on foreign service at any moment. The Second Reserve would be attached to the Pensioners, and in it soldiers completing their second term of service would in the same way be allowed to complete the term, two years in the Reserve counting as one in the Line, and the condition being that they should only be called on to serve at home. A certain proportion of the Militia—which would be raised to its full strength of 120,000 men—say one quarter, would be invited to enrol in the First Reserve, the inducement being double bounty—*i. e.*, 12*l.*, spread over five years. By this means it was hoped to obtain an army of First Reserve of close upon 40,000 drilled men, by which 50 battalions might at any moment be raised to their full strength of 1000 men, and the cost would be about 500,000*l.*

A diversity of comments were made on the above statements.

The Marquis of Hartington said it was impossible to discuss that night the plan now propounded. It would be necessary to introduce a Bill to carry it out; and he suggested that it should be brought in as early as possible. He regretted that the Commission appointed on the subject of recruiting took so narrow a view of their instructions as not to enter on the question of a Reserve Force; and he asked if the supplementary estimate of 500,000*l.* was to cover the cost of the proposed plan.

Major O'Reilly defended the Recruiting Commission, and expressed a general approval of General Peel's plans.

Lord Eustace Cecil insisted on the necessity of reorganizing

the War Department, which, besides the regular army, had now to administer the affairs of the Indian army and the volunteers.

Mr. Gladstone thought there was something to be said in favour of inquiry as regarded the extensive changes made in 1854-5. With regard to the constantly increasing charge of the military establishments, he objected to no augmentation of the expense of the army in reference to the increased remuneration for labour. He did not object to increase the pay of the soldier, but he regretted that this compensation was not compensated by a decrease in any department.

Mr. Whitbread, as one of the Commissioners, defended them from the censures of the Marquis of Hartington; and said, that what the soldiers principally complained of was the stoppages. They must go deeper into the question, and the system of recruiting, which was a disgrace, could not go on as at present.

General Peel said there was to be a supplemental estimate; and as he was now making a new proposition, Parliament might choose to effect the object in another way.

The vote was then agreed to.

A few days after the above proceedings, an interesting discussion respecting the proposed new arrangements for the increased pay and improved treatment of the soldiers, and the organization of a Reserve Force, arose in the House of Lords upon a motion for papers by Lord Dalhousie, who called attention to the Report of the Commission upon Recruiting for the Army, of which he had been chairman, suggesting that the Government had not adequately defended the Commissioners against charges of imperfect performance of their duties. He recited the terms of the inquiries referred to them, and insisted that, upon all points, the investigation had been complete. Passing to the proposals of the Government, based upon the Commissioners' Report, Lord Dalhousie dissented from the mode in which it was designed to remedy certain grievances of the soldiers, contending that an increase of pay, in place of an abolition of stoppages and an improved scale of rations, would only afford temporary satisfaction to the men at a much larger cost to the nation. He defended the Limited Enlistment Act against the unfavourable criticisms which, he said, had been passed upon it by most commanding officers; and suggested various slight modifications which he believed would increase its efficiency. The Commissioners, he said, had not felt it to be a part of their function to enter upon the question of the organization of an Army of Reserve; but, speaking for himself, Lord Dalhousie was of opinion, that the proposal to raise the Militia force to 120,000, of whom one-third should be attached, in case of war, as reserve to the regular army, was wholly inadequate to the wants and to the resources of the country. He strongly urged the adoption of a system of compulsory service in the Militia; which, he believed, if any Govern-

ment were bold enough to propose, Parliament and the country would be willing to support.

Lord Longford, observing that he had been a member of the Commission which had made certain recommendations, and was a member of the Government which had disregarded some of those recommendations, entered rather fully into the details of the various questions involved, defending the decision of the War Office to grant a small increase of pay instead of the deferred advantages recommended by the Commission, as better calculated to attain the object both had in view, the improvement of our recruiting system.

Lord De Grey, referring to a remark of the last speaker, expressed his opinion that the Limited Enlistment Act had answered the expectations of its authors; and then proceeded to discuss the question of providing a Reserve Force for the Army, arguing that while we were less exposed to invasion than continental countries, although the increase of foreign naval power had diminished our security in that respect, yet, unlike other great states, we had no compulsory enlistment, and our army was called upon to do service in many distant portions of the globe. The plan enunciated on the part of the Government appeared to him to be inadequate and unsatisfactory; and he recommended that the Militia force should be strengthened in number and improved by training, so as to constitute it what it really should be, the main reserve force for the country's defence, the Volunteers and the Yeomanry forming subsidiary branches of the same force.

The Duke of Cambridge, after alluding to the difficulties which the Government must have met with in reconciling the various suggestions for improvements in the military system with the jealousy of increased expenditure, which was very properly evinced by the House of Commons, declared that although it might have been desirable to make the changes suggested by the Commissioners, yet, as men were more influenced by an immediate increase of pay than by remote, although even more substantial advantages, the recruiting of the army would be advanced by the adoption of the former plan. The Ten Years' Enlistment Act had increased the difficulty of keeping up the strength of the army, and it had enlarged the expenditure, on account of bounties to recruits in place of time-expired men. Adverting to the question of a Reserve, the duke dwelt upon the difficulty of raising an adequate force without having recourse to compulsory service, and while desiring to keep the militia wholly distinct from the regular army, said he saw no nucleus of trained reserves but the militia. The effect of the plan proposed by the Government would, he believed, not be prejudicial to the militia force; and he justified that opinion by reference to the period of the Crimean War, when volunteering from the militia into the regular army took place upon a very extended scale.

Earl Grey expressed his approval of comparatively short periods

of active service, with liability to be called upon to act in the Reserve in case of need.

The discussion then terminated.

The long controverted question of flogging in the army was revived in the present Session, and not without some result in favour of those who advocated the abolition of the practice.

A Resolution was moved by Mr. Otway in the following terms:—"That this House, reserving for future consideration, when requisite, the question of the exigencies of a state of war, is of opinion that it is unnecessary that the punishment of flogging should be awarded during the time of peace to soldiers of the army or corps of Royal Marines serving on shore." He said that the returns showed that the number of offences to which the punishment of flogging was restricted had increased from seven to seventeen. In 1830 the number of men flogged was 658; in 1831, 646; in 1832, 485; in 1833, 370. By the latest return, it appeared that the number of men flogged in 1863 was 518; in 1864, 528; in 1865, 441. By the return for 1865 the punishment of flogging was awarded to the following additional offences:—habitual drunkenness, breaking out of prison, disobedience to orders, loss of necessaries, unlawful possession, drunkenness in camp; and, extraordinary to relate, one man was flogged for what is described as "miscellaneous."

Major Anson seconded the Resolution.

Mr. Mowbray, the Judge-Advocate, opposed it, as being a revolution in the discipline of the army. He referred to the many cases of criminal offences to which the punishment of flogging had been attached by recent legislation, as evidence that public opinion was not adverse to the principle. Captain Vivian thought the great objection to the practice was, that it lowered the soldier's calling in the eyes of the community. Captain Grosvenor followed on the same side. Colonel Herbert defended it as a necessity, and as a preferable alternative to the sterner code enforced in the French army. Sir C. Russell took the same view. Mr. Whitbread urged that the abolition of flogging would greatly facilitate recruiting.

Sir J. Pakington said, that by the regulations of 1861, now about to be incorporated in the Articles of War, no man could be flogged except for gross and repeated offences; and that the English military code was really more merciful than the French, Prussian, Austrian, or even the United States' codes. The Commander-in-Chief and the Adjutant-General were of opinion that it would be fraught with danger to part with this remnant of corporal punishment, and he was bound, therefore, to oppose the motion.

General Peel contended that the retention of this punishment was necessary for the maintenance of discipline in an army enlisted like our own; that it was a protection for the good men; and that, if it were abolished in time of peace, it could not be retained for war.

After a good deal more discussion, the Resolution was carried by a majority of one; there being—Ayes, 108; Noes, 107.

This division, however, though it afforded a momentary triumph to the abolitionists, did not produce any substantial result; for it was intimated by Sir J. Pakington a few days afterwards, that the Government did not feel justified in regarding such a narrow majority as decisive of the question, and would therefore feel it their duty to insert in the Mutiny Bill the usual clause authorizing the punishment. Some concession was, however, made by a modification of that clause, with a view to meet some of the objections to the flogging system. The punishment was thenceforth proposed to be limited to two offences; viz. mutiny, and insubordination accompanied with personal violence. The clause as so modified was carried, after considerable objection on the part of Mr. Otway, Captain Vivian and other members, by 172 votes against 165.

The Navy Estimates were moved in the House of Commons by Lord Henry Lennox, the Secretary to the Admiralty, on whom the duty devolved in the absence of the First Lord, the Right Hon. L. Corry, who had vacated his seat on accepting the office, and had not yet been re-elected. The noble lord made a full and clear statement of the financial position, past and prospective, as well as of the plans proposed for the construction of new vessels and other exigencies of the service. He said that his predecessor (Lord C. Paget) had asked the House to vote 10,434,735*l.*, and, during the Session, a supplementary estimate was brought in of 46,500*l.* The sum he had to ask the Committee to vote was 10,926,253*l.*, being an increase of 445,000*l.* over the original estimate and the supplementary estimate combined of last year. The sum required for the effective service was 9,067,758*l.*, which showed an increase of 480,260*l.* over the expenditure of last year. The number of men it was proposed to vote was 37,015, and of boys 7418, against 37,300 and 7000 last year; but though there was a somewhat smaller number of men this year, the charge was rather higher, the amount this year being 1,990,862*l.*, against 1,979,038*l.* last year. He was glad to say that the sanitary condition of the seamen was satisfactory, and the waste of life was less than that of other classes of society. The number of trained gunners had increased from 2268 to 5786. On vote No. 2, for victuals and clothing, there was an increase, caused by the increased price of provisions. On the vote for the Admiralty office there was an increase of 3300*l.*, owing to the great accumulation of work in that department. On vote 5, the scientific department, he had only to say that the School of Architecture continued to flourish. On the vote for dockyards and naval yards, there was a small decrease of 1600*l.* There was a decrease of 297 men employed in the dockyards and manufactories, but there was a saving on that head of only 559*l.* Several deputations from the artisans had urged a claim for increase of wages, which the Admiralty had felt

bound to refuse, seeing that in consequence of the distress in the building trade it would have been easy to supply, four or five times over, the place of the men, if they had left; but a small addition had been made to the wages of the dockyard labourers and to the pay of the yard clerks. The attention of the Board had been directed to the amounts expended for ship-building and for repairs of ships, and it had been determined not to expend large sums on the repair of obsolete ships; so that, whereas last year they took 240,000*l.* for artisans' wages for building ships, and 294,000*l.*, being 50,000*l.* more, for the repair of ships, this year they took 344,000*l.* for wages for building ships, and only 284,000*l.*, or 60,000*l.* less, for repairs. The question then came, what class of ships should they build? He doubted the policy of keeping up such large squadrons of small ships in various parts of the world; and he should be glad if, consistently with humanity, the slave squadron could be withdrawn. He thought that a few ships, stationed at Gibraltar would be sufficient. As to the class of ships to be built, the Admiralty thought the wisest course would be to carry out the policy of the late Board. They found three vessels on the stocks, commonly known as the Amazon class. Those were vessels of great speed, and they had ordered four to be laid down, in addition to the three already on the stocks. They had also ordered a class of vessels to be built to replace the old screw-steamers. They had likewise ordered the construction of gun-vessels of 678 tons each, carrying three guns, with a double screw, which enabled them to turn with great facility; and four vessels of a composite character, iron and wood, of 120 horse-power, with twin-screws; and they had directed the completion of the "Repulse" as an armour-plated ship, and the "Monarch." Altogether, they had made provision for the building of 22,945 tons of shipping. In the Vote for naval stores, there was a decrease of 147,990*l.*, but there was an increase of 522,559*l.* for iron ship-building, of which 83,000*l.* would be applied to the cupola ship designed and constructed by Captain Coles. The new iron-clads would be of the second class. Against the amount of the sum to be voted, there would be extra receipts and repayments, estimated to amount to 450,000*l.* The noble lord concluded by moving that the number of men to be voted for the ensuing year be 37,300.

In the discussions which ensued, the principal critic of the Estimates was Mr. Childers, who entered at some length into financial details, and also into the general system of our naval policy. He said they were now asked for 716,683*l.* more than the expenditure of 1865-6, and the total estimates for army, navy, civil, and revenue establishments amounted to 40,233,834*l.*, being 2,050,979*l.* over those of last year; and as a windfall of 500,000*l.* from New Zealand and 460,000*l.* indemnity from China were received last year, and no similar sums would come to hand this year, we should have to provide 3,000,000*l.* more this than last

year, which would require increased taxation, even if the revenue increased 1,500,000*l*. The increase in the Estimates was mainly on the item for ship-building, and he condemned the policy of the Admiralty in building such a large unarmoured ship as the "Inconstant," which was to carry ten guns and 600 men. He also thought it unwise to build so many gunboats as was proposed. England had to keep up three classes of fleet—first, the stationary fleet, for home defence; second, the fleet to defend the Colonies; and third, the fleet to defend our commerce. He did not propose to reduce the home fleet or that in the Mediterranean, but as to the third fleet, we had on the China station thirty-six vessels, which might fairly be reduced to twenty-one. One reason why so many were kept there was, that we kept the entire police of the Chinese seas, though we had not the greater portion of the trade. As to the squadron at the East Indian, the Australian, the North American and West Indian, the South and East American, and the Pacific stations, they might reduce the force by 7200 men. But, as a set-off to this, he proposed the formation of a flying squadron of six or seven fast ships, some armoured and some not, carrying 3000 men, rendezvousing at Lisbon, and sent from thence by telegraph to any part of the world. This would enable them to effect a reduction of 4200 men. Another point was the state of the Lists. They were gradually accumulating an enormous list, and there was an absolute necessity of some sweeping machinery to clear them. At present the chances were six to one that if an officer were promoted to the rank of post-captain he would have nothing to do; if he were made an admiral, the chances were twenty-four to one; and if a general of marines, forty-two to one. He suggested a scheme for buying the officers of the navy out by means of annuities purchased for them in the National Debt Office. By this means they would induce officers to retire at an earlier age.

Mr. Corry on a subsequent day replied to the above criticisms of Mr. Childers. The whole of the increase in the Estimates, he said, was in the item for building ships; and as the building of these, as he contended, was absolutely necessary, the increase in the Estimates was justified. He defended the policy of the Admiralty in building a number of small vessels, which were absolutely necessary for the protection of our commerce. The necessity of building so many this year was owing to the late Board of Admiralty having built hardly any for several years. He was afraid that it would not be possible to reduce the foreign squadrons to the extent proposed by Mr. Childers, but he approved of his suggestion to buy out the younger officers.

Mr. Stansfeld said no sufficient reason was given for the excess of 491,000*l*. over last year's Estimates. He criticised the work done in the dockyards in building ships, and he contrasted the strength of our navy with that of the United States, which, including officers and marines, does not employ more than 17,000

men; and with the French navy, which, both in number of iron-clads, and taking them ship for ship, he said, was much inferior to our own, and he submitted that these were reasons why the expenditure, instead of being augmented, should be curtailed.

Colonel Sykes also contrasted the state of our navy with that of France, on which the expenditure was but half as much, both in respect of ships and men. He contended that our own expenditure was needlessly large.

Mr. Graves contended that a large fleet was necessary in the China Seas, and on the Western Coast of South America, to protect our trade.

Mr. Seely, who, in former years, as well as in the early part of the present Session, had brought the subject of the Dock-yards' Management before the House, and had gone very fully into the controversy as to our naval expenditure, took part in the discussion now raised on the Estimates, renewing his complaints of extravagance in many items. Amongst others was the great expenditure on timber, notwithstanding the introduction of iron ship-building. The result was, that there was an enormous accumulation of timber, which would now have to be sold at a loss of from one-third to one-half the cost. The same observation applied to anchors, chains, and cables, of which there was a ten years' supply on hand. He also showed that there was a constant gradual increase in the charges for medical establishments, principally in the salaries of surgeons, and an increase in the charges connected with Greenwich Hospital.

Mr. Childers made a few observations in reply to Mr. Corry, and withdrew his Amendment; after which the vote for the number of men proposed by the Government, viz., 69,312, was agreed to by the Committee.

Shortly before the end of the Session, a Supplementary Estimate for the Service of the Army was laid by the Government before the House of Commons, the principal object of which was to give effect to that scheme of an Army of Reserve which had some months before been sketched out to the House by General Peel, the then Secretary of State for War. His successor, Sir John Pakington, had now the duty cast upon him of moving the Supplementary Vote, which amounted to 83,250*l.*, and of stating the mode in which the grant would be applied. A certain portion of it was to be employed in augmenting the pay of the existing militia force by twopence a day, but the principal part was required to meet the cost of the intended Army of Reserve; and he proceeded to explain his plan, premising that, with one exception, it was identical with General Peel's plan. This Army of Reserve would consist of two parts—the First and Second Reserves. The First would be formed in this way—the Militia would be increased from 90,000 to 120,000, and 30,000 would be enrolled under the condition of being draughted into the regular army whenever war might arise or be imminent—on consideration of double bounty—and to them would be added those men of the regular army who, having

served at least two-thirds of their first term of service in the Line, should elect, with the permission of their commanding officers, to commute the remainder of their time at the rate of two years in the Reserve for one in the Line. These men, he calculated, would amount to about 20,000, and instead of placing them with the Militia, as was suggested by General Peel, but which was attended with great practical difficulties, he proposed that they should be attached to the Reserve force created by Lord Herbert's Act of 1859, and drilled with the pensioners. The Second Reserve would consist of the enrolled pensioners, and such men in the second term of service in the Line as should be ready to commute for a double period on the Reserve, but with the obligation of serving only at home. The strength of this force he put at 30,000, so that there would be a total Army of Reserve of 80,000, of whom 50,000 would be liable to foreign service. The right hon. Baronet, in conclusion, explained the cost of the First Reserve, which he put at 230,000*l.*; viz., 72,000*l.* for the double bounty, and 70,875*l.* for the pay of the 30,000 militia-men, 48,000*l.* for the double bounty and 24,000*l.* for the pay of twelve days' drill of the commuted service men (putting them at 20,000), and 15,000*l.* for clothing.

The Marquis of Hartington took exception to the additional twopence a day to be given to the Militia, and on the Reserve scheme he remarked that, though it would not be of much use, the harm it would do would be to lull the country into a false idea that it possessed a real Reserve force. In fact, to call it a Reserve was a misnomer, for it would entirely disappear at the very beginning of a war. On the whole, it was hardly worth while going on with the plan this year; perhaps it would be better to wait and see what view the new class of voters might take of this question.

General Peel, after justifying the addition to the pay of the Militia, argued at length in support of the Reserve scheme, though he objected to Sir J. Pakington's alterations in it, the attaching of the commuted service men to the existing Reserve force instead of to the Militia, and the requiring of them two years' service in the Reserve for one in the line; pointing out that it was necessary to have two armies, one for home and the other for foreign service, and dwelling on the difficulties and expense of rapidly increasing our army at the breaking out of a war; and urging that, though this might be but an experiment, it was the most economical we could try.

Various other members discussed and criticised the plan, amongst whom was General Dunne, who approved of so much of it as related to the Militia, but doubted whether any large number of commuted service men would be obtained. Major O'Reilly objected to the alterations from General Peel's original scheme, and proposed to draw more closely the connexion between the Line and the Militia. Eventually the vote was agreed to; and on the same occasion, in Committee of the whole House, authority was given

to the Commissioners of the Treasury to raise 800,000*l.* on Terminable Annuities, for Fortifications, according to the scheme previously sanctioned by Parliament, 150,000*l.* of which Sir J. Pakington explained would be expended on iron shields.

It remains only to notice, among the financial transactions of the Session, the statement respecting the revenue and expenditure of India, which, according to the usual practice of late years, was made by the Chief Secretary for India (Sir Stafford Northcote) just before Parliament was prorogued. The financial exposition was preceded by an interesting discussion, which originated in a Motion by Mr. Ayrton respecting the administrative system under which India is now governed, as well in that country as at home. In this debate, opinions well worthy of consideration were elicited from persons practically acquainted with the affairs of that country and conversant with its system of government. The series of Resolutions offered to the House of Commons by Mr. Ayrton, and which he supported in a long and critical review of the machinery of the Indian Government, both at home and in Calcutta, declared that it needed extensive improvements fully to bring home to the natives the benefits of British rule. The alterations suggested were—first, that the Governor-General should be empowered to transact business in Council, with the assistance of one Councillor only in each department; and that a member should be added to the Council to take charge of affairs of trade and agriculture—departments which he contended, by reference to the telegraph, railway, and irrigation works, were now very inefficiently managed. He recommended, too, that the Government of Bengal should be put on the same footing as that of Bombay; and that, instead of being administered by an old civilian as Lieutenant-Governor, it should be placed under a Governor sent out from home. For the improvement of the Home Government, he proposed that, instead of being appointed for life, the members of the Indian Council at home should retire in rotation, which would give each of them about seven years' service; and to give the House of Commons more practical control over Indian affairs, he suggested a system by which the House should vote the Estimates for all the European expenditure of the Indian Minister and his Council.

Mr. Kinnaird seconded the Resolutions.

Sir S. Northcote, deprecating a discussion on topics of so wide a scope at the present moment, gave a general reply to Mr. Ayrton, assuring him that most of the points he had raised had attracted his attention. The first suggestion was already carried out in practice; of the policy of the second he doubted, and rather thought the best mode of facilitating business was by a re-arrangement of departments; and as to the third—putting Bengal under a Governor—though he agreed it might be desirable, it was mixed up with the large question of removing the seat of the Central Government. To the suggestion relating to the Home Council he replied that the members were able now to retire at the end of ten

years on a pension, and that to appoint them for a less period than life might weaken their independence. He intimated also, that, with a view to invite more efficient public discussion of Indian expenditure, he intended to make some alterations in the form of the accounts, the nature of which he explained.

Mr. Laing, though not blind to its shortcomings, maintained that our system of government in India had been on the whole a splendid success; and he challenged the world to show a more rapid progress in industrial works than had been made within the last seven years in India, where wages and the value of property had risen by at least twenty-five per cent. He dissented emphatically from Mr. Ayrton's disparaging descriptions of the telegraphic and railway systems, which he asserted had been economically and efficiently constructed, and were not altogether to be judged of by commercial considerations. Discussing Mr. Ayrton's recommendations, he predicted a considerable danger to the Indian Government from the approximation of London and Calcutta, which would bring the Governor-General more under the control of the Home Government, and would weaken the system of personal government, which he strongly recommended as the most efficient mode of administering India; condemning the "Board" and "Council" system, and alleging the Orissa famine as the latest instance of its failure. The first thing was to put the best man possible in the office of Governor-General,—the man who had the skill to choose the best instruments, to avoid centralization, and to discourage a tendency to shrink from responsibility. There could be no difficulty in apportioning the business of the Governor-General's Council, as Mr. Ayrton recommended; and though it was unnecessary to appoint a Minister of Trade—for trade in India, as in other countries, was best left alone—a Minister of Public Works would be of use. He agreed with Mr. Ayrton that the members of the Home Council ought not to be appointed for life, apprehending that they would in the end get the upper hand, both of the Governor-General and Indian Secretary.

Mr. H. Seymour dissented from Mr. Laing's theory of personal government, preferring a system which could be administered by ordinary mortals, and drew a contrast between our treatment of the native population and the Russian system of amalgamating its new acquisitions into the general body of the empire, apprehending that if we did not interest the natives more in the government of their country, they might prefer Russia to England. He criticised the imperfect principle on which the Councils of the Governor-General and the Indian Minister were formed, suggested the removal of the seat of Central Government to Bombay, and recommended a system which as much as possible would make India a separate empire.

Colonel Sykes also advocated the principle of associating the natives as far as was practicable in the government of the country.

Lord Cranborne, after correcting some of Mr. Ayrton's mis-statements in regard to the Indian railways, expressed his entire concurrence with Mr. Laing's dictum that personal responsibility is the key of good government in India; and, in his eulogy of the general success of our administration, he spoke strongly in favour of restricting the interference of the Central Government to matters of importance. Admitting that the Home Council was useful in protecting the Indian Minister against political and party pressure to incur expenditure, he maintained that its responsibility before the public was not as great as its power; and agreed with Mr. Ayrton that the tenure of office ought to be shorter, on the condition that there should be an adequate retiring pension.

Mr. Mill argued strenuously in favour of Councils, pointing out that frequently the deliberative functions of Government were more important than the executive, that it was a great advantage to have any particular policy fully debated on the spot; and he alleged that in some cases within his own knowledge, the official in charge of a district had been so incompetent, that but for his Council the Government could not have been carried on.

Mr. J. B. Smith made some remarks on the importance of Cotton Cultivation; after which the Resolutions moved by Mr. Ayrton were, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Sir. S. Northcote then proceeded with his task of laying the state of the Indian Finances before the House. Commencing with some preliminary observations on the finances of 1865-6, he went on to state, that while the estimate for 1866-7 showed a deficit of about 10,000% (the revenue being calculated at 46,790,000% against expenditure of 46,800,000%), the actual result for eleven months—the year having been shortened by one month to allow the Indian Budget to be brought in at an earlier period—was a deficit of 2,400,000%. This had arisen, partly from a deficiency of revenue, partly from an excess of expenditure. Under the first head there had been a falling off of 952,000% in the Opium revenue; 140,000% in the Mint revenue; 524,000% in the receipts from Public Works: under the second, an excess of expenditure of 400,000% on the Railway account, and 580,000% on the Transport account. On one item of revenue only there had been an excess—the salt revenue, which in eleven months had exceeded the estimate for the year by 279,000%. This considerable difference between income and expenditure, Sir Stafford said, had induced him to institute a comparison between some of the great heads of expenditure in India and England, and he mentioned a few of the results of it to the Committee. The Military expenditure of India (including the Marine) was thirty-nine per cent. of the whole expenditure, while in England it was only thirty-seven per cent.; and he held out no hope of reduction either in this or in the establishment charges. The collection of the revenue was eighteen per cent., interest of Debt eleven per cent., and Public Works charges twelve per cent., against nine per cent., thirty-

nine per cent., and twelve per cent. respectively in this country. Sir Stafford next explained the action of the Indian Governments in reference to irrigation, assuring the Committee that their attention was thoroughly awake to its importance, and stating, that, beyond the charge of 700,000*l.* on the year's estimates, it was proposed to borrow 2,000,000*l.* for this purpose. Passing to the estimates for this year, he put the revenue at 46,283,000*l.* (including the changes in the Customs), and the expenditure at 47,340,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 1,057,000*l.*; this deficit Mr. Massey proposed to fill up by a License Tax, which would produce 1,000,000*l.*, and by borrowing 1,000,000*l.* for expenditure on barracks, instead of paying it out of the revenue. In conclusion, Sir Stafford discussed at length the various items of the revenue, intimating that he did not approve of some of the changes in the Customs, particularly the increase in the export duty on grain, and pointed out some objections to Mr. Massey's License Tax, with which, however, he did not intend to interfere, but drew consolation by discerning in it the germs of a system of local taxation, which might be an instrument of great good to the people of India.

Comments upon this statement were made by various Members, with reference to the chief topics embraced in it, the discussion being of a rather desultory character.

Mr. Laing expressed a strong disapproval of the License Tax; Mr. Crawford condemned the imposition of Export Duties; and Mr. Bazley urged the appointment of a Minister of Trade and Agriculture. Ultimately the formal Resolutions moved by Sir S. Northcote were affirmed, declaring that the total revenue of India for the year ending April 30th, 1866, amounted to 48,935,220*l.*; that the direct claims and demands upon the revenue were 8,452,153*l.*; that the charges of India were 32,668,771*l.*; that the charges in England were 4,981,185*l.*; that the guaranteed interest on capital of Railway and other Companies, after deducting net traffic receipts, was 67,043*l.*; making a total charge of 46,169,152*l.*; or excess of income over expenditure of 2,766,068*l.*

CHAPTER VI.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.—Unquiet state of that part of the United Kingdom—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act rendered necessary by the prevalence of Fenian Disaffection—Debates in both Houses of Parliament on the continuance of the Suspending Act. *The Land Tenure Question.*—Lord Naas, Secretary for Ireland, brings in a Bill to encourage the Improvement of Land by Tenants—Diversity of Opinions expressed upon this Measure—Various Amendments moved and negatived—The Debate is adjourned and the Bill is ultimately dropped—Bills brought in for the same object by the Marquis of Clanricarde and Sir Colman O'Loughlen—After some discussion they are withdrawn in consequence of the pressure of other business.—*The*

Irish Church Establishment.—Important Debate in the House of Lords upon a Motion of Earl Russell for an Address to the Crown for Inquiry into the Revenues of the Church—Defence of the Establishment by Lord Cairns—An Amendment moved by the Bishop of Ossory, restricting the objects of the proposed Commission, is adopted—A Commission is accordingly issued by the Crown—Debate on the same subject in the House of Commons on the Motion of Sir John Gray—Important Speech of Mr. Gladstone—The “previous Question,” moved by Sir F. Heygate, is carried by 195 to 183—General Debate on the State of Ireland, and the Legislation required for that country, on the Motion of Sir Colman O’Loghlen—Speeches of Mr. Maguire, Lord Naas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. —*The Insurrection in Crete.*—Observations on this subject by the Duke of Argyll and other Peers—Statement of Lord Derby respecting the Policy of the Government in reference to this outbreak. *The Luxemburg Question.*—Conference in London of European Powers respecting it—Rapid progress of the Negotiations and conclusion of Treaty—Comments in both Houses of Parliament upon the Guarantee agreed to by our Government—Explanations of Lord Stanley upon this point—Confidence expressed in the noble Lord’s sagacity and prudence as Foreign Minister. *Execution of the Emperor Maximilian.*—Sympathy and Indignation of the English Public at this Event—Proposals to give expression to these feelings by Parliamentary Resolutions of Condolence, or by suspending Diplomatic Intercourse with Mexico—The Earl of Derby and Lord Stanley dissuade the adoption of such Measures. *The British Captives in Abyssinia.*—Anxiety of the Public on behalf of the Queen’s subjects detained by King Theodore—Inquiries addressed to Ministers in the House of Commons from time to time on this subject—Statements of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Stanley just before the close of the Session.

THE Session of 1867 was not prolific either in debates or in legislation relating to Ireland. The circumstance of the interest of Parliament being centred on the Reform question partly accounts for the absence of topics which in former Sessions had engaged a large share of attention; but the unsettled state of the sister kingdom, and the experienced failure of many legislative experiments for its amelioration, had likewise a discouraging effect, and tended to induce a disbelief in the efficacy of legislative remedies. Some attempts, indeed, were made to find a solution for the perplexing problems which had hitherto baffled the ingenuity of statemanship. The Government once more made an essay to unravel the tangled web of the Land Tenure question, and other hands besides those of the Ministers tried their skill in the same direction—all efforts alike proving fruitless. The other great feature in the catalogue of Irish grievances, the Protestant Church Establishment, was once more the topic of invective, and the object of hostile resolutions; but two or three nights of warm debate only gave a vent to the animosities of opponents, without producing any steps towards the settlement of the difficulty. One measure indeed, of a vigorous and decided character, was rapidly passed, under the pressure of an urgent necessity. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which, in the preceding Session had been forced upon the Government by the widespread and alarming disaffection that prevailed in connexion with the Fenian conspiracy, had been authorized by a temporary Act, but the hope had been entertained that it would be found possible at the commencement of the present year to dispense with that stringent remedy, and to trust the maintenance of order to the ordinary processes of the law. This anticipation

was unfortunately not realized; the state of public feeling in Ireland still indicated great discontent and aversion to English rule; the embers of Fenianism still smouldered, and occasionally burst out in desultory eruptions; and it was well known that emissaries of the insurgent brotherhood in the United States were lurking about in various parts of the country, and sowing the seeds of disloyalty and disaffection among the peasantry. Under these circumstances it became the painful duty of the Government again to seek from Parliament a renewal of those extraordinary powers, by means of which alone they could be enabled to frustrate the designs of the agents of rebellion and ensure the continuance of peace and order to the loyal population. On the 22nd of February, Lord Naas, the Secretary for Ireland, moved the second reading of a Bill for continuing for a further period of three months the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, expressing at the same time his deep regret at the necessity for doing so. When the present Government came into office there were 336 suspected Fenians in custody. By the 1st of September they had been reduced to 226; by the 24th of November to seventy-three; and there were at that date ninety-seven persons in custody. In December ninety-seven warrants were issued; in January, seventeen; in February nine. Care had been taken to arrest leaders only. When the mysterious occurrence took place at Chester—whether it was in consequence, or merely a coincidence, he did not know—the old signs of Fenian activity again appeared. Steps were immediately taken by Government. Information of the rising reached Dublin by half-past six, and by half-past eight o'clock Brigadier Horsford was in Mallow with 1000 men. This showed the hopelessness of the insurrection. It was also shown that Government had ample information, so as to give timely warning to the authorities. It was happily apparent that the agricultural population did not sympathize with the movement. Of the whole 752 persons arrested, only thirty-five were farmers, and twenty-five farmers' sons. Moreover, the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy used all their influence to suppress the insurrection. It was now intended to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for three months only. If necessary, a further renewal would be asked for, but Lord Naas hoped that it would be unnecessary.

Sir John Gray seconded the motion. Mr. Blake and Mr. Bagwell also supported it, expressing at the same time a hope that the Government would propose measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the country.

Major Knox gave it his support, and took occasion, in the course of his remarks, to animadvert on a scheme that had been propounded by Mr. Bright for a solution of the Land question. He regretted that the suspension was to be only for three months, and not for twelve months. Mr. Bright had proposed to grant public money to purchase the landowners' estates, and sell them to the tenants; but the tenants showed that they wanted the estates

for nothing, and the events that had occurred should warn Mr. Bright not to go to Ireland again to carry on agitation.

Mr. Bright said he should make no reply to the hon. member's observations as to what he had done; but he was surprised to find that any member should have advised that persons merely suspected should be treated like persons convicted, and that the Bill should continue in force twelve months; he should not have thought that any member from Ireland would have uttered a sentiment so atrocious.

After some further discussion, the Bill was read a second time, and was passed rapidly through its remaining stages by a suspension of the Standing Orders.

The Bill was quickly sent up to the House of Lords, and was proposed by Lord Derby, who deplored the circumstances which debarred the Government from carrying out the intention announced in the Queen's Speech. He said that were the people of Ireland, who, he believed, were for the main part thoroughly loyal, alone in question, there could be no necessity for suspending the operation of the ordinary laws; but disorders were fomented from abroad and even from this country, which rendered it necessary that the Executive should be armed with extraordinary powers to protect the common welfare. After explaining that the reason why the peasantry who had not joined the recent "miserable insurrection" had not given information for the detection of the leaders was the natural repugnance to incur the name of an "informer," Lord Derby proceeded to justify the announcement in the Queen's Speech, by showing that there had been a gradual restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, and nearly a total cessation of arrests in connexion with Fenianism, a temporary renewal of the excitement having evoked an almost universal outburst of loyalty. The recent absurd but mischievous attempts made it necessary to ask for the prolongation of powers which would be used with firmness and yet with moderation.

Earl Russell gave his cordial assent to the Bill, which he considered fully justified by recent events; and he commented forcibly on the conduct of the Fenian leaders in the United States, especially deprecating the interference of the American Government in relation to the trial of the Fenian invaders of Canada.

Lord Kimberley admitted with regret the necessity for the measure; after which the Bill was read a second time, and the Standing Orders being suspended, passed at once to its final stage, and the next day received the royal assent.

By this measure the extraordinary powers conferred were limited to the period of three months. But at the expiration of that time it was again found that the condition of Ireland was too critical and the machinations of the insurgent emissaries too active to allow any security for the public peace to be dispensed with. Again, therefore, in the latter part of May, Lord Naas had to apply to the House of Commons to sanction a further suspension

of the Habeas Corpus Act. The existence of the Act, he stated, had enabled the Government to take precautions which had rendered the recent attempt at insurrection in Ireland of no avail. The insurrection lasted only a few hours; and one reason probably was, that when it broke out it was found that many of those who had intended to be the leaders were in prison. At present Ireland was tranquil, but there were indications which rendered it unsafe to discontinue precautions, and he therefore proposed to continue the Suspension Act till the 1st of March, 1868. The last arrest had been made on the 23rd of April, and the total number of arrests under the Act was 961, of whom 778 had been released.

A debate of a more extended and comprehensive character than on the former occasion took place on the second reading of this Bill, many of the Irish members expressing their sentiments upon the present circumstances of the country, and the wants and grievances of its population. None went so far as to oppose the Bill, but all dwelt on the necessity of improving the condition of the country by legislative measures.

Mr. Maguire complained, that while the Government at the beginning of the Session proclaimed to the country, through the Queen's Speech and by their own speeches, that the suspension of the constitution in Ireland was no longer necessary, they now brought in this Bill. He read from the evidence of one of the witnesses at the recent trials of Fenians in Ireland, who was a spy, statements to the effect that he kept the Government informed all along of the plans of the conspirators, and he asked why the Government did not interfere in time, and by arresting the leaders prevent the insurrection breaking out? But after all, the question was, whether Parliament would so legislate as to remedy the evils Ireland was suffering under. The people were now emigrating at the rate of 100,000 persons a year. These persons left their country cherishing a bitter feeling of hatred to England. He had conversed with many of them in America who had this feeling. He warned the Government that the Irish Americans would no doubt use their influence when an opportunity arose to bring on a war between America and England, which must be disastrous to this country, and he called on them to avert these evils by legislation which would improve the physical condition of the people of Ireland.

Mr. Roebuck admitted that up to 1829 nothing could be worse than the government of Ireland, but a grosser calumny was never uttered, than to say that since that period Parliament had been unjust to Ireland. He asked if any one could put his finger on any law by which the people of Ireland were treated differently from the people of England. He denied that the Protestant Church was a grievance to the Catholics in Ireland any more than the Established Church was a grievance to Dissenters in England.

Mr. Bright said there was no one who knew Ireland who would

not say there were evils in that country to which this House paid no attention, and this feeling was not confined to Catholics. He was a Dissenter of Dissenters, and was opposed to all Church establishments; but if he were a Roman Catholic in Ireland he should feel very differently towards the Church establishment in that country from what he felt towards the Establishment in England. In England, when the Nonconformists left the Church it was the religion of the great majority of the people, but the Protestant Church in Ireland came in with a power which confiscated all the land, and was therefore naturally an object of dislike.

Lord Naas said, when Parliament met there was every appearance of tranquillity, but in January there was a meeting of Fenians in New York, at which it was determined to attempt a rising in Ireland, and a number of them came by every steamer that arrived in this country in February.

Mr. B. Osborne did not deny the necessity of continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. If any one were to say that that would not be necessary for some time to come he would be deceiving the House. He did not say that the House was unjust to Ireland. He believed it was well inclined to that country; but members were for the most part grossly ignorant, and some of them grossly bigoted with regard to Irish affairs. There could be no doubt that at the first cannon that was fired on the continent of Europe or America they would be obliged to legislate in a large and broad sense for the people of Ireland.

Mr. C. Fortescue thought the Government had not freed themselves from blame, in announcing at the beginning of the Session that there would be no necessity to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. If the House acted in the spirit of the speech of Mr. Roebuck, they would bring great calamities on Ireland. On the contrary, they should endeavour to dry up the sources of sedition in that country.

This Bill, like its predecessor, was passed through the remaining stages in both Houses with great celerity.

On the subject of Land Tenure more than one scheme was submitted to the Legislature, but without any result. Lord Naas, on behalf of the Government, introduced a Bill very early in the Session to promote the improvement of land by tenants. This Bill was founded, as the noble lord stated, on the principle of the Lands Improvement Act. A Commissioner of the Board of Works in Ireland would be appointed, with power to make rules, under which advances, to be submitted to Parliament, would be made to tenants, who, if wishing to avail themselves of this Act, might apply to the Commissioner, nearly in the same manner as the owners had done with regard to the advances sanctioned by Parliament, of which nearly a million was yet to be advanced. There were six classes of improvements, for the making of which money was advanced under the Lands Improvement Act. These were, thorough draining, the reclamation of waste land and

clearing it from rock and stones, the removal of old and useless fences, the making of fences, the making of farm-roads, and the erection of farmhouses, dwellings, and other buildings. With regard to the first three of these improvements, the consent of the landlord would not be requisite; but if he dissented from the last three they were not to be made. The loans, it was proposed, should be repayable in thirty-five years, with interest, in half-yearly instalments; but no advance was to be made unless it was shown by the tenant that the improvements would increase the value of the land more than the instalments to be paid. A discussion ensued, in which several members took part, many of whom alleged that although the Bill contained some good provisions, it would make matters worse if it was to be treated as a permanent settlement.

On the second reading of Lord Naas's Bill being moved, a considerable diversity of opinion was exhibited with respect to the tendency and operation of the measure. Mr. Gregory expressed his opinion that there were three cardinal defects in the Bill; first, that it was not applicable to a large proportion of the agricultural classes in Ireland; second, that it completely ignored and passed by the great cause of discontent in Ireland; and third, that it needlessly interfered with the rights of property. No Bill could possibly effect a settlement of this question that did not provide for the stability of tenure. He moved as an Amendment, "That, without prejudging the second reading of this Bill, this House is of opinion that no enactment for the settlement of the landlord and tenant question in Ireland can be deemed satisfactory which does not provide for the encouragement of leases in that country."

Mr. Bryan seconded the Amendment. He warned the House that this measure would not settle the question. Land let on lease in Ireland fetched more rent than other land. Why, then, was not more land let on lease? Because the tenants would be independent of the landlord, and could no longer be driven to the poll by the agent.

Mr. Sandford condemned the Bill, as opposed to every principle of political economy. Captain White, Mr. Bagwell, and Mr. Synan also opposed it. Mr. Pollard Urquhart, admitting that it fell short of what was required, thought that it would be unwise to reject the Bill.

The O'Donoghue said the Bill was founded on the assumption that the tenants in Ireland have not, and ought not to have, any interest in the land. The foundation of all the evils of Ireland was the tenancy-at-will system. To insure the prosperity of Ireland they must give security of tenure.

Mr. Gregory's Amendment was rejected, on a division, by 108 to 104.

Mr. Sandford moved another Amendment, viz. "That no property shall be charged with the repayment of loans advanced for

the purpose of making improvements, except such improvements be made with the consent of the landlord."

This Amendment was opposed by Lord Naas, who said that by the Bill the consent of the landlord was required for every thing that was to be done on the land, and that no injury could possibly arise to the landlord from other improvements. Mr. Chichester Fortescue also opposed the Amendment. The debate was now adjourned; but owing partly to the pressure occasioned by the Reform debates and other questions, and partly to a general impression of the futility of attempting to carry a measure of this description, the Bill was allowed to make no further progress.

Another attempt was made, with similar results, by the Marquis of Clanricarde, who laid on the table of the House of Lords a Bill for giving facilities for voluntary contracts between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The noble marquis, on moving the second reading of the Bill, said there was nothing compulsory in the measure. On the contrary, its main object and principle were, that all transactions in regard to land between landlord and tenant should rest upon voluntary contract. It was a mistake to suppose, as some persons appeared to do, that the small class of tenants in Ireland were not as much alive to the best mode of making a good bargain for themselves and as capable of understanding the engagements they entered into as any other persons whatever. When Parliament was legislating on that question, it ought to legislate in a comprehensive manner, and with a due regard to other classes of occupiers of land besides the peasant occupiers. In Ireland there were tenants paying rents not only as high as 500*l.*, but 5000*l.*, and he believed even 10,000*l.* a year. He trusted that the Government would allow the Bill to be read a second time, and he should be glad to see it referred to the same Committee to which the Government Bills on this subject would be remitted when they came up to their lordships' House.

The Earl of Malmesbury, on behalf of the Government, gave his consent to the second reading, on the understanding that the Bill should be referred to a select Committee together with the Bill of Lord Naas, when that measure should come up from the other House. That event, however, as already stated, did not take place.

A third attempt to deal with the Land Tenure difficulty was made by Sir Colman O'Loughlen, who obtained leave at a later period of the Session to bring in a Bill which, as described by him, dealt solely with land tenure, its main object being to encourage the granting of leases, and to discourage tenancies at will, as tenants could not be expected to improve their lands whilst they were liable to be turned out at six months' notice. He did not offer this Bill as a settlement of the question, but as a contribution towards a settlement.

Sir H. Bruce moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. He said that no concessions on the Church

question or the land question would ever make any difference in the feelings of the Irish people. Their discontent arose from the legislation of many years ago, which did not now exist, but would generate discontent for many years to come.

Lord Claude Hamilton denied that leases were so desirable as was represented. He said, if the whole land of Ireland were leased to-morrow, it would not improve its cultivation.

Mr. Sergeant Barry supported the Bill as a small measure, but still a step in the right direction. It was objected that there should not be exceptional legislation to improve the relations of landlord and tenant, but the whole of the law of landlord and tenant was in Ireland exceptional in favour of the landlord. He did not think that this measure would have a great or immediate beneficial effect, but it would produce an impression on the people that Parliament was disposed to do them justice, and thus tend to promote peace and tranquillity in that country.

The Attorney-General for Ireland objected to the measure. In his opinion the less of legislative interference they had the better for both landlord and tenant. Very few landlords in Ireland took advantage of the present insecurity of tenure. He emphatically denied that the Fenian agitation was owing to either the Church question or the land question, except so far as the Fenians wished to uproot the land settlement in Ireland of 300 years ago, and distribute the land among themselves. The main principle of the Bill was that, in the absence of a written agreement to the contrary, a tenancy should be held to be a leasehold for twenty-one years, and he appealed to the House whether that was just to the landlord.

After much controversy as to the merits and defects of the Bill, the debate terminated in an adjournment, and the measure was ultimately dropped.

The question of the Irish Church Establishment, which no Session of late years has failed to bring under Parliamentary discussion, afforded occupation for two nights' debate, upon motions made in each House. The first arose in the House of Commons, at the instance of Sir John Gray, who, on the 7th of May, moved that the House would on a future day resolve itself into Committee to consider the temporalities and privileges of the Established Church in Ireland. He said it was now thirty-three years since this question was given up by a powerful party in this house. Neither side would take it up, and the question had consequently been kept in abeyance, and it was left to members below the gangway to bring it forward. The Protestant establishment was planted in Ireland by a conquering race, and for a long series of years attempts were made to support it by all kinds of penal legislation; but they had all failed to make it popular.

Colonel Greville seconded the resolution. He believed the Protestant establishment in Ireland was the most unjust establishment in the world, and that nothing like it had ever existed in any part

of the world. If they were to treat Ireland as they treated England and Scotland they would find the people there as loyal and contented as they were in this country. As a Protestant, living in Ireland, he felt it his duty to protest, in the strongest manner, against the continuance of this establishment.

Sir Frederick Heygate moved the previous question. He reminded the House that they were considering not what should be the institutions of a new country, but what should be done with those which had existed for a long time. He also thought the period an inopportune one for entering upon the discussion, when Parliament was engaged with so many other important subjects.

Mr. Gladstone said he felt a difficulty in supporting the resolution, not because he questioned the soundness of the hon. member's proposition, but because he thought they ought not to pass the resolution without being prepared to give effect to it. It was with extreme reluctance that he had arrived at this conclusion, because, with the exception of some of the flowery epithets, he agreed with all that was said by the seconder of the motion. There were three grounds on which they might maintain a religious establishment. One was to maintain truth. But it would be inconsistent to say that we supported the Irish establishment to maintain truth, seeing that we supported the College of Maynooth. The second ground was, that the established religion was the religion of the bulk of the people. But that was notoriously not the case in Ireland. A third ground was, that it was the religion of the poorest class of the community. But the Protestant Church in Ireland was the Church of the rich. Neither Englishmen nor Scotchmen would tolerate being treated in this way. Let them apply to Irishmen the same measure by which they would themselves be meted. He trusted the time was not far distant when Parliament would take the question up; and when it did, he was sanguine enough to entertain the hope that a result would be arrived at which would be a blessing to all.

The Attorney-General for Ireland denounced the communistic tendency of Mr. Gladstone's speech. It was destructive of the rights of property. He quoted the Duke of Wellington as an authority for stating that a compact had been entered into for the continued maintenance of the Irish Protestant Church; and he contended, that to take away its resources would be as much a robbery as to deprive individuals of their property.

Lord Naas said that tithe was not a tax, but a second rent; and if the Church Establishment were abolished to-morrow, no occupier of land in Ireland would get his land a penny cheaper. Besides, if the Church were deprived of its property, how were they to dispose of it? There was no practical grievance, and from his knowledge of the people of Ireland, he denied that they felt it as such.

Mr. C. Fortescue said the great object was to establish an ecclesiastical equality in Ireland. It would be a great misfortune if the question were treated on either side with ulterior political objects. He did not wish to secularize the Church property in Ireland. He was not prepared to leave the Protestant Church in Ireland an unendowed Church, and he thought that some of the revenues should be applied to the support of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, without, however, subjecting them to the authority of the State.

Lord C. Hamilton cordially opposed the Motion, and Mr. Maquire as strongly supported it, but said there was no considerable section of the Roman Catholics of Ireland who wished that any portion of the revenues of the Irish Protestant Church should be applied to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. Nothing could be so fatal to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as a connexion with the State.

Mr. Newdegate emphatically repudiated the proposal to endow the Roman Catholic clergy. It was that proposal which lay beneath this motion. If this were done, we might find it necessary to open relations with the Church of Rome, and, as in the case of Russia, we should find ourselves grossly deceived.

After several more speakers had addressed the House on either side, it was decided that the question should not be put by a majority of 195 to 183.

A debate on the same subject in the House of Lords was originated by Earl Russell, who, on the 24th of June, moved an Address to the Queen, praying her to order, by Royal Commission or otherwise, full information to be procured as to the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, with a view to their more equitable application for the benefit of the Irish people." His object was to secure for the anomalous position of the Irish Church a full consideration next Session. It might be said that the existence of the Established Church in Ireland was only a sentimental grievance; but it was a sentimental grievance that led to the separation of the American United States from England and to their declaration of independence. He did not believe that any success would attend the efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy if they were salaried by the State; nor could Parliament adopt a course similar to that now taken in Scotland by setting up the popular Church instead of the Established Church. But a third course was the adoption, wholly or partly, of the voluntary principle, giving the revenues of the Church to education or some other object of public utility, of course giving the present holders a life interest. That was a plan to which he was inclined, but it had very great defects in it difficult to overcome. He came next to the plan of Earl Grey, to give half the revenues of the Established Church to the Roman Catholics. That carried with it a principle of equality, and he thought it would be advisable for Parliament to adopt it, though that was not his opinion last year.

He hoped Parliament would consent to consider the subject at as early a day as possible, with a view of devising some remedy for the grievance which was complained of.

Earl Russell's speech was ably and elaborately answered by Lord Cairns, who, after remarking that Lord Russell's opinions respecting the division of the Irish Church estates had undergone an entire change within twelve months, proceeded to deny that the temporalities of the Irish Church had ever been the property of the Roman Catholic Church, claiming for tithes the strong right of prescription. He admitted that inequalities did exist in the application of the Irish Church funds, but insisted that the income was not in larger proportion to the members of the Church than in England. The destruction of the Established Church, whose function it was to teach the truth, would, he contended, produce almost fatal social and political consequences to the landed interest and to the connexion with this country; but he disputed the necessity for any such extreme measure as the infringement of rights sanctioned by law and long existence for the sake of furthering the views of the Liberation Society, who were far more earnest in the attack upon the Irish Church than were the people of Ireland, and strongly urged the House not to assent to the Motion.

Lord Kimberley replied to what he styled the "no surrender" speech of Lord Cairns, insisting that if his arguments were to prevail, no Parliamentary interference with the Irish Church could ever take place. The proposition now suggested he regarded as extremely moderate and just; and it was precisely because he did not desire to see the object of the Liberation Society accomplished that he supported the Motion. The Protestants of Ireland were the greatest friends of England, but their sympathies would not be alienated by an act of justice which extended to the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians a share of the religious endowments now monopolized by themselves.

The Bishop of Ossory said that on former occasions inquiry had shown how unfounded were the charges that had been brought against the Irish Church, and the same result would follow upon this occasion if a fair investigation were made. He moved that the proposition be amended by adding to it, "And also as to the means by which they may be made best to promote the efficiency of the Established Church in Ireland."

The Bishop of Down said that one-fourth of the Protestants of Ireland were in his diocese. The plan he advocated was to take all the revenues of the Established Church and put them into one common fund, to be distributed through one Board; he would give the landlords power to redeem the tithes on paying a certain number of years' purchase; he would sell the glebe-lands that were not wanted, and he would reduce the clergy from two archbishops, ten bishops, and 3600 clergy, to one archbishop, six bishops, and 2000 clergy. He added, that in his experience he

had not found that the Roman Catholic looked with ill-will upon the parochial clergy.

The Duke of Argyll said that he could not help asking himself what would have been the condition of Scotland if one-eighth of the population of that country had been put into possession by the English Parliament of all the State endowments of the Church.

The Earl of Derby said that he could not assent to the Motion without qualification. The inquiry ought to be extended to every part of the subject. The Government were desirous of obtaining full information, with a view to considering the whole question; and he suggested the limitation of the motion to an Address for a Commission, omitting the latter portion of Earl Russell's proposition.

The House divided on the question that the words "to their more equitable application for the benefit of the Irish people" should be omitted from the Motion. This proposition was carried by a majority of 90 to 30. The Bishop of Ossory's Amendment being withdrawn, the Motion for an Address praying simply for a Royal Commission was agreed to.

In consequence of this decision of the House, a Commission was issued by the Crown in the ensuing autumn, with the object of making a complete investigation into the revenues and administration of the Irish Church.

Such having been the proceedings of Parliament in regard to Irish affairs during the present Session, Sir Colman O'Loughlen, shortly before its termination, called the attention of the House of Commons to the state of Ireland, and the fact that the Government had carried no legislative measure for its improvement; and he asked the Ministers to state what the Irish people might expect to be done in the next Session. The hon. gentleman briefly referred to the causes of the difficulties of Ireland, amongst which were the Protestant Church, the precarious tenure of land, and the absenteeism of many of the great landowners. A general and discursive debate on the well-worn topics of Irish grievances took place.

Mr. Maguire referred to the contrast presented by agriculturists in Ireland, who had no security for their tenure, and Irish agriculturists under other circumstances. In 1861 an Irish settlement was made some hundred miles up the River St. John, in America. In that year the locality was a virgin forest, untrampled save by the lumberer and the hunter. In October, 1866, the forest was cleared and changed into a fertile plain, the happy abode of 600 human beings, enjoying comfort and abundance, the fruits of their own energy and industry; all these 600 people, who probably had not 600*l.* amongst them all when they commenced to clear the American forest, had been cleared off the estates of Ireland; and this happy result was due to a wise act of Government. Some time ago a tenant-right league was formed in Prince Edward's Island to resist payment of rent. It had a ludicrous sound; but a

Conservative Government acknowledged that it was founded in justice; for on the advice of the Colonial Office, then filled by Sir Bulwer Lytton, the Colonial Government redressed the wrong complained of by inducing the absentee landlords to sell their extensive properties for division amongst existing tenants and new settlers, and the very last purchase was a tract of 110,000 acres from the Cunard family. What was done in Canada? Seigneurial rights were found very oppressive; and with the sanction of the Home Government these were purchased up for about a million of money. Would the Government do nothing for Ireland to remove the evil which lay at the very root of our empire? This surely was quite as important to settle as the Reform question.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed that the state of Ireland was not satisfactory; but that was not the fault of the present Government or of their predecessors. He was glad to say that emigration was diminishing. Emigration had been attributed to the state of the land question, and to the absence of tenant right, a right which prevailed in Ulster; but when he found the emigration from Ulster to be as great as from any other part of Ireland he was perplexed. Government had introduced a measure to amend the law of landlord and tenant; but it was received with hostile criticism, and they were told that compensation was all moonshine. With regard to the question of education, he admitted that it ought to be settled; but it was a question of great difficulty, and must be met by a combination, he would not say on one side or both sides, but of all parties in the House. With regard to the Irish Church, he thought that those who spoke of it as only a badge of conquest were indulging a feeling which would not conduce to the interest of that country. He was not for destroying that institution; and he put it to those who said that absenteeism was one of the great evils of Ireland, whether it was wise to drive from Ireland the Protestant clergymen, who lived there in some degree of opulence. Then, referring to the extract from his speech of 1844, which had been quoted by Sir Colman O'Loughlin, in which he spoke of the Irish Church as an alien Church, he described it as "a rhetorical passage," and said the circumstances of Ireland had changed. At that time the population was eight millions; it was now five millions and a half. Ireland must be dealt with now in accordance with her altered circumstances. He trusted that by the improvement of her agriculture, by the promotion of manufactures, and by a combination of various industries, the condition of Ireland would soon be greatly improved.

Several Irish members, among whom were Mr. Pim, Mr. Monseil, and Mr. O'Beirne, addressed the House, dilating on the grievances of Ireland, and predicting that the refusal of the Government to deal with the Established Church and with the land question would greatly increase the prevailing discontent in that country.

Lord Naas expressed regret at having been obliged to withdraw the Irish Land Tenure and Tenants' Compensation Bills, which had been introduced at the beginning of the Session with the *bonâ fide* intention, on the part of the Government, of improving the condition of the Irish agriculturists. He did not find that anxiety for leases on the part of the tenants which was represented by hon. members to exist; and he was not sure that the present system, under which land might be held for generations at the same rent, did not commend itself to them more than a system under which, at the expiration of a lease, a new arrangement would be necessary. He explained how the business of the Session had prevented the full discussion of Irish questions; and expressed a hope that, at a very early date, many of them—especially that of education—might be settled by compromise and conciliation on both sides of the House.

The discussion then terminated.

Foreign affairs afforded but few and scanty occasions for Parliamentary discussion this year. There were, however, some transactions abroad which were viewed with considerable interest by the people of this country, and which naturally, therefore, found mention in Parliament. It is but just to the noble lord (Stanley) who at this time held the seals of the Foreign Office, to say that the confidence reposed in his discretion and sagacity by all parties was such as, in a great degree, to preclude cavils at his policy, and to disincline even his political opponents to take any steps which might fetter his conduct or increase the difficulties of his position. Among the occurrences which excited an interest in England, independently of any tendency to affect our international relations, was the insurrection in Crete, the proceedings of which had been attended with many circumstances painful to humanity, and which had therefore evoked considerable sympathy in this country. The subject was first started in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, who, in moving for papers early in the month of March, referred to the conduct of the British Government in relation to the recent insurrection in Crete, expressing his general approval of the tone and terms of Lord Stanley's despatches. He, however, objected to them upon one point, which objection he proceeded to develop by quotations from various documents. The Duke attributed the rising in Crete to the misgovernment of the Turkish authorities, added to the natural discontent of a Christian majority subjected to the rule of a Mussulman minority, and thought that the ultimate recourse to arms by the Cretans was hardly to be condemned after the contemptuous manner in which their petition for redress of grievances had been received at Constantinople. He found no fault with the policy of neutrality avowed and adopted by the British Government when hostilities did occur in Crete, but he condemned the course of the Foreign Secretary in withholding from the non-combatants—women and children—the means of transport from

the island to Greece,—a facility which was ultimately granted them by Consul Dickson, upon his own responsibility, and in contravention of the orders of his Government,—a breach of duty which nevertheless the Duke regarded as an act of the highest merit under the circumstances. After referring to the employment of Albanians and Bashi-Bazouks for the repression of the Cretan insurrection, which he denounced as a barbarous measure, the Duke of Argyll proceeded to notice our interest in connexion with the Turkish Empire—an empire, he said, stamped with the mark of decay and death. He justified the Crimean War, not as having been undertaken in defence of Turkey, but against the designs of Russia upon Constantinople, and dwelt upon the interest which this country must take in the condition of the Christian population of Eastern Europe.

Lord Derby remarked that it could be no part of the duty of the British Government to assist in the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Without attempting to deny all causes of complaint against the Turkish authorities, he contended that many of the grievances urged by the Cretans were exaggerated or fictitious, and that the real cause of the revolt was a stimulated desire for annexation to the kingdom of Greece. He admitted that atrocities had been committed by the Albanians and Bashi-Bazouks, whose employment he regretted had been found necessary; but equal atrocities had been perpetrated by the Cretans towards the Mussulman population. The Turkish Government, having its rights over the island recognized by solemn treaties, had been justified in asserting its authority, and it was to be lamented that the contest had been prolonged by the incessant fomentation and support afforded from the neighbouring kingdom of Greece. The advice given by the British Government to the Porte was to grant to the Cretans an autonomy; but they had left the Turkish Government to accept or not that advice as they might be disposed. In vindicating Lord Stanley's directions for the observance of neutrality, and thereby preventing the removal of women and children from Crete, Lord Derby pointed out the painful necessity under which the Foreign Secretary was placed, by the duty of non-intervention, not to sanction any measure which would favour one of the contending parties, and tend to protract a distressing conflict.

Lord Kimberley considered that the course pursued by our Government in this question had been wise and judicious, and asked what we should think if the United States' vessels were landing insurgents upon our coasts as ships from Greece were introducing volunteers from the mainland into Crete.

Lord Grey also approved of the course of the Government, but added his belief in the decay of the Turkish Empire, and his hope that we should not be induced to take any steps to prevent its dissolution.

The Motion was then withdrawn.

The subject was renewed a few days later by the Earl of Denbigh, who inquired of the Prime Minister whether it was true that Her Majesty's Government had been invited to join with France, Austria, and Russia in a recommendation to the Porte to cede the island of Crete to Greece. He said that he was induced to ask the question in consequence of the systematic attempts that were being made to despoil the Ottoman Empire, and by the repeated violations of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris. Adverting to the unceasing efforts of Russia to gain possession of Constantinople, he regarded Austria as acting under pressure, and argued that the success of Russia would inflict great injury upon our commercial interests in the East.

Lord Derby repudiated any desire on the part of the Government to contribute to the destruction of the Turkish Empire, and vindicated Lord Stanley's recommendation to the Porte to withdraw its troops from Belgrade as judicious and friendly, tending to reconcile the hitherto discontented Servian population to the suzerainty of the Sultan. In answer to the specific question concerning Crete, Lord Derby said no invitation to join in an identical note had been given; but in reply to communications from the French Ambassador respecting a proposed recommendation to abandon Crete, Her Majesty's Government had declared that they did not intend to tender any advice or interfere in any way in the matter. He doubted whether such advice would be taken, unless backed up by force; and he also doubted whether a transfer of the island to the Greek Government would be to the advantage of the Cretans.

An account will be found in another part of this volume of the circumstances which led to the meeting of a Conference in London of European Powers, for the determination of the controversy respecting the Duchy and fortress of Luxemburg. At this Conference the interests of Great Britain were ably represented by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley; and the business of the assembled representatives was conducted with a harmony and despatch which have not usually characterized such conclaves. The first meeting of the Conference took place on May 9th; and the difficulties of negotiation were so speedily removed, that on the 13th, Lord Derby was able to announce to the House of Lords that the members of the Conference had signed a Treaty, the terms of which were that the Duchy of Luxemburg should for all future time be considered as neutral territory, and placed under the collective guarantee of all the Powers parties to the Treaty; also that the Prussian garrison should be withdrawn from the fortress, which was to be dismantled to such an extent as would be satisfactory to the King of Holland.

This intelligence afforded much satisfaction to those interested in the maintenance of peace upon the Continent; but some anxiety was felt as to the obligations which it was feared this country might incur hereafter in the event of any infraction of the

terms to which England had made herself a party. Attention was called in both Houses to this view of the subject, and explanations asked for from the Government. Mr. Labouchere, in the House of Commons, first raised this question, suggesting that the Foreign Secretary was under a delusion when he imagined before that Treaty was entered into that Luxemburg was guaranteed by the European Powers; but by that Treaty we had entered into obligations which might at any future time involve us in a war.

Mr. B. Cochrane expressed his belief that war had been averted by the conduct of the Foreign Secretary in entering into the Treaty.

Mr. Aytoun protested against the Foreign Secretary involving this country in a guarantee; and asked, in case the territory of Luxemburg should be violated, whether this country was bound to interfere by force of arms; if so, what became of the power of the House of Commons to stop the supplies?

Lord Stanley said nobody doubted the power of the House to refuse supplies at discretion, and therefore the House was, in the last resort, to judge as to whether a treaty was to be made or not. As to the House being bound by treaties which it had not the opportunity of previously discussing, all he could say was, that that was according to the Constitution. Treaties were made by Ministers on their responsibility. He reminded the House of the gravity of the circumstances previous to the Conference, and stated that when he was called upon to enter into a new guarantee, he hesitated, but eventually complied, because without a collective European guarantee, the Conference would have broken off, and war would have been the result; and he asked the House to consider what would have been the fearful consequences. It was not true that this country had not previously guaranteed Luxemburg. Our Government gave a guarantee with other powers in 1839. All the Government had now done was to guarantee the neutrality and possession of the country by the King of Holland; and that guarantee was a collective one, which was essentially different from a separate guarantee. It was a case of "limited liability," which had rather the character of a moral sanction than a contingent liability to go to war. He submitted that the advantage of this guarantee was great, and that the risk was little, if any.

Mr. Göschén said this was an instance in which the intervention of England had prevented a European war, in which England must have greatly suffered. At the same time they must face the question, What had been the price they had paid for this result? They must remember that there was a liability which might be realized some day or other.

Mr. H. Seymour, Mr. Kinnaird, and Mr. Sandford joined in eulogizing the discreet and impartial conduct of the affair by Lord Stanley.

In the House of Lords Earl Russell criticised, though in a very friendly spirit, the result of the negotiations. He said that

papers which had been produced on this subject raised two questions. First, was it desirable to interfere in continental affairs with the view of preserving the peace of Europe; and secondly, whether we had paid too high a price for the preservation of peace? The noble earl then reviewed the state of affairs previous to the negotiations, and expressed an opinion that there was no great danger in the additional guarantee given by this country with respect to the neutrality of the territory of Luxemburg; and he highly complimented the Foreign Secretary on the tact and discretion displayed in the negotiations. He was glad that Government had carried out the policy which had been so successfully adopted by Lord Palmerston with respect to Belgium.

The Earl of Derby warmly thanked Earl Russell for the terms in which he had spoken of the Government, and especially of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Government did not join in the Conference till they found it not only indispensable, but likely to succeed, and they gave the guarantee as the only means of preserving peace.

Lord Houghton a few days later asked for some further explanation of the terms of the undertaking. He desired to know what construction was to be put on the words "collective guarantee" in this treaty. If they meant that the default of any one party relieved the others from their obligations, the treaty was of little use; and this was inconsistent with Lord Stanley's statement, that he had joined in the guarantee with the greatest reluctance.

The Earl of Derby said he was always unwilling to underrate or deprecate any obligation which this country had entered into. He was speaking of the technical and not the moral obligation. The difference between a collective and an individual guarantee was well known. By the former, if there was a difference of opinion between the parties to the guarantee, no one party was called upon to undertake the duty of enforcing it. It depended on the union of all parties. Lord Stanley's reluctance to enter into the guarantee was justified by a feeling of anxiety as to the interpretation which might be placed on this obligation, and the extent to which he might have pledged the country.

Earl Russell regretted that a discussion of this kind should have been raised, for it had occasioned great uneasiness in Prussia, and an unfavourable impression of what the conduct of this country might be. If one of the powers—either France or Prussia—violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, and the other of them called on the rest of the powers to enforce it, there would be a moral, though it might not be a technical, obligation on them to do so. Europe would never believe that a stipulation, insisted upon with so much tenacity by one power, and acceded to so reluctantly by another, was a mere piece of waste paper.

The disastrous termination of the ill-judged French intervention in Mexico, and the cruel fate which befell the Emperor Maximilian, excited a very painful sensation in this country; and the

sympathy of the public with that accomplished and amiable prince, as well as their indignation at the author of his destruction, were warmly expressed both by the press and in Parliament. In some quarters a strong desire was felt to give expression by some public act to the general sense of the nation on the subject of this barbarous outrage against civilized usages. In the House of Commons this feeling was expressed by Sir L. Palk, who asked the Foreign Secretary whether it was the intention of the Government to take any steps to record the opinion of that House respecting the transaction. Mr. Otway also inquired whether it was intended to withdraw the British Minister from Mexico. In answer to the former question, Lord Stanley said that Government did not intend to ask the House to take any steps of the nature referred to. All would agree in lamenting the violent and untimely death of a gallant and amiable gentleman, whose high spirit and enterprise, under happier circumstances, might have rendered him distinguished either in the battle-field or in the councils of Europe. But if they were asked to record a judgment of this House upon his execution, he confessed he saw very grave objections to any such step. He did not see how they could come to any such resolution, or how they could discuss it, without entering into a general debate upon the merits and policy of the Mexican expedition, upon the *status* of that unfortunate prince in Mexico, and upon the right by which he claimed the possession of supreme power in that country—considerations of a very delicate nature. If they were to adopt the suggestion of the honourable gentleman, they might be creating a precedent which would prove embarrassing hereafter. This was not the first case, and unhappily it was not likely to be the last, where the claims of one party, after a protracted civil war, had been followed by an unwise and sanguinary act of vengeance. Were they in all cases to take notice of such acts in that House? If they were not, upon what principle could they make a distinction in this instance? Lastly, he would say, although with great respect, that whatever their power and influence might be, they were only the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and not of the world. Any discussion of the question was not likely to be practically useful.

To the second inquiry, the noble lord answered that Her Majesty's Minister accredited to the late Emperor Maximilian was in England on leave. The gentleman left in charge had received instructions not formally to recognize any Government. But to suspend diplomatic relations would be no penalty to the Republic of Mexico.

In the House of Lords the same feeling was even more strongly manifested. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, soon after the rumour of the execution arrived, inquired of Lord Derby whether the Ministers had received any official account of the ex-Emperor's death, and if so, whether any Address of condolence was to be moved.

The Earl of Derby said: "We have received the following tele-

gram from Mr. Fane, at Paris, dated half-past one to-day :—‘The Marquis de Moustier has just received a telegram from the French Minister at Mexico, dated the 27th of June. It reports that the Emperor Maximilian was shot on the 19th, in spite of every effort to save him. The tone of the victorious party was defiant towards all foreign powers, including the United States. They refused to give up the Emperor’s body. The French Minister was preparing to depart with his legation ; but although hitherto unmolested, he thought he might be detained as a hostage for the surrender of General Almonte.’” “I share the feelings of your lordships,” added the noble earl, “with regard to this most unnecessary, cruel, and barbarous murder, which must have excited horror in every civilized country. That murder was purely gratuitous, and so far from it producing a beneficial effect, it can only add to the misery which that unhappy country, Mexico, has so long suffered, and is likely to suffer much longer. Having so recently received this telegram, I must at present decline to say whether the Government will think it desirable to ask your lordships to express an opinion on the subject by an Address to Her Majesty or otherwise.”

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said that his feelings on the subject were so strong, that if the Government did not bring forward a Resolution on the subject, he should do so. The noble lord accordingly gave notice of a Motion for an Address to the Queen “expressing condolence and indignation at the violence done to humanity by the barbarous execution of the unfortunate and heroic Prince Maximilian.

Lord Derby, however, on a subsequent day appealed to the noble lord not to proceed with this Motion. If it was simply an Address of condolence with Her Majesty on the death of a near relative by marriage, it should proceed from the responsible Ministers of the Crown ; and such a motion by an independent peer would seem to involve a slur upon the Government, as if they had neglected their duty. It would be, moreover, undesirable to bring forward a motion which must lead to a discussion of the whole Mexican question.

Earl Russell also urged the noble lord not to press his motion, as it would involve the question of the civil war in Mexico.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said, that after what had fallen from the leaders on both sides of the House, and the full justice which they had done to the character of Maximilian and the nature of his execution, he withdrew his Motion.

A case which touched even more nearly and sensibly the feelings of the English people was that of their fellow-countrymen in Abyssinia, who were still held in durance by the semi-barbarous sovereign of that country, King Theodore, whom no negotiations that had taken place appeared likely to induce to release them from their long captivity. Inquiries were from time to time addressed to the Government by various members touching the

efforts that were being made to effect the deliverance of the Queen's subjects from their bondage; but the answers given were not such as to afford satisfaction to the anxiety felt as to their fate. Shortly before the end of the Session, Mr. H. D. Seymour called attention to the condition of the Abyssinian captives, and moved an Address praying Her Majesty to take steps to recover them, by force of arms if necessary. He discussed at length the various objections to sending an expedition for their rescue, its expense, its risk, and the danger of precipitating the death of the captives, contending that the proper course was to forward an ultimatum demanding their release within a certain time, and to follow it up, if unsuccessful, by the despatch of an armed force, which he believed could with little difficulty reach the vital point of King Theodore's power.

Sir H. Rawlinson maintained that to bear longer with the indignity King Theodore had put upon us would be an act of suicidal cowardice, and that we had no alternative but to take some strong steps at once to liberate the captives. The advance of a well-appointed force from the coast to Abyssinia, though arduous, was not by any means impossible; and as to the expense, it would be nothing as compared with the loss to our reputation and prestige in the East if we left our captives longer in their present wretched state. The danger of precipitating their death was, he showed, very slight; they were quite willing to risk it, and he strongly recommended that, if an expedition were sent, we should not entangle ourselves in foreign co-operation.

Mr. Layard declared that, though formerly much opposed to a hostile expedition, he had now come to the opinion that no other means remained for rescuing the captives.

Colonel Sykes, on the other hand, strongly opposed the idea of an expedition, which he contended would be full of difficulties and would probably lead to great loss of life.

Mr. Ayrton expressed a similar opinion. He suggested the employment of some of the African traders as negotiators.

Lord Stanley said the matter had been under the attention of the Government ever since they came into office, and after mature consideration they decided to attempt the release of the captives by friendly means, which he described, but these had now entirely failed. In deciding what should be done next, though he entirely agreed that to leave the captives to their fate would seriously damage our prestige, it could not be concealed that to obtain their release by force would be a most arduous task, so great were the difficulties of country, climate, and transport. To throw a British army into an unknown country without an inquiry into the means of feeding and moving it would be madness, and would be to incur not only political discredit, but a military disaster. Sir S. Northcote had telegraphed to the Bombay Government to send over officers to consult with Colonel Merewether, and to make these inquiries; and though admitting that it was impossible to leave the captives

in Abyssinia, he declined to give any pledge as to what the Government would do until the result of these inquiries was known.

On the 15th of July, Sir Stafford Northcote said, in reply to Colonel Sykes, that no troops had been told off in Bombay to be sent to Abyssinia, Government were now engaged in a correspondence which he hoped would lead to the release of the captives. No measures of force were in contemplation. He had addressed a letter to the Governor of Bombay, asking what could be done if measures of force were resorted to, but no instructions had been sent out.

Finally on the 8th of August, when the last mention of the subject took place before the end of the Session, Lord Stanley, in reply to Mr. H. Seymour, said that the last information which he had received respecting the Abyssinian prisoners was dated the 20th of July, and it was to the effect that a rebel army was in sight of the king's camp, and that communication between the camp and the place where the prisoners were confined was cut off, but it was premature to assume that the prisoners were liberated.

CHAPTER VII.

MISCELLANEOUS MEASURES.—*Religion and Education*.—Abolition of Church Rates—A Bill brought in by Mr. Hardcastle passes a Second Reading in the House of Commons by a considerable majority—It is sent to the House of Lords, opposed by the Earl of Derby and other Peers, and rejected by a majority of Fifty-Eight.—*The Oaths and Offices Bill*.—Debate on the Clause allowing the Office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to be held by a Roman Catholic—The House of Commons rejects the Proposition, which is renewed in the Lords and again negatived—The Bill thus modified is passed—Another Bill abolishing the Declaration of Office-holders against Transubstantiation is carried—Bill brought in by Mr. Coleridge for abolishing Religious Tests in the University of Oxford—Mr. Fawcett carries a Motion for including Cambridge in its operation—The Bill meets with some opposition, but is finally passed by the House of Commons—It is thrown out at the instance of the Government in the House of Lords.—*Increase of the Episcopate*.—Lord Lyttelton introduces a Bill for increasing the number of English Bishops, which gives rise to differences between the two Houses, and is ultimately abandoned.—*Increase of the Practices of Ritualism in the Church of England*.—Excitement occasioned in the Public Mind by these proceedings—Lord Shaftesbury brings in a Bill, afterwards given up, to regulate Clerical Vestments—The Government issue a Commission of Inquiry into the Practices of Ritualism—First Report of the Commissioners.—*Education of the People*.—Debate on a Bill brought in by Mr. H. A. Bruce for the Extension of a System of District Schools supported by Rates—The Bill is not proceeded with.—*Acts affecting the Working Classes*.—The Factory Extension Act and Agricultural Gangs Act—Character and occasion of these Measures.—*The Metropolitan Parks*.—Discussions and agitation respecting the use of Hyde-park for Political Meetings—Measures adopted by the Government in reference to a proposed demonstration of the Reform League—Results of that Meeting—Animadversions in Parliament on the

conduct of the Authorities—Retirement of Mr. Walpole from the Home Office—He is succeeded by Mr. Gathorne Hardy—Bill for confining the use of the Parks to purposes of public diversion brought in by the Government—It is strenuously opposed; and, after much contention, is abandoned—Termination of the Session—Parliament is prorogued by Commission on the 21st of August—The Royal Speech.

QUESTIONS bearing upon religion and the Established Church, and the tests and disabilities affecting Nonconformists, engaged the attention of Parliament to a limited extent during this Session. The old subject of Church Rates, though not neglected, was less prominent than in some recent years. The Bill for abolishing the charge was again brought in by Mr. Hardcastle, who, in introducing it in the House of Commons, said that he had not pressed the question last year, because a suggestion for a compromise had been made by Mr. Gladstone, which, however, was not carried out, in consequence of the change of Government. When the subject was first agitated, the plea of conscience was urged on the one side, while it was contended on the other that the rate was a charge on property, and that there was an obligation in common honesty to pay it. But now the question was practically narrowed to this—Whether the rate should be continued to repair churches? He believed that Churchmen would be quite ready to subscribe voluntarily for this purpose.

Mr. Baines seconded the Motion. He said he was willing to accept the compromise sketched by Mr. Gladstone last year,—namely, to abolish compulsory Church Rates, maintaining a voluntary rate to which Churchmen would contribute, this being accompanied by the condition, which he thought reasonable, that Dissenters should not vote in the vestry on any matters connected with the expenditure of the money raised by the voluntary rate. He was surprised to find Mr. Hope, who expressed himself in favour of that compromise, had given notice of his intention to move the rejection of this Bill.

Mr. Beresford Hope denied that he was fairly chargeable with inconsistency. When he found that the compromise would shut out, not only the Dissenter, but the dishonest Churchman, he was no longer in favour of it, but he was in favour of another, which was embodied in the Church Rate Regulation Bill, which was also before the House.

Sir W. Heathcote said the supporters of a compromise were in this difficulty:—If they affirmed the second reading of this Bill, which absolutely abolished Church Rates, it would be inconsistent afterwards to proceed with another Bill to effect a compromise. The present condition of the question was in fact a compromise, seeing that the rate could not be levied unless a majority of the parish were in favour of it.

Sir George Grey declared his intention to support the Bill, reserving, however, his right to vote for Amendments carrying out a compromise such as had been suggested by Mr. Gladstone.

Lord John Manners, on the part of the Government, said they

would not support a Bill for the abolition of the rate, as it would obstruct the consideration of the Bills which proposed to effect a compromise.

Mr. Hubbard said that as the Church Rates' Regulation Bill practically abolished compulsory Church Rates, those who voted for this Bill would merely strike a blow at the Church.

Mr. Neate maintained that no Dissenter ought to be subjected to Church Rates. He should not, however, vote for this Bill, as he wished to see whether a compromise could not be effected under the Church Rates' Regulation Bill.

Mr. Walpole said the present Government adhered to the principle of the Bill which they brought in when they were last in office, in order to effect a compromise. He thought that the Church Rates' Regulation Bill would bring about a fair arrangement.

Mr. Gladstone said the point really at issue was whether compulsory powers should remain, to be put in force, not against those who were unwilling, but against those who were willing to pay; and as no disinclination had been expressed by the supporters of this Bill to consider such a proposal in Committee, he should vote for the second reading of the Bill.

The Second Reading was carried on a division by 263 to 187. On the same day, Mr. Newdegate moved the second reading of a measure devised by himself for the purpose of solving the difficulty, entitled the Church Rates' Commutation Bill. In explaining this scheme to the House, he said that Church Rates had, from time immemorial, been charged upon property. He proposed to give parishes the power of levying a rate of twopence in the pound, which would be a charge on property, and paid by the landlord. This rate he calculated would yield about 300,000*l.* a year. The only means by which the parishioners could exercise a control over the fabric or worship of the Church was by means of the Church Rate; and if the rate were abolished, they would virtually take that control from the laity, and vest it in the clergy, a result which clergymen with high ritualistic tendencies would be glad to see. He proposed, however, to provide that in parishes where Church Rates had not been levied for a certain number of years, there should be no power to impose them, but the parishes might, if two-thirds of the ratepayers consented, resume their right to levy the rate.

After a slight discussion, in which Mr. Newdegate's plan met with no support, the Second Reading was negatived by 177 to 45.

The consideration of the Church Rates' Regulation Bill, to which frequent reference had been made in the foregoing debate, was postponed from time to time, and ultimately the Bill was withdrawn. Mr. Hardcastle's Bill, having gone through Committee, and passed the ordeal of a division on the third reading by a majority of 129 to 99, was sent up to the House of Lords, where

the Second Reading was moved by the Earl of Morley on the 8th of August. The noble earl, on moving this stage of the Bill, declared himself not opposed to any just compromise that would satisfy the fair claims of the Dissenters.

Lord Delamere opposed the Bill, but at the same time declared himself open to a compromise.

Earl Russell contended that it was a matter not of right, but of expediency, to concede the claim of the Dissenters. If this measure were rejected, he hoped the Government would announce that they had a measure in contemplation for settling the question.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said the members of the Church of England were willing to accept a compromise; but hitherto none had been proposed which they could possibly assent to. He did not believe that the abolition of Church Rates would endanger the Church, but he did believe it would endanger the union between Church and State.

The Bishop of Oxford said that the Episcopal Bench were sincerely anxious for a fair settlement of the question; but it was impossible for them to consent to the unconditional abolition of the rate.

The House then divided—

Ayes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	24
Noes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	82

Majority against the Second Reading . 58

A Bill, which raised some important questions of principle in regard to religious disabilities for office, was brought in at the beginning of this Session by Sir Colman O'Loughlen, for repealing the restrictions which debarred Roman Catholics from holding the offices of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland; also to enable Roman Catholic Mayors and Judges to attend their own places of worship in their robes of office; and further, to substitute for the oaths required of Roman Catholics on taking office the same oath as is taken by Members of Parliament of that persuasion.

The Government did not oppose this measure in its entirety, but they desired to impose some limit on the relaxation of the existing law which it proposed. An Amendment having been moved in Committee by Mr. Candlish, to omit the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from the operation of the measure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on behalf of the Government, supported the Motion. While he admitted that there were good reasons for throwing the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland open to Roman Catholics, he said there was a great difference with regard to the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and he thought it an indiscreet act of the Roman Catholics to press for a change of the law with regard to the Lord-Lieutenant. He believed that their

doing so would revive prejudices and excite animosities which were happily subsiding.

Mr. Gladstone supported the Clause. The functions of the Lord-Lieutenant as to ceremonial were of a high order, but his political functions were of a less order than that of the Secretary of State who directed his policy, and who might be a Roman Catholic. In the government of the three kingdoms, they ought to have respect to the character and the convictions of each country.

The Amendment was then put, and declared to be carried by a very small majority—143 against 140.

The Bill received the support of the Government in the House of Lords, Lord Derby stating his opinion that it was in accordance with the spirit of recent legislation, and that he saw no objection to it. The question of excepting the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from its operation was, however, again raised by Lord Lyveden, who moved an Amendment, making the Bill applicable to the Viceroy. The Earl of Kimberley and Earl of Denbigh supported this proposition, which was opposed by the Earl of Bandon and the Bishop of Down. Lord Derby also resisted the Amendment. Giving the Bill as it stood his cordial support, the noble lord said that the Lord-Lieutenant was the delegate of the Sovereign, who by the constitution was required to be a Protestant; and on constitutional and political, but not on religious grounds, he objected to the Amendment. Upon a division it was rejected by 69 against 55. Some objections were urged to enabling a Roman Catholic to hold the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the clause which repealed the prohibition against mayors and municipal authorities attending Roman Catholic places of worship in their robes of office was also excepted to, but the objections were overruled by the House, and the Bill was passed. Another measure of cognate nature, for relieving the holders of civil offices from making a declaration against transubstantiation on taking office, also received the sanction of the Legislature, after an ineffectual protest by certain Members in both Houses noted for their unqualified aversion to the distinctive tenets of the Romish Church.

Mr. Coleridge this year renewed the attempt which he had made in the preceding Session to abolish the religious tests required from members of the University of Oxford. The arguments by which he supported this proposition were, that the University was a national institution, and ought to be compelled to receive all subjects of the Crown, without regard to religious distinctions; also that it was only by accident, and with different objects, that the disabilities were originally imposed, and those objects had passed away. This Bill, he said, was objected to on the ground that the admission of Nonconformists would impair the religious teaching in the Universities; but, in fact, for more than a hundred years past the governing body in the Universities had steadily

opposed any thing like religious culture. Besides, if the admission of Nonconformists was dangerous, the danger already existed, for Nonconformists were there now, and might be examiners and private tutors. The Bill was not intended to deal with any collateral question in regard to fellowships. It simply established an important principle, the nationality of the University, as against the exclusive claim of the Church of England.

The Bill was read a second time after an intimation of opposition from Sir W. Heathcote, one of the Members for the University.

Mr. Fawcett afterwards moved an instruction to the Committee on the Bill, empowering them to extend its provisions to Cambridge.

Mr. Selwyn, one of the Members for that University, opposed the Motion, arguing that since the Act passed in 1856 admitting Dissenters to Cambridge, the University had fairly and freely admitted Nonconformists to their colleges, their scholarships, and to all their prizes. They had reserved only that which the Legislature reserved, namely, the governing body, which was limited to members of the Church; and they had admitted, not only Dissenters and Catholics, but Jews, and in their examinations had even granted certificates to women. He denied that there was any grievance; and he combated the argument that the Universities were national institutions in the sense that the House could subvert their constitution.

Mr. Gladstone thought this was a question that ought not to be dealt with by partial legislation, and he had not been able to support this Bill on that ground, independent of the further ground that he did not find in the Bill a settlement of the religious question. It seemed to him that the whole of the religious question ought to be dealt with, both for the Colleges and the two Universities alike, and therefore he was prepared to vote for the instruction.

Sir W. Heathcote opposed the instruction, which was carried, on a division, by 253 against 166.

In the House of Lords the Bill encountered a different reception. The Duke of Marlborough, representing the Government, moved its rejection. He said that the settlement as to the government of the Universities in 1854 and 1856 ought not to be disturbed. Nonconformists were now merely excluded from the governing bodies of the Universities, and that was perfectly right and just.

The Bill was supported by Earl Russell, the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and St. Alban's, and opposed by the Earl Stanhope, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Bishop of Peterborough, and Lord Arundel. The Second Reading was rejected by 76 against 46, and the Bill was lost.

Another ineffectual attempt to legislate upon an ecclesiastical question was made by Lord Lyttelton, who introduced in the House of Lords a Bill for increasing the numbers of the English Bishops, by the creation of three new Sees; one in Cornwall, separating that county from the diocese of Exeter; one at South-

well, in Nottinghamshire, carved out of the existing dioceses of Ripon and Lichfield; and one at St. Alban's, taken out of the present diocese of Rochester. The source of the endowments was to be voluntary subscriptions. It was not proposed to add to the number of Bishops sitting in the House of Lords, but that the new Bishops should succeed in their turn to seats in that assembly. This measure in its passage through the two Houses occasioned a good deal of discrepancy of opinion, and underwent several Amendments, upon some of which the views taken by the majorities in the two Houses were so discordant, that it was found necessary at last to abandon the Bill.

The controversies which had arisen in the Church of England respecting the mode of celebrating divine service, in consequence of the zealous endeavours of a section of the clergy, usually described as the Ritualists, to introduce a great addition of ceremonial observance into the celebration of public worship, and especially in the administration of the Sacraments, had reached such a height, that a loud cry was raised for the interposition of authority to check the progress of innovations which were extremely distasteful to the great majority of the laity. One of the shapes which the spirit of Ritualism had assumed, and which made it peculiarly offensive to many members of the Church, was the adoption of a diversity of vestments of various shapes and colours, which were considered by this section of the clergy to have an emblematic character and to be specially appropriate to particular services and seasons. The resuscitation of these and other obsolete usages of ecclesiastical antiquity raised a storm of indignation and complaint in some parts of the kingdom. Numerous petitions were presented to the Legislature, praying for the repression, either by executive authority or by legal enactment, of these practices. The Earl of Shaftesbury introduced a Bill into the House of Lords for the purpose of declaring and enforcing the law with respect to vestments authorized to be worn by the clergy of the Church of England. The Government, however, forestalled any action in this direction on the part of individual members of Parliament by taking the subject into their own hands, and issuing a Royal Commission, composed of several members of the Episcopal bench, and some influential lay members of the Church, to inquire into the subject of Ritualism, not only in reference to vestments, but to all the rubrics affecting ceremonial and the forms of worship. The Commissioners immediately entered upon their inquiry, and pending their Report Lord Shaftesbury deferred proceeding with his Bill. Shortly before the end of the Session the first Report, which will be found in the Appendix to this volume, appeared, but it was then too late to carry on legislation on the subject.

The subject of the Education of the People, which had of late years acquired increased prominence among the questions of the day, gave occasion to an interesting debate in the House of Com-

mons towards the close of the Session, upon a Bill introduced by Mr. H. A. Bruce, who had been Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education under the preceding Administration. Mr. Bruce laid this measure on the table of the House with no view of carrying it into a law during the present year, but for the purpose of eliciting opinions upon the subject, and paving the way for future legislation regarding it. His speech, on moving the Second Reading on the 10th of July, contained much valuable information and several important suggestions. He began by averring that our present supply of education was utterly insufficient, since there were 3,500,000 children of school age in England and Wales, whilst there were only 1,200,000 on the books of schools receiving State aid, whose average attendance was 900,000, leaving 1,400,000 unprovided for. The great bulk of the uneducated were to be found, not in country districts, but in the large towns. In the diocese of London, comprising a population of 2,120,000, there were only 182,000 at school, whilst 361,000—one-eighth of the population—ought to be at school. The Privy Council system—which was originally intended to call out voluntary effort—could never be made general, equal, and efficient; and it was only by the adoption of the rating system that every district of the country could be reached. After canvassing the various educational schemes which had been suggested, Mr. Bruce explained that this Bill, which was permissive, would enable every borough or district to levy a rate for the purpose of maintaining existing schools or establishing new ones, and to elect a School Committee for the administration of the funds, and the distribution, among such schools in the district as would be entitled to share in them, of the Privy Council grants. These Committees were not to interfere with the discipline or educational arrangements of the schools, which were to conform to the regulations of the Privy Council for the time being; but no child was to be compelled to attend any religious teaching which had been objected to in writing by the parents. The schools were to be denominational or not, as the Committee might decide; but if the latter, Scriptural education was to be provided. Though not personally averse to a compulsory system, he defended the permissive character of the Bill on the ground that it would be absolutely impossible to carry out a compulsory Act in the present backward condition of education, and replied in detail to the objections which he anticipated to the measure. Adverting to Lord R. Montagu's speech, some weeks before, on Scotch education, he denied that the rating principle had produced educational apathy in the people wherever it prevailed, and pointed out that a similar system of voluntary rating was in force in Upper Canada. By the examples of Prussia, the United States, and Ireland, he combated the allegation that the system of education which would be established under this Bill would lead to scepticism and irreligious feeling in the people; and after expressing a hope that the opposition

to the Bill would not be rested on a narrow-minded desire to maintain the ascendancy of the Church of England, he concluded with an intimation that if the Government would promise to undertake the question next Session, he would not press the Bill.

Mr. Algernon Egerton seconded the Motion, declaring his opinion that such a plan as had been propounded offered the only chance of promoting popular education in large towns, especially in Manchester.

Mr. Henley, on the contrary, opposed the Bill, and complained that Mr. Bruce, though he had shown that the present system did not attract all the children in the country to school, had not proved that it was a failure; that school accommodation was deficient, or that his Bill would fill the schools better. He dilated on the injustice of taxing those who were already subscribing largely to schools of their own, for the support of a system of which their consciences would not allow them to avail themselves; and objected to the Bill that it would destroy the voluntary principle, would shut up all the existing schools, and must finally lead to a secular system, as in the United States, where the rating principle had originally been established along with a religious education. He pointed out various objections to the rating clause, and urged that our present system, if time were only given, would attain all the benefits which were desired.

Mr. W. E. Forster observed that the Bill merely allowed those great communities which had come to the conclusion that it was only by the rating principle they could grapple satisfactorily with their educational destitution, to adopt it, and gravely warned the House that this was, after all, a question of the industrial supremacy of the country. Dealing with Mr. Henley's objections, he denied that the Bill would break up the existing means of education, because every existing school would be entitled to share in the rates, if it gave a good secular education; and he argued that, so far from leading to a general system of secular education, there were securities in the Bill against such a system, and additional facilities for the establishment of denominational schools. As to the objection which no doubt would be taken to these schools, that they would work under a Conscience Clause, he maintained that the Conscience Clause was a purely theoretical, and rather a Parliamentary than a practical question, and that many of the clergy were coming fast to the opinion that it would be sufficient for them to attend to religious education, leaving secular education to others. The large extension of the suffrage which was now being made, and the extension of the Factory Acts recently proposed by Mr. Walpole, including some half-million of children, made it more necessary that the great towns should have this permissive power given to them.

Mr. Hardy, though quite sensible of the shortcomings described by Mr. Bruce, agreed with Mr. Henley that they could be dealt with by the present system, which, for the comparatively short

period of its existence, had made immense progress, both as to the number of schools and of scholars. The rating principle, he pointed out, had frequently been proposed before, but had been strenuously opposed as destructive of the voluntary principle and involving a secular system, and as the recognized defect was not in the means of education provided, but in the attendance of the scholars, arising from the apathy of the parents, he argued that the rating principle by itself, without the addition of a power to compel attendance, would not effect very much; and he agreed with Mr. Henley that the Bill would lead to the extinction of existing schools, and that the powers given to the School Committees would leave very little security that the schools might not be taken away from the denominations to which they belonged. As to the course of the Government, he stated that they were not prepared to assent to the Second Reading of the Bill, nor would he pledge them to bring in a Bill next Session, though he acknowledged that the failure of the present system to reach large classes was a pressing question, and that if the Factory Bills now before the House were passed, it would be only just that Parliament should do something to provide that education which was indispensable for certain employments.

Mr. Gladstone expressed his dissatisfaction with Mr. Hardy's declaration, believing that it was necessary now to review the results of our present system, which he showed by statistics worked very unequally, concluding that what was needed was not a few secondary improvements of its details, but some comprehensive measure which would effect a national object. One of the shortcomings of the present system, on which he dwelt with the greatest disappointment, was the feebleness of the religious feelings which it had produced, and in proof of this he instanced the slender proselytizing influence the schools had exercised in recruiting the ranks of the Church of England (though the clergy had to a considerable extent a monopoly of them), and in increasing the attendance at church. He argued that full scope was given by the Bill to the denominational schools, and maintained that the opposition of the Government arose from their hostility to the Conscience Clause.

Mr. Bazley gave his cordial support to the Bill. At this point the debate was brought to a close by the termination of the sitting, and was not afterwards resumed.

The Annual Vote for Education was moved by Lord Robert Montagu, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, the amount required this year being 705,865*l*. The noble lord stated that there was a small increase of 11,335*l*. over last year, and that during the year there had been eighty school-rooms built, fifty school-rooms enlarged, and sixty-one teachers' residences built. The number of schools inspected was 13,586; there were on the books 1,510,871 children, and of these 1,287,000 had been presented at the inspections, 664,000 had been presented for examina-

tion, and more than five-sixths of these had passed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Then there were 42,700 scholars in night schools, showing a marked increase over previous years.

After some discussion the Vote was agreed to.

Two Acts of much practical importance in their bearing on the moral and social condition of the Working Classes were this year added to the Statute Book. One of these affecting the dwellers in towns, was a measure for the extension of the Factory Acts to a variety of trades and employments not before subject to those enactments, containing many provisions which had been found beneficial in practice for the protection of women and children, restricting their hours of labour, prohibiting their employment at night, and prescribing regulations as to the mode of carrying on certain processes attended with risk to the health of those employed. Experience having fully confirmed the beneficial effects of this species of legislation, the proposition to extend its operation met with no serious objection. The other measure was aimed at the correction of an abuse by which the children of the peasantry in some of the agricultural districts, especially in the Eastern Counties of England, had been exposed to much suffering, and had sustained serious moral and physical injury. The facts of the case had recently been brought to light by the investigations of Commissioners, whose Report excited a painful interest in the public mind. It appeared that in the districts in question it was the practice, in consequence of the want of a sufficient supply of resident labourers upon the lands under cultivation, those lands having been within a recent period drained and reclaimed from a state of sterility, to employ a number of children of both sexes collected from the surrounding parishes, who were marched daily to and from the scene of their labours, sometimes a distance of several miles, under the command of a contractor or "gang-master," who farmed out their labour to the cultivator. This system, but little removed from slavery, was proved to be attended with cruel and demoralizing effects to the poor children, especially to the girls, who were subjected, without control, to the authority of the contractor, and underwent severe fatigue and exposure to weather and other physical hardships, as well as a great amount of moral contamination. The urgent necessity of legislative protection for this helpless class, whose parents were often reluctantly forced by poverty to consent to a sacrifice against which their better feelings revolted, was admitted as soon as the facts transpired, and the duty of applying an immediate remedy was forcibly urged upon the Government, both in Parliament and by the Press. An Act was consequently brought in, and speedily passed, which imposed wholesome restrictions upon the employment of young persons, and especially the female sex, in these Agricultural Gangs, and subjected the gang-masters to stringent rules and penalties in the event of any excess of the powers entrusted to them. The discovery of the gross abuses thus, as it were accidentally, brought to

light, and the existence of which was by most persons entirely unsuspected, afforded a painful proof how much evil and oppression may remain latent and unchecked, even in a state of society where the check of publicity is generally supposed to be in full operation, and where the vigilance of an active philanthropy is constantly at work to detect iniquity and to relieve suffering.

The question of the right of the people to hold public meetings for the purposes of political discussion in the Metropolitan Parks, which in the preceding year had excited much angry controversy, and had on one occasion been asserted by the exercise of physical force, was again revived in the present year, having derived a fresh stimulus from the agitation prevailing on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Some account has been given in another part of this volume of the circumstances attending the meeting summoned by the Reform League, which was held in Hyde-park, on the 6th of May; of the Proclamation issued by the Government in reference to the announcement of that meeting, of the steps taken by the authorities to induce the public to abstain from attending it, of the persistence notwithstanding of the leaders of the movement in their design, of the eventual holding of the meeting, and the innocuous manner in which happily for the public peace it was conducted. All these proceedings naturally became the subject of comment in the two Houses of Parliament; and the conduct of the Executive, especially of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, was freely criticised in the debates. On one of these occasions, shortly before the day fixed for the Reform League Meeting, Mr. Bright asserted with great energy the lawfulness and propriety of the intended demonstration. He contended that it was not unlawful for the people to enter the park, and to stand shoulder to shoulder if they were numerous. Nor was it unlawful for them to speak in a loud voice and for others to listen. He believed that Government had acted illegally last year, and he trusted that similar measures would not again be resorted to. The question of Reform was exciting great interest out of doors, and the objects of the meeting might be very useful and important. Meetings of a most orderly character had been held throughout the country, and it was monstrous that there could not be a similar meeting in a London park, without hon. Members coming down and worrying the Home Secretary to swear in special constables, and to take measures as if London were about to be sacked. He deprecated the swearing-in of special constables, which, he said, would set class against class, and create a breach which it would take years to heal. The character of the people was a sufficient guarantee that there would be no breach of the peace, and if the Government did not needlessly and rashly interfere, nothing would happen of which the English people need be in the slightest degree ashamed.

Mr. Secretary Walpole said the Government had no wish to interfere with the holding of public meetings for political purposes,

but they disputed the right to hold them in the royal parks, which were maintained for the general enjoyment and recreation of the people. The holding of a public meeting in the park was not a criminal act, but was a trespass which the authorities were justified in preventing. He regretted that the Reform League had not accepted the warning given to them by the Government, but if they persisted in holding their meetings in Hyde-park they would be solely responsible for any breach of the peace that might ensue. The gates of the parks would not be closed, but the people would have free access; and he hoped their good sense would induce them to respect the law of the land, and not attempt to hold a meeting.

Mr. Gladstone drew a broad distinction between assuming responsibility on the part of the House for any step the Government might take in the exercise of their legal rights, and the duty of supporting the authorities in maintaining the law. Assemblages of people for the discussion and manifestation of opinion with regard to Parliamentary Reform had no doubt exercised a material influence upon the position which the question now occupied; and it should not be forgotten that the people had been charged with being indifferent to Reform. There was no reason for imposing unnecessary restraint upon the holding of public meetings, but that must be qualified by considerations as to time and place. He gathered that it was the intention of the Government to allow the parks to remain open, but to prohibit the holding in them of public meetings for political purposes. He would advise the people to conform to the wishes of the Government, and to respect them as the administrators of the law, reserving to themselves power to raise the question of right hereafter in a legal and regular manner.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the intention of the Government was not to close the parks. He did not admit, however, that there was any doubt as to the legal rights of the Government; and if a civil trespass were committed, there were various modes by which the question might be set at rest. In the meantime the Government had taken every precaution to preserve the public peace.

The meeting was held and passed off very quietly, but it was considered by many persons that the Government had adopted a vacillating course, and had compromised their own dignity and the prestige of the law by first prohibiting the meeting which was afterwards suffered to take place. The chief part of this censure fell on the Home Secretary, Mr. Walpole, who, though his intentions were admitted to be excellent, was thought to have been deficient in that energy and firmness which the responsibilities of his position demanded. The feeling on this point was so general as to induce that gentleman to resign the seals of the Home Office, although he continued to be a member of the Cabinet. These occurrences were brought under notice in the House of Lords a

few days after the meeting took place by Earl Cowper, who, having moved for a copy of the notice issued by the Home Office, censured the course taken by the authorities, as inflicting a heavy blow on the respect for the law and its administrators, while he alleged that nothing could have been more satisfactory than the conduct of the people.

The Earl of Derby explained the circumstances under which the Government had acted. So far as the Home Secretary was concerned, he was anxious to relieve his right hon. friend from the blame which in some quarters had been cast upon him, and he added that owing to the onerous nature of the duties which had devolved on Mr. Walpole, that right hon. gentleman had tendered the resignation of his office, which he (Lord Derby) had been reluctantly compelled to submit to the Queen. As to the law regulating the use of the parks, in July last the then law officers of the Crown gave it as their opinion that persons entering the parks, and holding meetings there for public discussions would be acting as trespassers, and that the authorities would have a right to expel them, but that each individual case of trespass must be dealt with separately. The Reform League having announced their intention to try the question of legal right judicially, the Government abstained from introducing a Bill on the subject last year. After justifying the measures taken by the Government in reference to the late demonstration in Hyde-park, the noble earl said it was intended to take legal steps against one or more of the Council of the League, on whom the Government prohibition had been served, for the purpose of trying the question. Moreover, a Bill now stood for Second Reading in the House of Commons, the object of which was not to confer any rights upon the Crown, but simply to give it power to enforce the rights it now possessed. The noble earl also repudiated the idea that the course of the Government had been vacillating and uncertain. It was the only one open to them; and although it might have subjected them to some humiliation in the eyes of the public, yet he claimed credit for the moderation and forbearance which had been displayed.

Earl Russell held that the conduct of the Ministers had exposed the dignity of the Crown to unparalleled contempt. Of Mr. Walpole's abilities he entertained a very high opinion; but under all the circumstances, and notwithstanding that the whole Government were responsible for the course adopted with respect to the late meeting, he was glad that the right hon. gentleman had resigned. What the Government ought to have done was to have dealt frankly with the people by informing them what was the real state of the law on the subject. In his opinion the meetings in the parks might safely be left to the discretion of the people, and he hoped the Government would not proceed with their Bill.

The Ministers, however, considered it their duty to persevere in their attempt to obtain a legislative declaration of the illegality of using the parks for the purposes of political discussion; a

Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who had succeeded Mr. Walpole at the Home Office, showed considerable energy in pressing forward the Bill brought in with this object. On moving the Second Reading he stated the provisions of the intended measure, which proposed to enact that the same protection should be given to the royal parks in London that was now extended to similar places in the provinces, so that they should not be used for political or religious purposes; that to hold any meeting in them without the permission of the Crown should be punishable as a misdemeanour with fine or imprisonment, and that the Commissioners of Works should lay down bye-laws, the breach of which would be visited by a small pecuniary fine.

Mr. Neate opposed the Bill as being inadequate. He denied the right of holding large public meetings in the parks, and said that they ought to be subject to the permission of legally-constituted authorities.

Mr. P. A. Taylor opposed the Bill as being an attempt, by a side wind, to create a new statutable offence, and to give the Crown a different tenure of the parks from that which it had hitherto possessed. He moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. Newdegate supported the Bill, but thought it would be better to prohibit all such public meetings within three miles of the Houses of Parliament.

After a somewhat warm discussion the Second Reading was carried by 181 against 64. On coming into Committee, however, the Bill encountered a determined opposition from many members on the Liberal side, who exerted the means usually adopted by determined minorities to get rid of an obnoxious measure. An Amendment declaring the inexpediency of legislating on the subject at that time was moved by Mr. Locke, and after much contention rejected by 133 to 88. Further discussions served only to develop new elements of opposition. Though the Government obtained considerable majorities in each division, their opponents, fighting with time on their side as the termination of the Session approached and the pressure of other business made each day important, possessed an advantage which they turned to full account. At length, finding all efforts to carry his measure through its stages unavailing, Mr. G. Hardy was compelled to yield to necessity and withdrew the Bill.

The Reform Bill having received the Royal Assent on the 15th of August, and the other business of the Session having, a few days afterwards, been brought to a close, the time had come for relieving the Members of the Legislature from the arduous duties in which they had been engaged; and on the 21st August Parliament was prorogued by Commission, the Commissioners being the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Beaufort and Richmond, and the Earls of Bradford and Devon.

The Lord Chancellor read the following Royal Speech:—

“My Lords and Gentlemen,—

“I am happy to be enabled to release you from the labours of a long and more than usually eventful Session, and to offer you my acknowledgments for the successful diligence with which you have applied yourselves to your parliamentary duties.

“My relations with foreign countries continue on a friendly footing.

“At the commencement of the present year great fears were entertained that differences which had arisen between France and Prussia might have led to a war of which it was impossible to foresee the ultimate result. Happily the advice tendered by my Government and by those of the other neutral States, aided by the moderation of the two powers chiefly interested, sufficed to avert the threatened calamity; and I trust that no ground at present exists for apprehending any disturbance of the general peace.

“The communications which I have made to the reigning monarch of Abyssinia, with a view to obtain the release of the British subjects whom he detains in his dominions, have, I regret to say, thus far proved ineffectual. I have, therefore, found it necessary to address to him a peremptory demand for their immediate liberation, and to take measures for supporting that demand, should it ultimately be found necessary to resort to force.

“The treasonable conspiracy in Ireland, to which I have before called your attention, broke out in the early part of the present year in a futile attempt at insurrection. That it was suppressed almost without bloodshed, is due not more to the disciplined valour of my troops, and to the admirable conduct of the police, than to the general loyalty of the population and the absence of any token of sympathy with the insurgents on the part of any considerable portion of my subjects. I rejoice that the supremacy of the law was vindicated without imposing on me the painful necessity of sacrificing a single life.

“The Bill for the abolition of certain local exemptions from taxation enabled me to avail myself of a liberal concession made, in anticipation, by the Emperor of the French, whereby several taxes were removed which pressed heavily upon British shipping.

“I have concluded a postal convention with the United States of America, whereby the rate of postage between the two countries will be diminished by one-half, and further arrangements are in progress for increasing the intercourse between this country and the continent of North America.

“The Act for the Union of the British North American Provinces is the final accomplishment of a scheme long contemplated, whereby those Colonies, now combined in one dominion, may be expected not only to gain additional strength for the purposes of defence against external aggression, but may be united among themselves by fresh ties of mutual interest, and attached to the mother

country by the only bonds which can effectually secure such important dependencies—those of loyalty to the Crown and attachment to British connexion.

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

“I thank you for the liberal supplies which you have voted for the public service.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,—

“I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to a Bill for Amending the Representation of the People in Parliament. I earnestly trust that the extensive and liberal measure which you have passed may effect a durable settlement of a question which has long engaged public attention; and that the large number of my subjects who will be for the first time admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise may, in the discharge of the duties thereby devolved upon them, prove themselves worthy of the confidence which Parliament has reposed in them.

“It is gratifying to me to find that the lengthened consideration which you have necessarily given to this important question has not prevented your entering on many subjects to which your attention was directed at the commencement of the Session, and particularly to such as have immediate reference to the well-being of the industrial classes.

“I have had especial pleasure in giving my assent to Bills for extending to various trades, with such modifications as have been found necessary, the provisions of the Factory Acts, the success of which has proved the possibility of combining effectual protection to the labour of women and children with a due consideration for the interests of the trades immediately concerned.

“I confidently anticipate from the operation of the present Acts the same improvement in the physical, social, and moral condition of the working classes which has been found to accompany the application of the Acts to those trades to which they have been hitherto confined.

“The restraints alleged to be imposed on workmen and their employers by Trades’ Unions and other associations appeared to me to call for inquiry; and the revelations derived from the examinations before the Commission, to which you gave your legislative sanction, have disclosed a state of things which will demand your most earnest attention.

“The administration of the Poor Laws, which generally has conferred great benefit on the community, and especially on the poor themselves, requires constant supervision; and I have readily assented to a Bill which, applied to the Metropolis alone, will tend to equalize the pressure of taxation, and improve the treatment of the sick poor, whose condition will be greatly benefited by your well-considered legislation.

“The Bill for the Regulation of the Merchant Shipping contains

important provisions calculated to add to the health and comfort of those engaged in the Mercantile Marine.

"These and other valuable amendments of the law have been the result of your labours during the present Session; and in returning to your homes you will carry with you the gratifying consciousness that your time and pains have not been misapplied, and that they have resulted in a series of measures which I hope, and earnestly pray, may contribute to the welfare of the country and the contentment and happiness of my people."

The Commission authorizing the Royal Commissioners to prorogue Parliament having been read, the Lord Chancellor, in accordance with its terms, declared Parliament prorogued to Wednesday, the 6th day of November next. The House of Commons accordingly left the bar, and the Royal Commissioners retired.

CHAPTER VIII.

Parliament again summoned to meet in the Autumn, in order to make provision for the Abyssinian Expedition—Her Majesty's Speech delivered by the Lord Chancellor—Debates on the Address in both Houses—The Campaign in Abyssinia, the recent Transactions in Italy, and the Fenian Insurrection form the leading topics of debate—The Address is agreed to *nem. con.* in both Houses—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves a Vote of Credit of £2,000,000, for the service of the Expedition—A general discussion takes place on the Causes and Policy of the War—Mr. Lowe, Mr. Horsman, and other Members take exception to the course adopted by the Ministers—Lord Stanley defends the conduct of the Government and the policy of the Expedition in an elaborate speech—After a long and animated discussion the Vote is agreed to—Financial provisions for the prosecution of the War—In the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer from illness, Mr. G. W. Hunt, one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, makes a Statement in Committee of Ways and Means—Proposes to increase the Income Tax, by one penny, for the year, and provide for the remaining Expenditure out of the Balances in the Exchequer—Debate on these Propositions—Mr. Gladstone expresses his approval of the course adopted by the Government—The Resolution moved by Mr. Hunt is agreed to—Motion by Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, for charging the Pay of the Indian Troops and the Shipping employed in the Expedition upon the Revenues of India—Mr. Fawcett and Col. Sykes oppose the Resolution, which is supported by Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Laing, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Cranborne—It is carried, on a division, by 198 to 23—Debates on the same question in the House of Lords—Speech of the Earl of Derby in defence of the Expedition and the conduct of the Government—The Earl of Ellenborough questions the policy of the War, and anticipates difficulties—Earl Russell cordially supports the Government in undertaking the Expedition—The Motion is agreed to without division—*The Italian question and proposed Congress of European Powers*—Lord Stanley states the views taken by the Queen's Government as to the Congress, and the answer given by himself to the invitation of the French Emperor—Statement by Lord Derby in the House of Lords on the same subject—*National Education*—Earl Russell moves a series of Resolutions upon the Principles on which Education should be promoted

by the State—Answer of the Duke of Marlborough on the part of the Government—The two Houses are adjourned till the 13th February—Review of the History of the Year in its Political, Financial, and Commercial Aspects—Conclusion.

WHEN Parliament was prorogued in the latter part of August, no expectation was entertained that an occasion would arise for again summoning the Legislature to meet before the usual time in the following year. It is true that the Queen, in the Speech delivered at the Prorogation, had spoken of hostile measures against the sovereign of Abyssinia as a possible occurrence; but even should this extremity be found inevitable, it was not supposed that war would be commenced so speedily as to make the aid and advice of Parliament necessary before the close of the year. It was, therefore, with some surprise that the public learned that an Autumnal Session had been resolved upon by the Government, in order to provide the means of carrying into immediate effect the resolution which King Theodore's persistent refusal to give up his captives had compelled them to adopt, of enforcing their demand by a resort to arms. Although the proposed expedition to Abyssinia was in fact the only question on which it was necessary at this time to consult Parliament, the Ministers deemed it the best course to make the present meeting the commencement of the ensuing Session, though it involved a somewhat premature statement of their plans and intentions in the opening Speech from the Throne.

On the 19th of November the two Houses were summoned to meet, and on that day the Session of 1867-8 was opened by Commission, and the following Royal Message was read by the Lord Chancellor from the throne:—

“My Lords and Gentlemen,—

“In again applying to you for your advice and assistance, I regret that I have found it necessary to call for your attendance at an unusual, and probably, to many of you, an inconvenient season.

“The Sovereign of Abyssinia, in violation of all international law, continues to hold in captivity several of my subjects, some of whom have been specially accredited to him by myself; and his persistent disregard of friendly representations has left me no alternative but that of making a peremptory demand for the liberation of my subjects, and supporting it by an adequate force.

“I have accordingly directed an Expedition to be sent for that purpose alone; and I confidently rely upon the support and co-operation of my Parliament in my endeavour at once to relieve their countrymen from an unjust imprisonment, and to vindicate the honour of my Crown.

“I have directed that papers on the subject shall be forthwith laid before you.

“I receive from all foreign Powers assurances of their friendly feelings, and I see no reason to apprehend the disturbance of the general peace of Europe.

“A band of Italian volunteers, without authority from their

own Sovereign, having invaded the Papal territory, and threatened Rome itself, the Emperor of the French felt himself called upon to despatch an expedition for the protection of the Sovereign Pontiff and his dominions; that object having been accomplished, and the defeat and dispersion of the volunteer force having relieved the Papal territory from the danger of external invasion, I trust that his Imperial Majesty will find himself enabled, by an early withdrawal of his troops, to remove any possible ground of misunderstanding between his Majesty's Government and that of the King of Italy.

"The treasonable conspiracy commonly known as Fenianism, baffled and repressed in Ireland, has assumed in England the form of organized violence and assassination. These outrages require to be rigorously put down; and I rely for their effectual suppression upon the firm administration of the law, and the loyalty of the great mass of my subjects.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

"The Estimates for the ensuing year are in the course of preparation, and will in due time be laid before you. They will be framed with a view to economy, and to the necessary requirements of the public service.

"My Lords and Gentlemen :

"As a necessary sequel to the legislation of the last Session, Bills will be laid before you for amending the Representation of the People in Scotland and Ireland.

"I have reason to believe that the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report upon the boundaries of existing boroughs, as well as of the proposed divisions of counties and newly enfranchised boroughs, have made considerable progress in their inquiries, and no time will be lost, after the receipt of their Report, in laying before you their recommendations for your consideration and decision.

"A Bill will also be presented to you for the more effectual prevention of Bribery and Corruption at Elections.

"The Public Schools Bill, which has already been more than once submitted to Parliament, will again be laid before you.

The general question of the Education of the People requires your most serious attention, and I have no doubt you will approach the subject with a full appreciation both of its vital importance and its acknowledged difficulty.

"Measures will be submitted to you during the present Session for amending and consolidating the various Acts relating to the Mercantile Marine.

"The exemption which the country has now for some time enjoyed from the Cattle Plague affords a favourable opportunity for considering such permanent enactments as may relieve the home trade from vexatious restrictions, and facilitate the introduction, under due regulation, of foreign cattle for home consumption.

"Measures for the Amendment of the Law, which have been deferred under the pressure of more urgent business, will be submitted for your consideration.

"Other questions apparently calling for legislative action have been referred to Commissioners, whose Reports, as they shall be received, shall, without delay, be laid before Parliament.

"It is my earnest prayer that all your deliberations may be so guided as to conduce to the general contentment and happiness of my people."

The Address in reply to the Royal Speech was moved in the House of Lords by Earl Brownlow, who observed that the subject first in order and importance was the Abyssinian Expedition. He stated the ramifications of the Abyssinian question, and pointed out the inconsistent and evasive conduct of King Theodore in his various communications with Mr. Rassam, and subsequently with Colonel Merewether, which ultimately led to Lord Stanley writing a letter to the king, informing him that if the prisoners were not liberated within three months he would forfeit Her Majesty's friendship. It would thus be seen that the Government had no desire to bring on a war with unnecessary rapidity, and had exhausted every peaceful means to procure the release of the prisoners. But these efforts proved unavailing, and it at length became necessary to vindicate the honour of the country by force. The Government accordingly took upon themselves the responsibility of adopting active measures, trusting to obtain the approval of Parliament for the course they had pursued.

Lord Hylton, in seconding the Address, pointed out the constitutional necessity of Parliament being called together, as by the Act of 1858 its sanction was necessary to the employment of Indian troops in military operations out of India. It would be a matter of great regret if any thing were neglected to secure the success of the Expedition, and he felt sure that the general disposition of Parliament and the country was to afford to Her Majesty every possible assistance and aid.

Lord Russell said that war with Abyssinia being thought necessary, there could be no doubt as to the propriety of calling Parliament together; his only doubt on the subject was whether it ought not to have been summoned at a rather earlier period. But there were two questions to be considered; first, ought the conduct of King Theodore to be regarded as a *casus belli*; and, second, was it expedient to make a large military expedition the means of recovering the prisoners. He thought it impossible that the Government should not consider the outrageous conduct of the Sovereign of Abyssinia to their fellow-subjects, according to every principle of international law, to be a cause of war. But as to the second question, if he felt any doubts, they had been suggested by Lord Stanley himself, who had stated a great many difficulties in the way of the Expedition. Having no interest of their own to serve, the Government were, no doubt, correct in the course they

had taken, but he should suspend his judgment until he knew more of the grounds on which they had acted. He was glad to observe in the Speech that the Expedition was for the recovery of the prisoners, and "for that alone." Lord Russell then adverted to the other portions of the Speech, and expressed his pleasure that no apprehension was entertained by the Government of any disturbance of the peace in Europe. With respect to the events in Rome and Italy, he referred to an article in the Convention of September which he thought was likely to give rise to complications—namely, the article giving the Pope power to raise foreign troops. Serious difficulties might arise from this provision, and he considered all these interventions in the internal affairs of other countries injurious to the interests of Europe and inconsistent with the principles they professed. With regard to Fenianism, he thought very culpable negligence was shown in Manchester in not properly guarding the State prisoners, and it behoved the Government to see that there was no laxity in the administration of the law. Lord Russell then made some observations upon the forthcoming Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland, and offered some criticisms on the speeches made by Lord Derby on the subject, remarking that it would be much better he should show that his measures were calculated to conduce to the public benefit rather than that he should merely inform them that he was about to take two further leaps in the dark.

Lord Hardwicke expressed his opinion that the expedition against Abyssinia was necessary to support the honour and dignity of the nation. Lord Lyveden regarded it as one of the most serious misfortunes that could have befallen this country. He thought a more complete explanation of the policy of this step would be required at the hands of the Government, and before any money was voted, the limits of the operations proposed to be carried out ought to be distinctly defined.

Lord Carnarvon dwelt strongly on the many difficulties that would have to be overcome in a war with the King of Abyssinia, and expressed a doubt whether such a campaign as the country had embarked in was the sole alternative that presented itself. He spoke highly of the tact and ability of Mr. Rassam in the management of wild races, but thought he did wrong in accepting money from the King of Abyssinia, as it placed him in a false position, as the accredited envoy of Her Majesty. Mr. Flad also was an excellent man, but was not the person to be entrusted with a grave and delicate mission. There was nothing, however, now left to be done but to go on as vigorously as they could with the war which had been commenced.

Lord Houghton, referring to the relations existing between France and Italy, said he could have wished that the words in the Speech with regard to the early withdrawal of the French troops had been omitted, because they assumed that it would lead to a solution of the Italian question. With respect to a Conference of

the European Powers, he hoped that before Her Majesty's Government disposed of that matter, whenever it should be referred to them, they would seriously consider that the Papal question was territorial as well as religious.

The Earl of Derby expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity of the House in regard to Her Majesty's Speech. The noble lord entered into details respecting the negotiations with King Theodore and the failure of the efforts to release the prisoners, and said that although the object of the Expedition had already been stated by the Government, he would emphatically declare that it was the firm intention of Her Majesty's Government that nothing further than the release of the prisoners should be attempted by the expeditionary force, and that if that object were accomplished the force would at once retire from Abyssinia. In reference to the relations between France and Italy, Lord Derby said he was happy to find in the Speech of the Emperor of the French that His Majesty's views upon the question entirely coincided with the hopes which had been expressed by Her Majesty's Government. With respect to the convention between France and Italy, Her Majesty's Government did not think it necessary to express any opinion whatever. Those countries alone were concerned with it; nor would the Government intimate any opinion with regard to the French expedition to Rome, though it was open to them to express a hope that all chance of a misunderstanding between those countries might be prevented by the withdrawal of those troops. The English Government had been invited to a Conference to settle the question, but that invitation had neither been accepted nor declined, though the Government would be happy to relieve the Emperor from a difficulty, in return for the cordial friendship and goodwill he had always exhibited towards this country. With regard to the Fenian conspiracy, he regretted that Lord Russell should have cast some imputation on the Government and local authorities for what he considered remissness, but he denied that there was any ground for such an imputation. He protested against the dastardly outrages of the Fenians being classed in the category of political offences.

The Address was agreed to *nem. con.*

In the House of Commons the proceedings were marked by the same unanimity and absence of party feeling on the subject of the expedition to Abyssinia.

Mr. H. Dyke, in moving the Address, referred to the necessity which had compelled the sending of the expedition, and expressed his concurrence in the hopes expressed in the paragraphs relating to the affairs of Italy and the effectual suppression of the Fenian outrages. He expected both sides of the House to join in effecting a complete settlement of the Reform question, and expressed his approval of the promised measures respecting Education, the Mercantile Marine, and the Cattle Plague.

Colonel Hogg seconded the Address, passing in review the

various topics embraced in the Royal Message, and expressing his confidence in the propriety of the preparations made for the Abyssinian Expedition.

Mr. Gladstone next addressed the House. Referring at the outset of his speech to the painful circumstances in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was placed (Mrs. Disraeli being at that time in a precarious state from dangerous illness), he said that he had intended to ask for some explanation of statements made by the right hon. gentleman during the Recess, but in the position in which Mr. Disraeli was now placed, entitling him to the sympathy of the House, he should refrain from touching on the subject. Proceeding to the subject of the Abyssinian campaign, he advised the House not to enter into that question at present. For all that had happened hitherto the Executive alone was responsible, since Parliament was uncommitted in any way to the Expedition, and was free to exercise its judgment upon it. Admitting that as between our Government and the King of Abyssinia there was a clear *casus belli*, he warned the Government that the House would require to be convinced that the objects of the Expedition were attainable, that a war could be carried on with an enemy who might choose to fight rather than fly, how it was to be carried to an issue, and what were to be the limits of the Expedition; and would insist on a distinct disclaimer, not only of territorial aggrandisement, but of all desire to contract new political responsibilities. With regard to the means of meeting the expenses, Mr. Gladstone urged the Government to confide in the courage of Parliament, and not to make them an addition to the debt of the country. He touched next on the Italian and Fenian paragraphs in the Speech, concurring in the hopes there expressed of the speedy termination of the Italian difficulty and of the suppression of the Fenian outrages; and he took upon himself, amid loud cheers, to assure the Government that in the firm administration of the law, Her Majesty would be supported by all loyal subjects and by Parliament. The credit of Parliament was now involved in completing the settlement of Reform, and he regretted that Government had not seen their way to deal with the Irish land question. He hoped that the rumour was not true which assigned to the Irish Church Commission the function of drawing up plans for its re-organization.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who showed much emotion, thanked Mr. Gladstone and the House for its kind sympathy with his domestic distress, and, acknowledging the complete fairness of Mr. Gladstone's speech, admitted to the full that the House was quite unpledged to the Abyssinian Expedition, and was free to pass any judgment upon it which seemed fit after a debate. It was not because the Irish land question was not mentioned in the Speech that, therefore, the Government did not intend to deal with it; on the contrary, they hoped, if time would allow, to introduce a Bill on the subject; and with reference to the Irish Church Commission

it should be laid on the table that day, and Government were now giving much time to its consideration.

Mr. Horsman asked Lord Stanley to explain the character of the invitations sent out by France for a Congress on the affairs of Italy, and what answer Her Majesty's Government had given to it, denying altogether that it was a matter to be settled between France and Italy; for the Emperor himself, in his speech to the Chambers, had declared it to be a matter of European interest, and that it was necessary to settle a comprehensive basis for negotiations before the Congress met; he then entered into an elaborate review of the situation in Italy, and urged Lord Stanley to accept the invitation, on conditions which he specified, and which, he maintained, would lead to a satisfactory settlement.

Lord Stanley, while declining to enter into a general discussion of the Italian question at present, professed his readiness to tell the House all that the Government had done in reference to the occupation of Rome, and the invitation to a Conference. Not being bound by treaty obligation to pronounce any formal opinion on the occupation, the Government had refrained from any such act, though he had expressed to the French Government his belief that it would produce a very unfavourable impression in this country. But in the differences which had arisen between the Italian Government and the French Government our good offices had been asked by Italy and had been accepted. To the invitation to a Conference addressed to us by the French Government he had answered that the Government saw little chance of any satisfactory result following the Conference, unless some definite plan of settlement were proposed beforehand, and unless it could be ascertained from previous negotiations that the plan would have a reasonable chance of acceptance. Sorry though he might be to lose a chance of removing this cause of disagreement, to go into a Conference without some such previous understanding would have been a waste of time.

Sir G. Bowyer took exception to parts of Mr. Horsman's *resumé* of the Italian question, maintaining that the Emperor of the French was master of the situation; that if King Victor Emmanuel was embarrassed, it was owing to his own duplicity; that events had shown the perfect satisfaction of the Roman people with the Papal rule; and that the repetition of such a filibustering expedition, protected by Victor Emmanuel, would lead to a rebellion in Southern Italy and a restoration of the Bourbons.

Mr. Newdegate expressed his complete satisfaction with Lord Stanley's decision to have nothing to do with the Roman question.

Mr. P. Taylor, on the contrary, said he felt deeply grieved by our abnegation of international duties, denouncing the invasion of Italy by France as an act of brigandage, and maintaining in opposition to Sir George Bowyer, that the Roman people were only prevented from expelling the Papal Government by the presence of foreign troops.

Mr. Butler Johnstone asked those who complained of our non-interference in Italy, to point out how we could have prevented the invasion of Italy by French troops. We were not masters of the Mediterranean, and we could not have sent out an expeditionary force strong enough to cope with the French and the Papal armies.

After some further observations from various Members, the Address was agreed to.

The first important business of the Session was to obtain the sanction of the House of Commons to the pecuniary grant necessary for carrying on the expedition to Abyssinia¹, and the proposition made by the Government for this purpose naturally brought under discussion the policy of that step, and the measures by which it was to be carried into execution.

On the 26th of November the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a Committee of the whole House, moved a vote of credit of 2,000,000*l.* for the object in question. Commencing with a rapid review of the transactions which had rendered the Expedition necessary, the detention of Consul Cameron, the mission of Mr. Rassam ending in his detention, the failure of Mr. Flad's mission, and the *ultimatum* addressed to King Theodore, down to Lord Stanley's speech in July, 1867, when the possibility of recovering the captives by force was first discussed in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli said that the Government at that time, though with great reluctance, had contemplated the necessity of an Expedition, and had begun to make preparations; and he denied that on that occasion Lord Stanley had led the House to believe that there would be no war. On the contrary, he undertook to show that Lord Stanley had distinctly announced an expedition, and had courted the responsibility for it. The Government just then was making inquiries, was expecting important information daily, and had not yet received King Theodore's answer to the *ultimatum*, so that it was impossible for them to make up their minds; but they were very anxious to be in such a position of preparation as to be able to operate this year. Almost simultaneously, immediately after Lord Stanley's speech, the Governor of Bombay informed the Home Government that he could have all ready for the Expedition this year, and Colonel Merewether reported that our *ultimatum* had been rejected by King Theodore, whereupon the Government came to a reluctant decision that as measures of conciliation and magnanimity had failed, it was their duty to resort to force for the recovery of the captives. Having come to this resolution, Mr. Disraeli went on to show how the Government had taken every precaution to secure the success of the Expedition, warmly praising the energy and economical zeal of Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, the Governor of Bombay; and stating that up to this time no moneys had been spent which had not been voted by Parliament; but that it became necessary now that Parliament should provide funds.

¹ An account of the Abyssinian Expedition will appear in the Foreign History of our next volume.

Assuming that its object would be attained by the end of the healthy season, the end of April, according to a rough, but careful and confident estimate, the expedition would cost 3,500,000*l.*, to which must be added 300,000*l.* if it were necessary to replace in India the Indian troops now employed in Abyssinia,—say, 4,000,000*l.* in all. Only 2,000,000*l.* was asked for now, because only that sum could be spent within this financial year, and also because if luckily King Theodore should surrender the captives without an actual war, 2,000,000*l.* would about represent the cost of placing Sir R. Napier's force in Abyssinia.

Mr. Lowe, passing over altogether the historical causes of the quarrel, charged the Government with a violation of the spirit of the Constitution in commencing this war without notice to Parliament, and maintained that, although they had led the House of Commons to believe that nothing would be done against King Theodore without its knowledge, they were all the time pushing on preparations, and gave no notice of their resolution until the last day of the Session. He canvassed minutely Lord Stanley's speech of July 25, 1867, insisting that it amounted to a pledge that no steps should be taken to commit Parliament to an Expedition until the information (which he was then seeking for) had been laid before them to enable them to judge of its feasibility; but now it turned out that the only information he was waiting for was Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald's assurance that the Expedition could be commenced this year, and King Theodore's rejection of our *ultimatum*; and that the Government had irrevocably made up its mind at that very moment to employ force. Another charge which Mr. Lowe made against the Government was that they had violated the 55th Clause of the Act of 1858, by charging on the Indian revenues the expenses of the Indian troops employed in the Expedition, and he insisted that they had broken the pledge Lord Stanley had given that it should not be undertaken without careful inquiry,—enforcing his argument by a careful comparison of dates and many quotations from the Blue Book. Admitting that it was impossible now to refuse to vote the money, he asked for further information as to the practicability of the Expedition, dwelling forcibly on the supposed difficulties of climate and country. What routes, for instance, he asked, were to be taken? Was the expedition sent on the idea that Theodore had possession of the captives, and how, when we had got into the country, were we to get out?

Lord Stanley defended in an elaborate speech the policy of the Expedition and the conduct of the Government in reference to it, commencing with an emphatic declaration that it was a disagreeable duty, which no Government would have undertaken except under the strongest conviction that it was forced on them in honour and in justice to the public servants. Passing lightly over the original policy of entering into diplomatic relations with semi-barbarous potentates, and the causes which led to the detention of Consul Cameron, Lord Stanley answered various objections to the

Expedition, replying to those who asserted that Consul Cameron's conduct justified his detention, that at any rate Mr. Rassam had done no wrong, and that King Theodore had never condescended to tell us what he complained of; and he discussed the different plans which had been suggested for the recovery of the captives, to show that there was nothing left but force, though there still remained a chance of a peaceable surrender through the mediation of a mission proposed to be sent by the Viceroy of Egypt to King Theodore. There was but one alternative to the Expedition—to leave the captives to their fate, and though this course was justified in the case of Conolly and Stoddart by the physical impossibility of sending an expedition to Bokhara, that could not be pleaded in this case; for, though a march into Abyssinia might be difficult, it was not hopeless. But, apart from the difficulties of the Expedition, we had to consider what effect the abandonment of our envoys would have on our power in India, which depended so much on *prestige*; and in enforcing this argument he reminded the House that our supposed breakdown in the Crimea had much to do with the Sepoy revolt, and that the recent Bhootan war had been waged expressly to punish an indignity offered to our envoys. He discussed and dismissed the projects of sending out a third mission after two had failed, and of bribing King Theodore; and turning to the chances of the Expedition, he maintained that we knew as much of Abyssinia as we did of Burmah, Scinde, or other countries to which we had sent expeditions, and that there were no greater obstacles either in the way of geographical difficulties, climate, means of transport, water, &c., than our Indian officers were well accustomed to deal with. Abyssinia, in fact, did not present so many difficulties as Afghanistan, which had been traversed from end to end by an Anglo-Indian force. Replying to a difficulty recently suggested by Mr. Gladstone, he expressed a strong opinion that it was impossible for King Theodore to run away with his captives; for in the present condition of the country it was most probable that if he took refuge with the frontier tribes his reign and his life would be very short, and it was a hundred chances to one that the captives would not be murdered; at any rate, they were anxious to run the risk. After repeating explicitly that the Expedition would leave the country as soon as ever the captives were recovered, he defended himself from the charge of having misled the House—urging that no decision had been arrived at when he made his speech on July 25, 1867; that he had left himself entirely uncommitted either way then; that subsequently the Government had received information that it was possible to despatch an Expedition this year; that they had likewise obtained a considerable amount of information from the War Office; that they had assurance of public opinion being in favour of the Expedition; and that the Government did not make up their minds until the last days of the Session, when the great majority of the House had separated

to all parts of the country, and when it would have been most unfair, and something like a fraud, to ask for a vote from the House. He concluded by an emphatic declaration that the course the Government had taken, though least agreeable to their personal convenience and, in fact, increasing their responsibility, most effectually discharged their duty to Parliament.

Mr. Horsman repeated Mr. Lowe's charges, and with frequent reference to the Blue Book, maintained that it showed Lord Stanley to have made up his mind and the departments to be busily engaged in preparations for the Expedition on July 25, when Lord Stanley led the House to believe that the matter was open. He complained also that while Lord Stanley held out that he was waiting for information from the interior of Africa, he was, in fact, only expecting Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald's assurance that an Expedition could be despatched this year; and that the language of the Queen's Speech also had misled Parliament, inasmuch as it promised that the military expedition should be preceded by a summons for the liberation of the captives, whereas we were virtually at war with Abyssinia from the 14th of August last. Admitting that it was impossible now to refuse the vote, he maintained that the Government had violated the prerogative of Parliament, illustrating his argument by reference to the debate on the Persian war, and he urged Parliament to mark its sense of this dereliction of duty.

Mr. Osborne, disclaiming all party motives, attacked, in his usual caustic vein, the "Palmerstonian policy of intervention," and the fear of losing our *prestige*, which were the original causes of our difficulty, and the proceedings of Consuls Plowden and Cameron, who, by mixing themselves up with the internal affairs of Abyssinia, had brought on this war. He laid the blame of suggesting a hostile expedition on the Liberal side, and particularly on Mr. H. Seymour, Sir H. Rawlinson, and Mr. Layard; but thought that the Government, having made up their minds on the 31st of July last that force was necessary, ought to have told the House at once, however inconvenient it might be to those members who had gone away. He strenuously objected to charging any part of the expenses on the Indian Exchequer.

Mr. Layard travelled at great length into the history of our connexion with Abyssinia, defending the conduct of former Governments in the nomination of consuls to that country, of Lord Russell and of himself in sending Mr. Rassam's mission, and asserting that both Consul Plowden and Consul Cameron had violated their express instructions in mixing themselves up with the internal affairs of Abyssinia. He approved unreservedly the despatch of the Expedition, having regard both to the recovery of the captives and the maintenance of our *prestige*, on the importance of which last consideration he dwelt with great emphasis.

Sir S. Northcote, after mentioning that if the vote were agreed

to that evening, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would on an early day state how he proposed to raise the 2,000,000*l.*, and he himself would move the Resolution placing a certain portion of the expense on the Indian Treasury, defended Lord Stanley against Mr. Horsman's charge of having deceived the House in his speech of the 25th of July. Lord Stanley, in that speech, he maintained, distinctly reserved to the Government the liberty to resort to force, giving full notice that such a policy was under consideration; and there was ample opportunity between that and the end of the Session for any member who objected to leave such a discretion to the Government to make a Motion to that effect. At that time the Government did not expect an answer to the *ultimatum* until the middle of September, and were under the impression that an Expedition could not be despatched until the middle of January, though they were exceedingly anxious to be in such a state of preparation that this year should not be lost. He traced minutely (giving the precise dates) the various stages of opinion through which the Government had passed before arriving at the decision to use force. Three days after Lord Stanley's speech, when they were undecided, the telegram was received from Bombay announcing that the Expedition could be ready this year if authority were given to commence the collection of transport immediately, and on the 13th of August the rejection of the *ultimatum* by King Theodore and a minute from Sir R. Napier showing the practicability of the Expedition were received. At that time it was impossible to lay the matter before Parliament; in fact, it would have been necessary to keep Parliament sitting all September, because it was not until the middle of September that the Government knew whether or not Sir R. Napier would exercise the discretion vested in him to support the peremptory demand by force this year or not. Sir R. Napier had decided not to send this peremptory demand to the King until the advanced force was in the field; and, in fact, he would not receive it until between the 5th and 10th of November, so that we could not actually be said yet to be at war with Abyssinia. Replying to the objections raised to the amount of the force, he mentioned that it was supported by the concurrent authority of the Duke of Cambridge, General Napier, General Mansfield, and Sir H. Durand.

Colonel Sykes thought that the Government had violated the law in employing Indian troops, or at least in taking their pay out of the Indian revenue. Mr. Aytoun argued that the origin of our present difficulty was the absurd practice of opening diplomatic relations with semi-barbarous potentates. Captain Vivian criticised with severity some of the details of the preparations for war, impeaching them for extravagance. He doubted also the expediency of giving General Napier *carte blanche*.

Mr. Gladstone admitted that practically the House had no choice left but to assent to the vote; the only question was, were

Ministers censurable for their policy? and though there might have been some errors of judgment, he was not on the whole disposed to join in any censure upon them. Speaking generally, they appeared to have acted with a proper regard for the honour of the country and the safety of our envoys, combined with a laudable desire for peace; nor did any public advantage seem likely to arise from minute military criticisms of an Expedition, the success of which all must desire. On the question of constitutional privilege, while professing himself unable, with his present information, to understand the reasons of the change in the views of the Cabinet between the 26th of July and the 14th of August, he urged that when they had decided on the latter day to send an Expedition, they ought to have informed Parliament of it at once, and to have asked for a vote, however inconvenient it might have been to individual members. He argued that the clause of the Act of 1858 prohibiting the charge on the Indian revenues on account of the Indian troops employed, had not been obeyed; and took serious objection to Mr. Disraeli's assertion that no money had been spent which had not been voted by Parliament, pointing out that it involved a grave infraction of the financial privileges of the House of Commons.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer briefly replied, maintaining that though it might have been preferable to communicate the intentions of Government to the House of Commons immediately, the course they had taken was the one most convenient to themselves, while it was in accordance with the Constitution. He insisted also that the Treasury had power to use for the expedition the military supplies already voted, though he admitted this ought only to be done under extraordinary circumstances.

The vote was then agreed to.

The next step was to provide the means by which the sum thus voted was to be raised. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at this time was confined to his house by illness, and the duty of laying the propositions of the Government before the House devolved, in his absence, upon the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Ward Hunt, who in a Committee of Ways and Means stated the views of the Government as to the best mode of raising the sum required. Mr. Hunt commenced his statement with a comparison of the estimate of receipts and expenditure made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 4th of April last with the actual accounts for the eight months of the year, the result of which was, that though the income was less than the estimate by about 100,000*l.* (the deficiency being in the Customs, Stamps, and Post-office), the expenditure had also been reduced by about the same amount, so that there would be a surplus on the year of some 205,000*l.* There was thus left 1,800,000*l.* to be provided for this year's expenditure on the Abyssinian Expedition; and this the Government, adopting the manly principle that the cost of the war ought to be borne as far as possible by the taxation of the year, proposed to

supply in the first place by an addition of one penny to the Income-tax. This would produce about 1,500,000*l.*; but as only 840,000*l.* would come into the Exchequer in the present financial year there would remain 960,000*l.* to be supplied, and this it was proposed to take out of the balances in the Exchequer. Mr. Hunt entered into a long calculation to show that this course was feasible and safe, and that it would leave a balance of 5,654,000*l.* in the Exchequer at the end of the financial year; and concluded by moving a resolution imposing an additional Income-tax of one penny in the pound for the year ending April 1, 1868.

Mr. Gladstone, though doubting whether the scheme proposed carried out the laudable principle of providing for the war by present taxation, offered no objection to it, considering that the financial year was so far advanced, and that the principle of imposing some immediate tax was recognized. Nor did he object to the amount which was to be taken from the balances, being satisfied that there would be an amount left sufficient to sustain the public credit, and remembering that nearly a similar sum had been spent this year in the reduction of debt.

A desultory discussion ensued, in the course of which Sir George Bowyer pointed out that the proposed increase of taxation would not have been necessary but for the diversion of last year's surplus to the reduction of the public debt. Mr. Laing assented to the scheme as a provisional one, pointing out that though it might not be expedient to disturb such sources of revenue as tea and sugar for a temporary emergency, yet that if the war should go on, the expense ought not to be borne by the upper and middle classes alone. He also agreed with Sir G. Bowyer as to the impolicy of diverting last year's surplus to the payment of debt. Mr. Hankey expressed a different opinion on this point. Mr. White argued in favour of more decided steps in the direction of economy in expenditure.

The Resolution was ultimately agreed to.

Sir Stafford Northcote then proceeded to move a Resolution for charging on the Indian revenues the ordinary pay of the Indian troops and shipping employed in the Abyssinian Expedition, with the proviso that the expense of replacing them, if necessary, should be borne by the British Treasury. Adverting to section 55 of the Government of India Act, which prohibits this being done without the leave of Parliament, Sir Stafford admitted that in the preparations they had made, the Government might, by a strict construction of its letter, already have violated it, but pleaded the example of the late Government, which had done exactly the same thing in the third Chinese war, the exigency of the case, the peculiar character of the Expedition, the importance of saving time, and that, having acted solely with a view to the public interest, the Government were entitled to an indemnity; and he pointed out that if the House insisted on being consulted by the Executive at every step a considerable change in the relations of Parliament and the

Administration would be necessary. Protesting earnestly that it had been his desire throughout all the preparations to protect the people of India against any unjust pecuniary burden, he went on to urge a variety of reasons why India was really interested in the Abyssinian Expedition, and ought to bear a share in the expense; for instance, that the Expedition was so large and so costly entirely because of Indian considerations; that India had a greater interest even than England in maintaining the sacred character of our envoys in the East, and would suffer most by an impression being spread abroad that we were too weak or too cowardly to protect ourselves from such insults; and that but for India it was doubtful whether the Expedition would have been sent so soon. Sir Stafford, in conclusion, discussed the precedents of the Chinese wars and the Persian Expedition, and showed that the arrangements then made were much less favourable to India than this, which would only impose a charge of 300,000*l.* on the Indian revenue up to the end of April.

Mr. Fawcett opposed the Resolution, insisting that India had no interest in the Abyssinian war; that the Indian officials, if not opposed to it, had thrown cold water upon it; and that Sir S. Northcote had virtually pledged himself in a despatch to the Bombay Government that no pecuniary burden should be thrown on India. He urged the House rather to face the necessity of additional taxation at home than to do this injustice to the unrepresented millions of India.

Sir H. Rawlinson argued that as the best interests of the people of India were bound up in the maintenance of British rule and British *prestige*, this Expedition was as much an Indian as a British necessity; in fact, it might be described as a legitimate measure of Indian precaution, and the Indian revenues ought to bear a portion of the cost. After showing that India, keeping always a large disposable margin of forces, could easily spare what was asked, Sir Henry turned to the general question, and emphatically disclaimed the idea of annexing Abyssinia, which had been attributed to him—though not insensible to the many weighty arguments in its favour,—chiefly on the ground that it never could be made remunerative, and that it would precipitate the Eastern question. He discussed the chances of the Expedition, remarking that if we had to follow Theodore and the captives beyond Magdala, we must make up our minds to a temporary occupation, and he deprecated a precipitate retreat.

Mr. Gladstone, reverting to Sir S. Northcote's defence of the possible violation of the clause of the Indian Government Act, insisted that the course taken by Lord Palmerston's Government at the time of the third Chinese war came under the exception of a "sudden and urgent necessity," provided for by that Act. After expressing his regret that Sir R. Napier's demand for so large a force had not been submitted to a more mature consideration, he signified his entire approval of the proposal of the Government,

which was a very modified application of the principle contended for, and compared with former precedents was a favourable arrangement, describing it rather as a service rendered to this country than a burden imposed on India. The Resolution would not make India one shilling the poorer, nor would its rejection make her one shilling the richer; it was merely a borrowing from India of a force which she could easily spare. An inquiry into the distribution of general military charges between England and India, he contended, would show that the balance was largely on the side of India, and on the whole the arrangement was eminently fair and equitable.

Mr. Laing maintained not only that India was as deeply interested in the maintenance of British *prestige* in the East as England, but that, an expedition having once been decided on, it was greatly for her interest that Indian and not British troops should be employed. She would reap substantial benefits from their employment, and would not be taxed a shilling for them; and, contrasted with former precedents, this apportionment of cost was most favourable to her. As to the infraction of the often-quoted section 55, Mr. Laing argued that the Government had committed no illegality, inasmuch as, looking to the importance of saving this cold season, all they had done would be covered by the word "urgent;" and, while deprecating all preconceived designs of annexation, he warned the House not to shut its eyes to the possibility of a prolonged occupation.

Mr. Bernal Osborne made a humorous speech in opposition to the Resolution, but advised Mr. Fawcett not to divide the House against it.

Lord Cranborne gave the same advice, as the sum in dispute was small, and it was desirable that there should be no appearance of disunion about the Expedition, but accompanied it with a strong protest against some of the reasons urged for the war in the course of the debate. It had been accepted by the country because it was felt to be a matter of honour not to leave a British envoy in captivity; but the argument that it was necessary to keep up our credit was utterly unworthy of acceptance. He pointed out the great danger of employing Indian troops on these services—that India might be left under-garrisoned, as was the case when the Indian mutiny broke out, while a large force was absent on the Persian expedition; and he objected strongly to treating India as a great military barrack, from which we could draw troops as we wished.

After a protest against the Resolution from Colonel Sykes, a division took place, when there appeared—

For the Resolution	.	.	.	.	198
Against it	.	.	.	.	23
Majority	.	.	.	.	175

The concurrence of the House of Lords in the above Resolution being required to give it effect, a Motion for this purpose was proposed by the Earl of Derby on the 5th of December, and gave rise to an interesting debate, in which the policy and prospects of the Abyssinian Expedition were discussed with the ability and intelligence which the Upper House rarely fails to exhibit when any important question of public policy is submitted to its judgment. In proposing that the apportionment, as resolved upon by the other House, of the charge for the troops and vessels to be employed, should be sanctioned by their Lordships, the Prime Minister introduced the subject by some preliminary remarks on the character of the war which the nation was about to undertake. He believed that there was a general concurrence of opinion that the Expedition, however much it was to be regretted, was both just and necessary, and could not honourably be avoided on our part. It was also generally agreed that the Expedition could most conveniently be sent from India. Then came the question whether they were entitled to avail themselves of the Indian revenues for that purpose, subject to the consent of Parliament. He did not think the Government had technically violated the India Act of 1858, the object of the 55th section of which was to place the Indian army in the same position as the rest of Her Majesty's troops as regarded their employment in military operations beyond the frontiers of India. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to declare war without previously consulting Parliament; and in the case of English troops being sent on such an expedition there would be no necessity for first obtaining the concurrence of the Legislature to their employment in such an enterprise, though such concurrence must, of course, be asked for afterwards when supplies for carrying on the operations had to be voted. With respect to the financial part of the question, the Government had followed the precedent of the China war, and proposed an arrangement which certainly could not be deemed unfair towards the Indian Exchequer. After recognizing the frank and handsome manner in which the leader of the Opposition in the other House had supported the Government in their present arduous undertaking, Lord Derby confidently claimed their Lordships' sanction to the Resolution communicated to them by the House of Commons.

Lord Ellenborough, while admitting the justice of the war, gravely questioned its wisdom and policy. A large force was about to be sent into a new, an unknown, a very mountainous, and most difficult country, for the purpose of seeking out and rescuing a number of captives now in the power of a sanguinary tyrant who could indulge his vindictive passions unchecked by any feeling of responsibility. If King Theodore were a man of reason, the ordinary course for putting pressure on him would be to blockade his sea-coast. His own apprehension was that the Expedition could never succeed in its object, but might only precipitate a catastrophe

like that of Cawnpore. He firmly believed that the late Duke of Wellington would have disapproved of that enterprise. That great commander held that in such undertakings we should never place our troops where they would not have easy and secure communication with the fleet. The Duke entirely approved the evacuation of Afghanistan, because it was not justifiable to leave an army without safe communications with the country from which it proceeded. The Abyssinian Expedition would have to traverse 400 miles without roads or bridges; its communications with its base would be interrupted; and he feared it would end in discredit to our arms. Lord Ellenborough then criticized in some detail the preparations for the enterprise, remarking upon the want of a floating pier at the place of disembarkation, the necessity of a railroad or tramway running from the shore towards the hills, and the defective arrangements for securing proper supplies of water for the troops. Few or no appliances for levelling the rocks or raising the guns up steep precipices had been furnished, and the native soldiers were to be left without warm clothing. Another reason why he deeply regretted the sending of that Expedition was, that it would involve us in serious complications; for if we availed ourselves of native assistance we could not honourably withdraw from Abyssinia, leaving those who had aided us to the tender mercy of King Theodore, and their country a prey to anarchy. Moreover, the expedition was particularly inopportune in the present state of Europe, when there was no security from week to week that peace might not be disturbed. At such a time it was the duty of the Government to abstain from any movement which could occupy any portion of our military power. While absent in Abyssinia our troops might be regarded as a hostage in the hands of the Powers of Europe. We ought to take warning by the experience of others, and not get entangled in a Mexico of our own.

Lord Colonsay thought that a soldier of Sir R. Napier's experience might well be trusted to take all the precautions that were requisite for the safety of his troops and the maintenance of their communications. His advanced parties would be light and their supports strong. No heavy guns were to be used, so that the criticism as to there being no means of raising them up steep precipices fell to the ground; and the mode of obtaining and carrying water in countries like Abyssinia was well known to our officers. Whether the expeditionary force would succeed in liberating the captives he could not say; but he believed that it would be able to get back to the sea coast without any difficulty whatever.

Lord Russell thought the Government were quite right in undertaking the Expedition, and trusted it would be successful. He hoped our engineers would be able to overcome all the natural difficulties of the country. Parliament was bound to give every support to the Ministry in their arduous enterprise.

Some further discussion took place, in which Lord Denbigh,

Lord Harrowby, and Lord Lyveden took part; after which Lord Derby briefly replied, vindicating the sufficiency of the preparations made for the Expedition. He thought that Lord Ellenborough had drawn too gloomy a picture of the difficulties of the enterprise and of the climate and other features of the country which was to be the scene of operation. The Resolution was then adopted *nem. con.*

In reference to the paragraph contained in Her Majesty's Speech, in which she touched upon the recent transactions in Italy, and the relations between the French Government the kingdom of Italy and the Papal power, some remarks were made in both Houses of Parliament, and explanations were asked for from the Ministers as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the Conference of the European Powers which the Emperor of the French had proposed to hold upon the Roman question. Being questioned on this point shortly after the meeting of Parliament in November, Lord Stanley informed the House of Commons that the answer which had been given to the French Government was in effect this: "That we do not believe any advantage will arise or any practical result follow from the Conference unless, in the first place, there is some definite plan proposed for consideration and for the Conference to act upon; and unless, in the next place, there appears from preliminary negotiations to be a reasonable hope that that plan will meet with the assent of the parties most interested. I own, looking at the actual state of the case—looking at the wide divergencies of opinion which prevail between Protestant and Catholic Powers upon this question, I am not very sanguine as to these conditions being realized; and I am quite satisfied of this, that to go into a Conference without some previous understanding of that kind would be really a waste of time. A Conference is an excellent machinery for giving a formal and solemn ratification—for, as it were, taking note of a decision which has been already come to; but where there is a wide and fundamental divergence, not upon questions of detail, but upon questions of principle, I own I am not sanguine enough to hope that the mere fact of bringing a certain number of Ambassadors and Ministers to meet in the same room and discuss a question will be sufficient to put an end to these divergencies. If a Conference offered a chance of agreement, I for one should greatly regret to lose it."

The noble lord, on the repetition of a similar question, declared his opinion to be that the settlement of the Roman question would be a great gain to Europe, in which he should be happy to take part; but there was little use in a Conference meeting merely to find that the parties interested entertained different views. At present he could not see how the conflicting claims of the Pope and the King of Italy could be reconciled; but if any plan were proposed for the purpose, the Government would carefully consider it. Hitherto he had seen no such plan.

Subsequently, in the House of Lords, Earl Russell called attention to the despatch of the French Minister to the Italian Government, stating that before the French troops could leave Civita Vecchia the security of the Holy Father must be guaranteed; and, as the first step to that, measures must be taken to facilitate the meeting of the Conference. As the basis of the Conference was that the Pope's temporal dominions were to be guaranteed, he considered that no English Minister could take part in it.

The Earl of Derby said the Secretary for Foreign Affairs had replied to the French Government that it would be useless to go into a Conference unless some basis were laid down beforehand. What steps had been taken by the French Government to arrange with the other Powers for the meeting of the Conference he could not say.

One other subject only of public importance engaged the attention of Parliament during the short Autumn Session. Earl Russell moved in the House of Lords a series of Resolutions upon the question of National Education; which, however, failed to produce any practical result, being rather summarily disposed of in the House, and eliciting very little discussion. It was felt that the time was not well chosen for the proposition of so large a subject, upon which, for various reasons, their lordships were not inclined to enter within the brief limits of a Session, in which Parliament had been convened for a special object, and also that the means of information at present available were not in a mature state for legislation. The purport of Lord Russell's Resolutions was to declare "That the education of the working classes ought to be extended and improved; that every child has a moral right to education; that the diffusion of knowledge ought not to be hindered by religious differences, nor should the employment of the young in labour be allowed to deprive them of education; that Parliament and Government should aid in the education of the middle classes by providing for the better administration of Charitable Endowments; that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge may be made more useful to the nation by the removal of restrictions, and by the appointment of a Commission to consider of the better distribution of their large revenues; and that the appointment of a Minister of Education, with a seat in the Cabinet, would be conducive to the public benefit." He would not propose any plan, but would merely submit some of the leading principles which ought to characterize future legislation on the subject. It was admitted that one-sixth of the population ought to be at school, but the statistical returns showed that there was a deficiency of more than a million. This large deficiency would justify the State in enacting some comprehensive measure for extending education. The object was not impracticable. It was done in Prussia, where more than one-sixth of the population were receiving education; in France; in Scotland, where by an old law parish schools were established; and to a great extent in Ireland. The means suggested had been local rates

or grants from Parliament, carried to a much greater extent than hitherto. His own impression was that both those means would have to be resorted to. The root of the whole difficulty in the matter, however, was the question of religious instruction. Of course, as soon as the State declared that there should be national education, Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants and persons belonging to other denominations would have a right to instruction. The difficulty might be surmounted by adopting the Conscience Clause, or by establishing secular schools and secular education. The first mode was preferable to the second, because he should regret to see an absence of religious teaching in the schools. But at the same time, if we had secular schools, he did not think the amount of religion existing in the country would be diminished. With regard to the Universities, he was strongly of opinion that the whole nation ought to have the full benefit of them. There ought to be unlimited admission, and the rewards of learning ought not to be given merely to those who were proficient in classics and mathematics, but ought to be extended to a knowledge of the physical sciences. The future prosperity of the country depended upon the adoption of a large, wise, and unsectarian system of education, which should reach the highest and go down to the lowest.

The Duke of Marlborough, who answered on behalf of the Government, thought the time singularly ill-chosen for propounding a series of general and somewhat indefinite Resolutions, inasmuch as that was an entirely exceptional Session, held for a special purpose, at a period of the year when the Government were usually engaged in maturing the measures they intended to introduce. It was therefore very inconvenient and inopportune to challenge the opinion of the Ministry on a subject of such great difficulty and importance; and if the Motion was to be taken as a trumpet-note sounded by its author to rally his own followers, it was certainly to be regretted that the question of education should be thrown into the vortex of party. The noble Duke then proceeded to answer Lord Russell's speech in detail, pointing out certain fallacies in his statistics, and arguing that he had taken too gloomy and discouraging a view of the present educational condition of the country. Although undoubtedly there was much room for improvement, he maintained, on the authority of figures and returns, that great progress had already been made, and that what had been done of late years gave good hope that before very long the state of education in this kingdom would bear favourable comparison with that of any country in Europe. Referring to the Conscience Clause, he held that if it was to be generally acceptable to the clergy it must bear with equal fairness on both sides; and while giving the greatest protection to the children of Dissenters, and allowing every latitude to their parents in regard to religious teaching, it should also afford proper security for the denominational character of the schools. By the legislation of

last Session, the principle of the Factory Acts was extended to children employed in workshops; and the better education of children employed in agriculture was now undergoing investigation by a Royal Commission. Without pledging the Government on the matter, he thought it was a point deserving of consideration whether, without impugning the principle of certificated teachers under the Revised Code, some modified assistance might not be given to schools which complied in all other respects with the conditions of the Privy Council, so as to enable them to struggle through their preliminary difficulties until they could employ a certificated teacher and secure the full advantages held out by the State. The Universities had but a few years ago been subjected to public revision and legislation, and they ought not to be exposed to constant changes threatening the security and permanence of their property. There was a great advantage in the University Statutes being submitted to the Committee of Privy Council before they took effect, and that advantage would be lost if those Statutes had to be sent for the approval of a Minister of Education alone. There were other serious difficulties in the way of appointing such a State functionary in this country. The Queen's Speech on the opening of the present Session showed that the subject of elementary education had not been lost sight of by the Government, whose earnest attention it still engaged; but he did not feel it his duty to do any thing to disturb that denominational system which was the keystone of education in this country, and intimately interwoven with the religious convictions of the people. He begged to move the previous question.

As no other Peer rose to address the House, the Lord Chancellor put the previous question, which was declared to be carried, and the Resolutions fell to the ground.

The Income Tax Bill having been passed, and the other business for which Parliament had been convened having been disposed of, the two Houses were adjourned until the 13th of February.

We shall conclude our narrative of the public transactions of the year with some remarks on the character of the events which marked its progress, and their bearing upon the political, financial, and commercial interests of the country.

The political transactions of the year were such as will make it memorable in the history of the nation. A great constitutional change was effected through the agency of that party in the State which had, up to this time, resisted with energy and success, the movement which now received its crowning impulse from their hands. The extension of the Parliamentary franchise, which for many years it had been the endeavour of the Liberal party to accomplish, and which the Conservative opposition had resolutely withstood, was now to be carried out to a wider extent, and settled upon a more liberal basis than even the more advanced Reformers had ventured to propose, by the Administration of Lord Derby.

It would be unseasonable to enter here into questions of

personal consistency, or party obligations—such topics, it need hardly be said, were freely and warmly discussed during the controversies which arose in the progress of the Reform Bill. We content ourselves with recording the fact that the Conservative party in Parliament, as well as the great majority of those who professed allegiance to their principles throughout the nation, adhered to their leaders in regarding the settlement of the Reform question as a matter of essential importance; and that it was the part of true wisdom to realize that object, even at the price of concessions which they had heretofore contemplated with dismay and denounced with vehement hostility. Even at the last stage of that measure which he had urged his brother Peers, on considerations of policy to accept, the Prime Minister designated the constitutional change which they were about to accomplish as a “leap in the dark;” and he was content to rely rather on the good sense of the nation as an antidote to the evils it might possibly entail, than upon the intrinsic merits and natural tendencies of the measure itself. It is also a remarkable fact that the Bill which effected so large a change in the representation, which displaced so many existing interests, and altered in a degree which has yet to be appreciated the balance of political power in the State, was carried through the House of Commons by a Ministry which, throughout the Session, could not number among its professed adherents an absolute majority of that assembly. It was only by dexterous and skilful management that such a result could be achieved; and it was by the surrender of many points in difference, by a judicious compromise of conflicting opinions, and by turning the divisions of their opponents to a skilful account, that the Ministers finally succeeded in carrying their Bill, modified indeed, and shorn of many of its original provisions, through a succession of dangers and impediments, to a triumphant conclusion. It was generally agreed that, so far as tact and strategy were concerned, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had displayed an extraordinary talent, both in maintaining the allegiance of his own adherents, and disconcerting the schemes of his opponents.

Independently of that great measure, the full effects of which experience only can disclose, there were some features in the political horizon during the year we are now reviewing calculated to suggest serious apprehension. Two principal causes of anxiety to thoughtful observers were the increasing power of the Trades' Unions in England, and the more audacious attitude assumed by the Fenian conspirators from the sister country. The tyrannical spirit and defiance of the law which the Trade Associations had exhibited in some of the manufacturing districts created serious alarm, as to the results which such excesses unchecked were likely to produce both upon the peace of society and upon the interests of our national trade and industry. The erroneous doctrines of political economy which the leaders of these Unions professed; the exclusive spirit which actuated them, and the merciless severity with

which their edicts were executed against offenders, were plainly seen to be at variance with the principles of social order and the supremacy of the law. It was high time for public authority to interfere; and the country saw with much satisfaction the appointment, by the Crown, of an impartial and highly qualified body of Commissioners directed to investigate the principles and operation of the Trades' Unions. By the agency of this tribunal the wholesome light of publicity was let in upon the internal working of the Associations; and a system of dictation, terrorism, and cruelty was disclosed which amply justified the allegations which had been made as to the tyranny exercised by the rulers of these conclaves over their fellow-workmen, and the narrow and suicidal spirit of their industrial code. The evidence taken by the Commissioners has already shown how, in the pursuit of their fallacious theories of protection to labour, the dominant spirits in these self-constituted guilds rule their reluctant brethren with a rod of iron, laying them under forced contributions, and obstructing the free exercise of their intelligence and skill, while at the same time they embarrass and fetter the employer by vexatious interference and dictation, which, enforced as they are by threats of violence, few men are bold enough to resist. It remains to be seen what legislative remedies for these dangerous abuses of power the Commission may be able to recommend, but it is generally agreed that some effectual means must be devised which shall both vindicate the supremacy of the law by suppressing outrage and coercion, and put an end to that minute and despotic interference with the arrangements and processes of industry which is destructive to the true interests both of the capitalist and labourer.

While the virulent distemper of the Fenian conspiracy manifested in former years evinced in the present no abatement, the insurrectionary spirit now broke out in a new quarter, and assumed a still more alarming aspect. In 1865-6, its principal explosions took place on Irish ground; in 1867 the insurgents conceived the idea of producing a stronger impression of their capacity for mischief by extending their operations to this country, and caused the peaceable inhabitants of English towns to tremble for the safety of their homes and families.

In the month of February, within a few days after the Ministers had announced the early restoration of the Habeas Corpus to Ireland, a band of conspirators, directed by former officers of the American army, planned a surprise of the Arsenal at Chester; and when their designs were casually defeated, the whole body escaped with impunity. The attempt to commit open acts of hostility on English soil at first excited incredulous surprise; but later experience proved that a society long accustomed to law and order is necessarily unprepared to resist acts of abnormal violence. Soon after the failure of the intended attack on Chester, the Fenian leaders commenced in different parts of Ireland an insurrection which proved completely abortive. In the neighbourhood of

Dublin, in Kerry, and at Drogheda, half-armed bodies assembled early in March, with the obvious purpose of compelling the Government to dissipate its military force. The army was rapidly disposed so as to crush any attempt at rebellion, but its services were scarcely needed. The admirable conduct of the police justified the confidence which had been habitually reposed in the loyalty and courage of a purely Irish force. Attacked in small detachments, or besieged in lonely barracks, the police every where repelled and defeated their assailants; and in a few days the insurrection was crushed almost without bloodshed, while many of the chief conspirators remained in the custody of the law. In the trials which followed, the juries, as in the previous year, discharged their duties with impartial firmness, proving that the middle class was still generally exempt from the contagion of treason. After some hesitation, the Government, in compliance with the general wish, commuted the capital sentence in favour even of the chief conspirators, finding a fair excuse for clemency in the abstinence of the rebels from wanton outrage, and in the bloodless collapse of the insurrection.

In the autumn the activity of the conspirators was once more transferred to England. The attack on the prison-van at Manchester, the rescue of the Fenian prisoners, and the murder of the brave officer of police who died in defence of his post of duty, proved that the audacity of the rebels was carried to a pitch that defied all consequences, and hesitated at no sacrifice which might further their treasonable objects. Happily, the law proved too strong for the perpetrators of this daring outrage; and the firmness of the Government, which, refusing to listen either to the appeals of a morbid philanthropy or to the suggestions of a timid policy, enforced against the chief ringleaders the extreme penalty of the law, afforded satisfaction to all loyal and well-disposed subjects of the Crown on both sides of the Irish Channel. The attempt which was made to elevate the Manchester murderers into the rank of martyred patriots met with the contempt which it deserved. Foiled, but not daunted by the failure of their attempts and the fate of their confederates, the conspirators just before the close of the year surpassed all their former ventures by an act of crowning atrocity which drew down upon them the intense indignation of the English people. An attempt, which happily proved abortive, to deliver some of their confederates from prison, resulted in a heavy sacrifice of innocent lives, and the infliction of a great amount of suffering and misery upon a number of helpless and inoffensive persons.

Although the Clerkenwell outrage differed only in degree from the Manchester murder, promiscuous slaughter of the unoffending occupiers of a back lane in London struck the popular imagination more forcibly than a revolver fired at a constable. The certainty that the explosion was planned by the Americanized-Irish who managed the conspiracy silenced and perhaps temporarily con-

verted the most lawless of English demagogues; and only the wildest of the rebel journalists in Ireland ventured to boast of the vengeance which had been inflicted on their enemies. But the indignation excited by these excesses of Fenianism did not fail to produce some salutary results. It evoked on the part of the mass of the English nation a strong determination to uphold and vindicate the law, and to suppress with unflinching firmness every aggression by crime or terrorism upon its authority. The invitation of the Government to the citizens of the Metropolis and other towns to enrol themselves for the support of order met with a prompt and willing response; and the police force of the Metropolis, which had acquitted itself of its arduous duties with admirable firmness, was speedily reinforced by an imposing array of special constables. Great vigilance was for some time required, and strict precautions were properly taken to protect the public edifices and other places which were threatened with attack, or were peculiarly exposed to acts of wanton mischief; but the fact of the Government being thus fore-warned and fore-armed sufficed both to deter the conspirators from a further prosecution of their plots, and to re-assure the peaceable and well-disposed part of the community of the protection of the law.

Although, however, it is evident enough that the power of this empire is such that it may safely despise all the efforts of Irish malcontents and American desperadoes to shake its stability, it would be vain to disguise the fact that, behind this wild phantom of Fenianism and connected with it to a certain extent by sympathy of feeling, there exists in the heart of Ireland a latent spirit of chronic disaffection and discontent which, unless a remedy can be found for it, must continue to disquiet the minds of the public and to perplex the counsels of English statesmen. The irrepressible "Irish difficulty," notwithstanding all the material improvement which the soil and resources of the sister island have experienced of late years, and the sincere desire to do justly and to rule impartially which has actuated recent statesmen, appears, so far from diminishing, to have attained its culminating point at the present time. The failure of all past efforts to conciliate or content the people has led to the outcry which is now loudly made for a new policy, a higher effort of statesmanship than any which has been hitherto reached, in order to grapple with the unsolved problem of Irish disaffection. A number of wild schemes and fantastic theories for the re-modelling of institutions and the re-settlement of property have been furnished in answer to this demand; most of them obviously fraught with evils quite as great as those which they are designed to cure. The measures which a prudent and responsible Government can venture to propose must be of a different character from these. Yet, as desperate disorders sometimes demand extreme remedies, even a Government might be held excused if it should adopt means somewhat beyond the limits of ordinary precedent, and should venture on innovations

which in other cases might be deemed perilous, provided they afford hope of ministering to the diseased frame, and reconciling the alienated attachment of this hitherto incongruous member of the United Kingdom.

The aspect of commercial affairs during the year now under review has been any thing but cheerful or encouraging. The financial collapse which in the spring of 1866 spread embarrassment and distress among thousands of families, and cast a gloom over the surface of society, and the distrust both of individuals and undertakings, however apparently solid and responsible, which was engendered by the frauds and failures of that period, continued with little abatement throughout the succeeding year. Commerce and credit did not display their wonted elasticity in recovering from such disasters. The value of money indeed, as indicated by the Bank rate of discount, was so exceptionally low that under ordinary circumstances it must have imparted its natural impulse to speculation, and given a great stimulus to trade. The Bank rate, which at the beginning of the year stood at three and a half per cent., was reduced on the 7th of February to three, on the 30th of May to two and a half, and on the 25th of July to two per cent.; and the latter rate was maintained with an unusual absence of fluctuations till the end of the year. Yet the extraordinary cheapness of money failed to impart any activity to the demand. The coffers of the National Banks both of England and France were loaded with bullion. The amount of 24,498,447*l.* held by the former in the month of September exceeded any former maximum since the passing of the Bank Charter Act. The truth is that the quoted rate of interest represented only the price at which accommodation was to be had on the choicest security and for the soundest operations of regular trade, and did not at all describe the terms upon which loans were to be obtained during the same period for undertakings of a speculative character or by those whose credit had been damaged by the transactions of the recent crisis. The depreciated value of the shares even in the soundest railway undertakings, and the difficulty which some of these companies experienced in renewing their debentures even on very advanced terms, testified that to them at least money was any thing but cheap and the supply of capital by no means abundant. The true state of the case was aptly represented in the phrase of a writer who has treated of the phenomena of the money market during the year 1867 with much lucidity and skill¹, viz. that "Capital was on strike." Unusually cheap and accessible to those who needed it for the legitimate purposes of trade and whose names afforded unexceptionable warrant for its repayment, to borrowers whose previous dealings or future prospects placed them in a different category it was ruinously dear or absolutely inaccessible. With regard to railway companies in particular,

¹ *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1866. Article "Two per Cent."

a new cause of distrust was added to those which had already seriously affected their standing in the confidence of the public and depreciated the value of their shares. Fresh disclosures were made of irregularities and unsoundness in the accounts of some of these undertakings which not only produced an enormous collapse in the property of those companies, but threw a discredit over railway property in general, and involved all railway management more or less in the general suspicion. The discovery that the Brighton Railway Company, hitherto supposed to be one of the most prosperous of these concerns, had been carrying on a delusive financial system; that the accounts of the North British had been deceptively manipulated; that the Great Eastern and Great Western were in serious financial straits, and that the London, Chatham, and Dover was in a state of utter insolvency, cast an atmosphere of distrust and discredit over all railway property. The depreciation which has consequently taken place in the value of this class of securities is of very serious amount; and the stoppage of dividends consequent on the discovery of the malversation of funds or of the misappropriation of capital to revenue, added to the pressure of calls from companies under liquidation, has caused embarrassment and distress to a large number of families whose incomes were dependent on these investments. Upon some other undertakings which owed their being to seasons of inflated credit or speculative mania, a similar blight has fallen. The failure of the Royal Bank at Liverpool illustrated the peculiar risks of banks administered by traders, whose interest in obtaining undue accommodation is likely to prevail over their regard for the protection of their shareholders. The actual or probable collapse of the French *Credit Mobilier* has thrown discredit on speculative Finance Companies; and ruinous litigation under the Winding-up Acts has caused a reasonable distrust of almost all undertakings which depend on associated capital. As production and foreign trade have not suffered in the same proportion with the transactions of the money-market, there is reason to hope that derangement of credit and suspension of confidence have affected the shadow rather than the substance of national prosperity. Nearly all the embarrassed Railway Companies will probably by slow degrees retrieve their affairs through the natural increase of traffic, and the abandonment, under the provisions of an Act of last Session, of burdensome branches and extensions; and painful experience cannot but suggest some practical securities against the more obvious forms of joint-stock mismanagement.

While the history of commercial and speculative enterprise during the year now under review exhibits so many features of retrogression and disaster, it is satisfactory to observe that the public revenue was sustained in a manner which, considering the general prevalence of reduced incomes and restricted expenditure, affords good grounds for encouragement. The entire income for the year was 68,663,516*l.*, as compared with 68,785,662*l.* in 1866.

The returns for the last quarter of the year afforded less favourable indications of the state of the country, the net decrease, as compared with 1866, being 806,955*l*. The depression of trade and the distress occasioned by want of employment among the artisan class had now begun to tell upon the receipts, but especially upon two branches of the revenue, the Excise and the Income Tax. As the falling off in the former shows a decreased power of consumption on the part of the working classes, so does the deficiency in the Income Tax afford a correct indication of diminished income and reduced profits among the members of the middle and wealthier ranks. But against the deficiency in these two items there appeared a gratifying increase in the Customs of 138,000*l*. in the quarter, showing that in spite of all financial difficulties the trade of the country was still sound and progressive. Even compared with years of great prosperity and inflated business the receipts from this branch of the revenue maintained their steady course of advancement.

Among the adverse circumstances which affected the sources both of public and private property was the unfavourable result of the harvest of the year. The yield of cereal crops in the British islands proved to be decidedly below the average, and large importations from abroad were required to supplement our domestic deficiency. The price of corn rose considerably between the harvest and the end of the year. In December wheat at Mark Lane was quoted as high as 83*s*. per quarter; the average price was 67*s*. 4*d*. The increased price of bread greatly restricted the resources of the working and poorer classes, and in some parts of the country showed itself in a disposition to turbulence and riot.

The Official Returns of the amount of our Trade during this otherwise unfavourable year must be considered to indicate the great elasticity and persistent energy of British commerce. Though the stagnation of business which marked the close of the year was apparent in the diminished returns of the last month, which were eleven per cent. below those of December 1866, yet the total value of our exports during the twelve months amounted to no less than 181,183,971*l*., showing a falling off of only about four per cent. from the year 1866, and an increase of nine per cent. upon the year 1865. Considering the lower prices that prevailed for nearly all descriptions of raw material, and especially of cotton, the total thus exhibited for 1867 may be taken to represent a larger and more profitable amount of British industry than has in any preceding year found an outlet in foreign markets. Although the shipments of cotton goods showed a decrease of eight per cent. in value, there was an increase in their quantity of eighteen per cent. There was a decrease of eighteen per cent. in the value of our consignments of haberdashery, twenty-two per cent. in linen manufactures, twenty-two per cent. in silk manufactures, ten per cent. in hardwares, and one per cent. in earthenware. Woollen

manufactures also showed a decrease of seven per cent. in value and twelve per cent. in quantity. In the iron trade there has apparently been a slight tendency to recovery from the unexampled depression of the previous year, the value of our exports showing an increase of two per cent., while for machinery, and especially steam-engines, the foreign demand was rather active. As regards the importations of the year, the supply of cotton was eight per cent. less than in 1866, while in the arrivals of wheat there was an increase of no less than forty-eight per cent.

A rather unusual amount of disasters and calamities marked the progress of a year to which neither its political nor its commercial features imparted a cheerful aspect. The fearful and destructive hurricane in the West Indies, the cyclone at Calcutta, the terrible loss of life from the breaking of the ice in the Regent's-park, the burning of Her Majesty's Theatre, the great explosion of gunpowder at Faversham, and accidents of a similar nature at Woolwich Arsenal, at Edinburgh, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and at Ferndale, in Glamorganshire, together with a full average number of minor casualties from tempests and inundations, railway accidents and disasters at sea, made up a serious aggregate of losses of life and property. In one respect, indeed, the occasions for public mourning were unusually few. The Obituary of the year—though it includes several names, among which that of Michael Faraday is conspicuous, of men celebrated in science, literature, and art—contains, on the whole, less than the average number of deaths of eminent and distinguished persons.

We have thus briefly passed in review the transactions of a year which has left the impression rather of an eventful and anxious, than of a prosperous period. The prospects of the future are also somewhat clouded with apprehension and uncertainty; but there are, on the other hand, many symptoms of a hopeful nature; and if England can but glean the lessons of true wisdom from her experience of the past, there should be no ground for despondency in our vaticinations of the future.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

Reception of the Diplomatic Body by the Emperor, on New Year's Day—Letter from the Emperor and proposed Decree as to Reforms in the Chambers—Opening of Letters at the Post Office—Foreign Policy of the French Government—Opening of a New Session of the Chambers—Speech of the Emperor—Report of the Minister of Instruction on Education—Debate on the Post Office Question—Debate on the Abolition of the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne—Army Re-organization Bill—Dissatisfaction thereat in France—Debate on the Foreign Policy of the Government—Resignation by Count Walewski of the Presidency of the *Corps Législatif*—Opening of the Great Exhibition at Paris—The Question of Luxemburg—Conference in London and resulting Treaty.

THE state of France during the present year was that of continued tranquillity. At one time, indeed, in the early part of it, there was a good deal of irritation felt on the subject of the aggrandizement of Prussia, and there seemed to be no slight danger of a war breaking out between the two countries, because France deemed herself aggrieved and menaced by the retention by Prussia of the fortress of Luxemburg, on the French frontier. But, happily, a Conference between the great powers, held in London, led to a pacific result; and as Prussia withdrew her garrison, the cloud that obscured the horizon passed away.

The promise of more liberal institutions held out by the Emperor in the beginning of the year has not been fulfilled at its close; and France has yet to wait for that "crowning of the edifice" of which he then spoke, and which implied the grant of fresh guarantees by law of the liberty of the subject. The measure which excited most attention and was most disliked by the nation was a plan for the re-organization of the army; but this was not actually carried into effect during the present year.

At the usual reception of the diplomatic body at the Tuileries on New Year's day, the Emperor thus addressed them: "The opening of the New Year furnishes me an opportunity of expressing my wishes for the stability of thrones and the prosperity of nations. I hope that we are entering upon a new era of peace and concilia-

tion, and that the Universal Exhibition will contribute towards calming passions and drawing closer the general interests."

To the Archbishop of Paris the Emperor said, "When I see at the head of the Paris clergy a prelate so deeply devoted to the interests of religion as well as to those of the State—one who everywhere supports by his words and actions the great principles of faith, charity, and conciliation, I say to myself, Heaven will hear his prayers. These prayers are for France a blessing, and for me a new source of consolation and hope."

On the 19th of January the Emperor addressed the following important letter to M. Rouher, Minister of State:—

"Palace of the Tuileries, Jan. 19th.

"Monsieur le Ministre,—For some years past the question has been asked whether our institutions have attained their limit of improvement or whether new improvements are to be realized. Hence a lamentable uncertainty, which it is important to remove.

"Up to the present you have had to strive courageously, in order to repel inopportune demands, and to leave with me the initiative of useful reforms when the time should arrive. And now I believe that it is possible to give to the institutions of the empire all the development of which they are capable, and to the public liberties a new extension, without compromising the power which the nation has entrusted to me.

"The plan which I have traced out to myself consists in correcting the imperfections which time has revealed, and in admitting that progress which is compatible with our habits; for to govern is to profit by the experience which has been acquired, and to foresee the wants of the future.

"The object of the decree of the 24th of November, 1860, was to associate the Senate and the *Corps Législatif* more directly with the policy of the Government; but the debate on the Address has not led to the results which were to be expected from it; it has sometimes needlessly excited public opinion, given rise to sterile discussions, and occasioned a loss of time most precious for the affairs of the country; and I believe that, without any diminution of the prerogatives of the deliberative powers, the Address may be replaced by the privilege, prudently regulated, of putting questions to the Government.

"Another modification has appeared to me necessary in the relations of the Government towards the great bodies of the State. I have considered that by sending the Ministers to the Senate and the *Corps Législatif* to take part in certain debates, by virtue of a special commission, I should better utilize the strength of the Government, without deviating from the terms of the constitution, which admits no solidarity among the Ministers, and makes them dependent only upon the chief of the State.

"But the reforms which it is fitting to adopt must not stop there. A law will be proposed for assigning the jurisdiction

over offences against the press law exclusively to the Correctional Tribunals, and thus suppress the discretionary power of the Government. It is equally necessary to regulate legislatively the right of assembly, while restraining it within the limits which public safety demands.

"I said last year that my Government wished to walk upon ground consolidated and capable of sustaining power and liberty. By the measures I have just pointed out, my words become realized. I do not shake the ground which fifteen years of calm and prosperity have consolidated, but I increase the strength by rendering my relations with the great public powers more intimate, by securing to the citizens by law fresh guarantees, by completing the crowning of the edifice erected by the national will.

"On this, Monsieur le Ministre, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

"NAPOLEON."

The following is the Decree which accompanied the letter of the Emperor :—

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French, to all present and to come greeting. Wishing to give to the discussions of the great bodies of the State, relative to the home and foreign policy of the Government, more utility and precision, we have decreed and decree what follows :—

"Art. 1. The members of the Senate and of the *Corps Législatif* may put questions to the Government.

"Art. 2. Every demand for addressing questions to the Government must be written or signed by five members at least. This demand will briefly explain the object of the questions, and will be handed to the President, who will communicate it to the Minister of State, and refer it to the Committees for examination.

"Art. 3. If two Committees of the Senate, or four Committees of the *Corps Législatif*, deliver the opinion that the questions may be put, the Chamber will fix a day for their discussion.

"Art. 4. Upon the close of the debate, the Chamber will either simply declare the order of the day, or refer the questions to the Government.

"Art. 5. The simple order of the day will always have priority.

"Art. 6. The reference to the Government can only be made in the following terms :—'The Senate (or the *Corps Législatif*) calls the attention of the Government to the object of the questions.' In this case a summary of the debate will also be transmitted to the Minister of State.

"Art. 7. Any of the Ministers may, if specially delegated by the Emperor, be charged, in concert with the Minister of State and the Presidents and members of the Council of State, to represent the Government in the Senate or *Corps Législatif* during debates on general questions or Bills.

"Art. 8. Articles 1 and 2 of our Decree of the 24th of Novem-

ber, 1860, providing that the Senate and *Corps Législatif* shall every year, at the opening of the Session, vote an Address, in reply to our speech, are hereby repealed.

“Art. 9. Our Minister of State is charged with the execution of the present decree¹.”

Immediately on the appearance of this Imperial letter, the Ministry tendered its resignation. The Emperor accepted the resignations of M. Achille Fould, Minister of Finance; General Randon, Minister of War; M. de Chasse-Loup-Laubat, Minister of Marine; and M. Behic, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. In their places respectively were substituted, M. Rouher, Marshal Niel, M. R. de Genouilly, and M. de Forcade la Roquette. The rest of the Ministers were reinstated in their offices.

Some excitement was caused at the end of January by the publication of an order from M. Vandal, the Postmaster-General, requiring the agents of the post-office to seize suspicious letters, and forward them to the head office in Paris, for the purpose of being opened and examined. This was in consequence of the transmission through the post-office of a letter addressed by the Comte de Chambord to General de St. Priest on the general situation of Europe. The order of the postmaster stated—

“I request you to watch with the greatest care all the correspondence which comes either directly or indirectly to your office, so as to discover any copies which may be placed either alone under band and with other publications, or under closed envelopes. You will watch also, with the same object, not only the letters placed in the office in your locality, but also those which reach you from other French offices with which you are in relation; for it may not be impossible that copies of the said letter may be

¹It is interesting to compare with the terms of this Decree, the sentiments expressed by the present Emperor, when, as Prince Louis Napoleon, he was confined a prisoner in the fortress of Ham, in 1843. They appeared in a newspaper at the time.

“The political institutions of Great Britain have been introduced into France, but all the usages which in England make these institutions perfect have been omitted. Let me call the attention of our statesmen to the discrepancies between the Parliamentary usages of the two countries. In England most of the important questions of the day before they come before Parliament are thoroughly searched into and discussed in public and private meetings, in which the political material is prepared in all its stages. When the member of the House of Commons reaches Westminster he already possesses a consummate knowledge of all the subjects that are to occupy Parliament, for he has already many times spoken on them at meetings and dinners, and has, moreover, discussed them in the clubs to which he may happen to belong. In France, on the contrary, the deputy who comes up to the Chamber hears nothing more of political controversies than what he sees in his newspaper; and he never has had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with public opinion, or of training himself by preparatory exercise for the great battle of the Tribune. The right of association is, therefore, the fundamental basis of representative government. . . . Though the English are always scrupulously observant of all the forms of ceremonial, they do not lose their valuable time in settling the preliminaries of the Session; and the vote on the Address is not an endless contest, in which each speaker opposes to his adversary all the ingenious subtleties contained in the dictionary of synonyms. The policy of a great people should be clearly defined; and the party which cannot triumph but by equivocal means is weak indeed.”

thrown into the boxes after having been introduced into France by other means than the post. You will make a special packet of all the copies either under band, or in envelopes, which you may have been able to recognize and retain, and you will forward it to the principal receiver of the post-office at Paris, with a label, stating, independently of the address, 'Letter seized in virtue of the order of the Administration, on the 24th of January, 1867,' and below indicating the number of objects forwarded."

This order, which gave great offence in France, was defended on the ground that the Code of Criminal Instruction invested the magistrates with the right of seizing all letters which might serve to prove crimes, indictable offences, and contravention; and that a judgment of the *Cour de Cassation* in 1853 had established that the prefects of police were empowered to do the same.

The *Livre Jaune*, or "Yellow-book," containing the views of the French Government on Foreign Policy, was published in February; and the following are extracts from it. With regard to Crete, where an insurrection against the Turkish Government had been for some time in active operation, the French Government regretted that the Sublime Porte did not follow the advice of France, and send a Commissioner to Crete, to settle the difficulties which there existed. They said—

"The population, over-excited, now insists on incorporation with Greece, instead of the reforms which it at first demanded. The extension of the insurrection produced agitation in the Hellenic provinces of Turkey, and excited public opinion in the kingdom of Greece. The shock was felt throughout the East. The Servians also claimed the evacuation of all the fortresses in Servia occupied by Turkey. We advised the Porte to adopt resolutions in a sense favourable to the Christian populations. We should be happy if the Porte were to accede to our advice. The Cretan question still exists unsolved. In presence of the commotion which has been created in the East, and the sympathies which have been awakened in all Europe, will the combinations which were at first deemed sufficient be found to be so still? The Ottoman Government should form no fallacious illusions. It must realize the seriousness of the existing state of things, and must not hesitate at such sacrifices as may preserve it from the periodical return of similar excitement."

As to Germany they said—

"Prussia has definitely attached North Germany to herself by the last war. Southern Germany has preserved its absolute right to decide what relations it shall maintain with the Northern Confederation. Austria no longer forms part of Germany or Italy." They also recalled the fact that Prussia had promised to consult the wishes of the inhabitants of Northern Schleswig, with regard to their future position.

Referring to Mexico they declared—

"The departure of the French troops was resolved upon in the

full plenitude of our liberty of action. Any thing having the character of external pressure could only have placed us in the position, despite ourselves, of having to prolong a state of things which we should wish to abridge. By next March our troops will have quitted Mexico."

About the same time also the *Livre Bleu*, or "Blue-book," was published, containing reports to the Emperor, from the various Ministers, on the state of affairs relating to the department of each. In the report of the Minister of the Interior he stated—

"On the 1st of January, 1866, the number of Political Journals was 330, of which 63 were printed in Paris and 267 in the Departments. On the 1st of January, 1867, the numbers were respectively 336, 64, and 272. On the 1st of January, 1866, the number of non-political publications was 1307, of which 703 appeared in Paris and 604 in the Departments. On the 1st of January, 1867, the numbers were respectively 1435, 710, and 725. In the course of the year 1866, the Government authorized six new political journals, one in Paris and five in the Provinces. From the first of January to the 31st of December, 1866, sixteen warnings were given (seven in Paris and nine in the Departments). In addition the suppression of a weekly journal, published in the capital ('*Le Courrier du Dimanche*'), was pronounced. No provincial journal has been suppressed or suspended."

With respect to the events which had happened in Germany, and which had led to the immense aggrandizement of Prussia, the "Blue-book" stated—

"Not having been able to prevent the war, the French Government endeavoured to circumscribe the theatre of it; to shorten its duration, and attenuate its consequences. Immediately after the battle of Sadowa the Sovereign of Austria announced that he ceded Venetia to the Emperor, and asked for the mediation of France. Although the late events had excited the public feeling, both in Italy and in Germany, to the highest degree, His Majesty did not think it his duty to refuse a mission of the utmost delicacy, but of utility to Europe and to humanity. Strong in the feelings of confidence and friendship which united him to the different belligerent Powers, the Emperor, in endeavouring to put an end to a sanguinary conflict, avoided assuming a military attitude, which, useless for exalting the authority of his counsels, might have awakened feelings of uneasiness and mistrust, which we had done every thing to calm. The conciliatory efforts of the French Cabinet soon brought about the conclusion of an armistice, and the opening of negotiations on the bases France had recommended. In virtue of the preliminaries signed at Nikolsburg, and by the aid of the good offices of France, Austria preserved all her territory, with the exception of Venetia. That of the kingdom of Saxony was left intact. The Cabinet of Berlin promised to consult the populations of Upper Schleswig as to their future situation. The countries situated to the north of the Maine, acting in obedience to the laws

of their geographical situation, as well as to the instincts of their nationality, gravitated in the orbit of Prussia; as a principal result of a victorious war, that Power attached them definitively to itself by a closer tie, in forming a Confederation of Northern Germany. As to the States of Southern Germany they speedily terminated their arrangements with the Berlin Cabinet; Würtemberg and the Grand Duchy of Baden had no territorial sacrifice to make. Bavaria, menaced for a moment with considerable losses, only gave up some districts of little importance. Moreover, the States of the South have preserved the absolute right of deciding what relations shall exist among themselves, and also of fixing those they will maintain with the Northern Confederation. Austria, in fact, no longer forms a portion either of Germany or Italy. She has lost a *status* which historical traditions rendered dear to her; but to which she on more than one occasion sacrificed her real force and permanent interests. Her territorial extent is not diminished in any notable proportion. If at this moment she unavoidably suffers the material and moral consequences of a great disaster, she will doubtless find in the patriotism and devotedness of her populations, so different in their origin and race, the means of solving all the internal difficulties against which she has been struggling for so many years, and which have had their share in weakening her strength."

The new Session of the French Chambers was opened on the 14th of February by the Emperor in person, when His Majesty delivered the following speech:—

"MESSIEURS LES SÉNATEURS,

"MESSIEURS LES DÉPUTÉS,—

"Since your last Session, important events have arisen in Europe. Although they may have astonished the world by their rapidity, as by the importance of their results, it appears that, according to the anticipations of the Emperor, there was a fatality in their fulfilment. Napoleon said at St. Helena, 'One of my great ideas has been this agglomeration and concentration of the same nations, geographically considered, who have been scattered piecemeal by revolutions and policy. The agglomeration will take place, sooner or later, by the force of circumstances. The impulse is given, and I do not think that, after my fall, and the disappearance of my system, there will be any other great adjustment possible than the agglomeration and confederation of great nations.' The transformations that have taken place in Italy and Germany pave the way for the realization of this vast programme of the union of the European States in one single confederation.

"The spectacle of the efforts made by the surrounding nations to assemble their members, scattered abroad for so many centuries, cannot cause disquiet to a country like ours, all the parts of which are irrevocably bound up with each other, and form a homogeneous and indestructible body. We have been impartial witnesses of the

struggle which has been waged on the other side of the Rhine. In presence of this conflict the country strongly manifested the wish to keep aloof from it. Not only did I defer to this wish, but I used every effort to hasten the conclusion of peace. I did not arm a single additional soldier—I did not move forward a single regiment; and yet the voice of France had influence enough to arrest the conqueror at the gates of Vienna. Our mediation effected an arrangement between the belligerents, which, leaving to Prussia the fruit of her successes, maintained the integrity of the Austrian territory with the exception of a single province, and by the cession of Venetia completed Italian independence. Our action has been exercised, therefore, with views of justice and conciliation. France has not drawn the sword, because her honour was not at stake, and because she had promised to observe a strict neutrality. In another part of the globe we have been obliged to employ force to redress legitimate grievances, and we have endeavoured to raise an ancient empire. The happy results at first obtained were compromised by an untoward concurrence of circumstances. The guiding idea of the Mexican Expedition was an elevated one. To regenerate a people, and implant among them ideas of order and progress; to open vast outlets to our commerce, and leave the recollection of services rendered to civilization to mark our path; such was my desire and yours. But as soon as the extent of our sacrifices appeared to me to exceed the interests which had called us across the ocean, I spontaneously determined upon the recall of our Army Corps. The Government of the United States understood that want of conciliation would only have prolonged the occupation, and embittered relations which, for the welfare of both countries, should remain friendly. In the East troubles have arisen, but the great Powers are acting in concert to bring about a state of things which may satisfy the legitimate wishes of the Christian populations, reserve the rights of the Sultan, and prevent dangerous complications. At Rome we have faithfully executed the Convention of the 15th of September. The Government of the Holy Father has entered into a fresh phase. Left to itself, it maintains itself by its own strength, by the veneration which is felt by all towards the Head of the Catholic Church, and the surveillance loyally exercised upon his frontiers by the Italian Government. But if democratic conspiracies should audaciously seek to threaten the temporal power of the Holy See, Europe, I do not doubt, would not permit the accomplishment of an event which would throw such great trouble on the Catholic world.

“I have only to congratulate myself upon my relations with foreign Powers. Our connexion with England becomes daily more intimate by the similarity of our policy and the multiplicity of our commercial relations. Prussia seeks to avoid any thing which might arouse our national susceptibilities, and agrees with us upon the chief European questions. Russia, inspired by con-

ciliatory intentions, is not disposed to separate her policy in the East from that of France. The same is the case with the Empire of Austria, the greatness of which is indispensable to the general equilibrium. A recent Commercial Treaty has created new ties between the two countries. Lastly, Spain and Italy are upon terms of sincere agreement with us.

"Thus, therefore, nothing in present circumstances need excite our uneasiness, and I entertain the firm conviction that peace will not be disturbed.

"Assured of the present, confident of the future, I have thought the time had arrived to develop our institutions. You have expressed your wishes to me every year that this should be effected; although justly convinced that progress can only be accomplished by complete harmony between the authorities, you had confided to me—and I thank you for your confidence—the privilege of deciding upon the moment when I might think the realization of your desires possible. Now, after fifteen years of calm and prosperity, due to our common efforts and to your profound devotion to the institutions of the Empire, it has appeared to me that the time had come to adopt the liberal measures which lay in the minds of the Senate, and to meet the aspirations of the *Corps Législatif*. I respond to your expectations, and, without departing from the Constitution, I propose to you laws which offer new guarantees for political liberty.

"The nation, which does justice to my efforts, and which again recently in Lorraine gave such touching proofs of its attachment to my dynasty, will make a wise use of these new rights. Justly jealous of its repose and of its prosperity, it will continue to disdain the dangerous Utopias and excitements of parties. For you, gentlemen, the immense majority of whom have constantly sustained my courage in the always difficult task of governing a people, you will continue to be, with me, the faithful guardians of the true interests and the real greatness of the country.

"These interests impose upon us obligations we shall know how to fulfil. France is respected abroad. The army has displayed its valour, but the conditions of war being changed require the increase of our defensive forces, and we must organize ourselves in such a manner as to be invulnerable. The Bill upon this subject, which has been prepared with the greatest care, lightens the burden of the conscription in time of peace, provides considerable resources in time of war, and, re-distributing burdens between all in a fair proportion, thus satisfies the principle of equality. It possesses all the importance of an institution of the country, and I feel convinced will be accepted with patriotism.

"The influence of a nation depends upon the number of men it is able to put under arms. Do not forget that neighbouring States impose upon themselves far heavier sacrifices for the effective constitution of their armies, and have their eyes fixed upon us, to judge by your resolutions whether the influence of France shall

increase or diminish throughout the world. Let us constantly keep our national standard at the same level. It is the most certain means of preserving peace, and that peace must be rendered fruitful by alleviating misery and increasing general prosperity.

“Heavy trials have assailed us in the course of the past year. Inundations and epidemics have desolated some of our departments. Benevolence has assuaged individual suffering, and credits will be asked of you to repair the disasters caused to public property. Notwithstanding these partial calamities, the progress of general prosperity has not relaxed. During the last financial period the indirect revenue has increased by fifty millions, and foreign commerce by upwards of one milliard of francs. The general improvement of our finances will soon allow us to give satisfaction upon a large scale to agricultural and economic interests, brought into light by the inquiry opened in all parts of the country. Our attention must then be turned to the reduction of certain burdens which weigh too heavily upon landed property, and which prevent the speedy completion of the channels of internal navigation, of our ports, our railways, and especially of cross roads—the indispensable agents for effective distribution of the produce of the soil.

“Bills upon primary education and upon co-operative societies were submitted to you last Session, and I do not doubt you will approve the arrangements they set forth. They will improve the moral and material condition of the rural population and of the working classes in our great cities. Each year thus opens a new field for our meditation and our efforts. Our task at this moment is to form the public manners to the pattern of more liberal institutions. Hitherto in France liberty has only been ephemeral. It has not been able to take root in the soil because abuse has immediately followed use, and the nation rather preferred to limit the exercise of its rights than to endure disorder in ideas as well as in things. It is worthy of you and me to make a broader application of these great principles, which constitute the glory of France. The development will not as formerly endanger the necessary prestige of authority. Power is now firmly based, and ardent passions, the sole obstacle to the expansion of our liberties, will become extinguished in the immensity of universal suffrage. I have full confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people; and strong in the right which I hold from them, strong in my conscience, which is solely desirous of good, I invite you to march with me with a firm step on the path of civilization.”

A Report from the Minister of Instruction, M. Duruy, published in February, gave some interesting details on the state of primary education in France at the end of the year 1865. It appears that in 1863, out of 37,510 communes, 818 were without primary schools; but in 1866, 694 only were in that position, although 38 new communes had been created. The number of

public schools for primary teaching had increased by 1054 more than in 1863. The private establishments had also increased in number. The number of free lay schools for boys had risen from 2572 to 2864, and that of those belonging to the religious brotherhoods from 535 to 646, or an augmentation of 292 on the former and 111 on the latter. The girls' schools had, however, decreased by 369 since 1863. During the same period 1202 new schools had been founded in France, and the number of pupils had increased by 135,414. The adult classes during the year 1866 were attended by 600,000 persons, of whom more than half commenced or resumed the teaching given in the primary schools. In order to know approximately the amount of ignorance in the country, there had been drawn up in all the *mairies* of the empire a return of the husbands who, in 1866, were not able to write their names on the marriage register. The average was 25 88-100 per cent. for males, and 41 2-100 per cent. for females, or together 33 45-100 per cent. The returns from some departments showed as many as 51, 61, and 67 men, and 75, 80, and 98 women in 100 who were not able to sign their marriage act.

The order of the Postmaster-General, M. Vandal, relative to the opening of suspected letters, to which we have before alluded, led to a warm discussion in the *Corps Législatif*, where the subject was brought forward by M. Pelletan. In the course of his speech he asked, "Has the Prefect of Police the right to order the Director-General to instruct his subordinates to seize all letters suspected of enclosing a manifesto whose circulation it is wished to prevent? In that case, the Prefect of Police, would he be a superior judge whose jurisdiction would extend throughout France? No; his powers expire at the limit of the adjoining departments. It is said that the incident (the manifesto is so described) had so little importance, that it was not considered worth while to set all the Prefects in motion; and yet for this trifle all the correspondence of France is deranged."

In reply, M. Vandal said, "The Government has awaited with impatience the moment when it could have the ardent language of late used followed by sincere and measured words. We therefore thank M. Pelletan for his interpellation, despite its severe form. He begins by assuming as a fact that the secrecy of letters has been violated. I have solicited the honour of replying, as I have entire confidence in the force of the explanations I have to give. No; the secrecy of letters has not been violated. The law accords to the Government the right, imposes on it the duty of doing what it has done. Articles 8, 10, and 90 of the Code give to the Prefect of Paris and to the Prefects of the departments the right to do every thing to discover crimes and offences, no exception being made for letters placed in the post-office. That right has been exercised by all Governments. Under the Republic a circular of the 18th of December, 1848, signed Etienne Arago, ordered the seizure of letters in a simply fiscal interest."

He added that "the agents of the post-office are bound to avoid every thing having the appearance of the violation of the secrecy of correspondence. When a seized letter has been opened by the competent authorities, and been found useless for the ends of justice, it is sent back to the Director of the Post-office to be forwarded, after having been re-sealed and stamped with the words, 'Opened by the authority of justice.' I do not hesitate to admit that there was something faulty in the circular, as to cause letters seized in the province to be sent to Paris was a proceeding not perhaps strictly consonant with legality. I may add, however, that henceforward there will be no derogation of that nature. But, in point of fact, what was the consequence of the circular? How many letters were sent to Paris? Not 15,000, as M. Pelletan has conjectured, but five only; out of which two were transmitted to the Prefect of Police, who returned them, and they were delayed only twenty-four hours. The three others were distributed after a delay of two hours only. Such has been the authentic result of the circular of January 24. How, after this, are we to explain the emotion created? Public opinion has been the victim of a surprise; as, if it had been well acquainted with the constant rules of the administration, it would not have felt the trouble which we must all regret."

After a speech from M. Ernest Picard, strongly denouncing the practice, M. Rouher, Minister of State, rose, and proposed that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day. He said that the proceedings which had taken place were regular, and in conformity with the decree of the *Cour de Cassation*; but he admitted that the competency of the Prefect of Police did not extend beyond the territory under his jurisdiction, and that there would be a prejudice to private and commercial interests in ordering letters to be sent by the postal agents in the various departments to the central office in Paris to undergo a judicial seizure. "I think, therefore," he added, "with M. Vandal, that henceforth such instructions should not be given. I, however, maintain the right of the Prefects to seize seditious writings when the fact of their circulation is palpable and manifest."

This seemed to satisfy the Chamber; and the order of the day was voted by a very large majority.

The first interpellation in the *Corps Législatif* had for its object to learn the reasons for abolishing the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne. It was moved by the Viscount Lanjuinais; and the debate that ensued occupied two days. M. Rouher, in defending the abolition, said that in England for a long time past the right of address and the right of interpellations had existed; but since the existence and extension of the latter, the Address has become a mere tradition and a simple formality.

He was answered by M. Jules Favre, that the Address is disposed of summarily in the English Parliament, because both Houses have the sovereign right of interpellation; and th-

besides these deliberative Assemblies there is a press which is not hampered by legislative restrictions, and consequently Parliament contents itself with the assertion of its right of reply to the Speech from the Throne; whereas in France, on the contrary, the right of reply is suppressed. He said, in conclusion—

“Do you wish to know what disquiets us, and justifies me in maintaining the line of demarcation which separates us from the Minister of State? It is because he derives his motives of security from the will of one man only. To his praising him in this House I have no objection; and assuredly no word shall escape my lips on this point in refutation of what the Minister has said. But the more sincere his praise, the more alarming it is; for it shows what are the dangers that threaten my country. Up to the present moment we thought that it was upon institutions that it relied, and that it did not hold every thing from the will of one man. We have forgotten all. These constitutions you speak of are matters of history, and this history is the history of the Revolution—the history of progress. You are no longer of your epoch. In the midst of Europe emancipated you believe yourself, or you wish to believe yourself, a Minister of Marcus Aurelius or of Trajan; for my part, what I ask is, to be the citizen of a free country.”

On a division, the order of the day was carried by a majority of 266 to 25, M. Berryer and M. Thiers voting in the minority.

On the 7th of March a Bill for the Re-organization of the Army was brought before the *Corps Législatif*, and its proposed enactments excited profound dissatisfaction throughout France. Although the Bill did not pass in the present Session, we give some of its principal provisions as the scheme elaborated by the Emperor, by which he sought to increase the military efficiency of France, while at the same time he thought he was diminishing the burden upon the nation. The French people, however, were of a very different opinion; and as much opposition was given to the measure as within their very circumscribed powers of discussion they dared to express.

By Art. 1 the duration of service in the active army was fixed at five years, and in the reserve at four years. For young men who had not been comprised in the active army, the period was to be four years in the reserve, and five in the National Garde Mobile.

By Art. 4 the young men of the reserve were not admitted to exoneration. They might exchange with those of the National Guard, or furnish as substitute a man under thirty-two years of age.

By Art. 5 the duration of voluntary engagements was two years at least, and the re-engagement in the active army was to be for from two years to five years.

The duration of service in the National Garde Mobile was fixed at six years. The following were Articles 8 and 10:—

“Art. 8. The National Garde Mobile is destined as an auxiliary to the active army in the defence of the fortresses, coasts, and frontier of the empire, and in the maintenance of order in the interior. It can only be called out for actual service by a special law, or in the interval of the Session by a decree which must be presented within a delay of twenty days to the Legislative Body to be converted into a law.”

“Art. 10. The young men of the National Garde Mobile may contract marriage without authorization at any period whatever of their service.”

The discontent which this measure produced throughout France may be gathered from the terms of the petitions addressed to the Emperor against it. One of these from the inhabitants of the commune of Turny, in the Department of the Yonne, contained the following statements—

“We are a prey to the deepest anxiety. A Bill of exceptional gravity is now before the Legislative Chamber. Under the appearance of arming our active army of reserve, or of a moveable National Guard, the whole of our youth will be called out to military service, and the result will be the enrolment of all our children. The weight of so heavy a burden will be supported by the country, already so scant of population, and by agriculturists, whose grievances, so real and so deep, have been exposed during the inquiry on the state of agriculture. Devoted subjects of the Empire, we, nevertheless, contemplate with affright and sorrow the terrible consequences of the law. Already our districts are deprived of hands, and now it is proposed to take away the most active portion of our population. And for what object? Does the enemy menace our frontiers? If this be the case, let a levy *en masse* be proclaimed, and we are prepared for any sacrifice; but if the object be merely to substitute one system for another, in order to obtain a greater number of men, there is nothing to justify a measure which will press upon us permanently.”

Another petition described the proposed measure as an attempt to aggravate the burden of the conscription, which it called “this most lamentable of imposts—the impost of blood.” In a letter addressed to one of the Deputies by his constituents they said—

“They are little versed in politics; but they do not understand why their children should, in time of peace, be torn from the workshop or from the plough to be thrown into barracks; and they do not understand how the country can continue to be aggrandized if all the youth be forced to nine years’ celibacy.”

On the 14th of March a debate commenced in the *Corps Législatif* upon the interpellation by M. Thiers with respect to the foreign policy of the Government. M. Thiers spoke for more than two hours, and his speech seems to have produced a great effect upon the Chamber. He examined the state of Europe at the present day, and of France in respect of Europe, and pointed to the armaments which every Government was preparing. The

causes of this state of things were to be found in the substitution in European policy of the new theory of nationalities for the old and salutary principle of the balance of power, which used to be opposed to the encroachments of the ambitious. M. Thiers drew a striking picture of European politics during four centuries—from the efforts made with so much sagacity by Louis XI. to constitute the independence of France, down to the acts of the Powers of Europe assembled at Vienna, when they laid in 1815 the bases of the new arrangement of States. He considered that in those reminiscences there were for France, together with legitimate subjects for pride, lessons of the gravest character. France had been by turns vanquished and victorious. She was vanquished twice, when she renounced the part assigned to her by Providence, that of allowing no one to disturb for his own advantage the equilibrium of States, and when she aimed at universal domination for herself. She was victorious on the other hand, when she defended the interests of nations. The distinctive mark of that policy was its permanent conformity to the interests and independence of the smaller States. This policy was upset under the First Empire by the aggrandizements which survived those of France. It was re-established in a reasonable measure by the Treaties of Vienna, negated by the Holy Alliance, but restored in 1848, when the Governments that had coalesced against France were dissipated “like shadows before the explosion of liberty.” The equilibrium of Europe was then for some time restored, and France felt the benefit of it in the Crimean War. Why did France abandon that position? The answer to the question was to be found in the necessity of embracing, as compensation for the loss of liberty—after public works, that is, vast expenditure—the policy of nationalities. That which people called the policy of nationalities was nothing more than a chimera; and if it were accepted as the inflexible law for the re-organization of the Continent, there was not a single State that could maintain its present limits. By the application of such a law there would be in Europe but two first-rate Powers—Germany and Russia; it would be for Europe a chaos, and for France a descent to the third rank among nations. Unfortunately, these chimeras of nationalities had become sad realities. In the first place, France of her own free will made Italy, and by so doing weakened Austria, without pacifying Europe, and without gaining a single faithful ally. The necessary consequence of the unity of Italy was the unity of Germany. France permitted the spoliation of Denmark; but injustice is sure to be punished sooner or later, and Denmark was avenged for her wrongs by the quarrel among the robbers over their booty. From the very outset of the dissension, Count Bismarck perceived that the intervention of Italy would divide the forces of Austria and paralyze those of France. France, on the other hand, should have foreseen with equal certainty that the issue of the struggle, to whatever side favourable or even doubtful, could not be otherwise

than prejudicial to her. One word said to Italy and to Prussia would have prevented that great and perilous conflict. Why was not that word spoken? When the Chamber last year expressed its desire for peace, what it meant was not peace at any price, not a disgraceful and cowardly peace, but the maintenance of the peace of Europe. There was, indeed, another policy, which could not be avowed, and which was not avowed, for it consisted in this,—that France should remain an indifferent spectator to the destruction of the equilibrium of Europe, on condition of getting as the price of her complacency a patch of territory. Such a policy, which would make France follow in the track of victorious armies, like a midnight prowler on the battle-field, he indignantly repudiated for his country. Events, however, followed their course; and at that moment what was the state of things? Instead of nineteen millions, Prussia now counted thirty millions of subjects, and even forty millions with the Southern Confederation. She was a young and ambitious Power, and this was the first danger for Europe. There was also a danger which was not less great and less urgent, that something analogous to what has been done in Germany would be attempted in the East; that Constantinople—which, as Napoleon said at Tilsit, gives the empire of the world to him who is master of it—might fall into the hands of the Russians. The two dangers to Europe were closely connected; for if between St. Petersburg and Berlin there was as yet no treaty signed, there was, at least, an evident community of interests between them; and when there was community of interests, treaties of alliance were soon concluded. The pendulum, the oscillations of which maintained the equilibrium of Europe, had been last year in the hands of France; it was now in the hands of Prussia and Russia.

What was the line of conduct now traced out for France? To side with the ambitious would be at once an act of folly, and would expose her to be duped. What she should do, was to place herself at the head of all who were menaced; to admit what had been done, but to declare that she would not suffer any one to go further. With Austria now exhausted and distrustful, Italy forced by the pressure of her internal difficulties to go about in search of adventures, Spain almost insulated in civil contests, and England turned away in disgust from Continental politics, with Russia enticed on by ambition, France was without an ally. But let France make herself the champion of all who were alarmed or menaced, and she would soon see England unite with her, the smaller States would group around that alliance, and Austria accept the alliance of prudence and of honour. M. Thiers concluded by imploring the Government and the country to rally to that policy which he would call the policy of good sense, and to do so without loss of time, for there was not a single fault more to commit.

In the course of his reply to M. Thiers, M. Rouher said—

"The Government does not think to impede abroad the principle of the sovereignty of the people which it holds at home. Universal suffrage sanctioned the Imperial Government which was inaugurated on the 2nd of December."

M. Thiers here interrupted M. Rouher, and exclaimed, "Let us forget." This caused great excitement in the Chambers, and it was some time before M. Rouher could proceed. He said, that what is now known as the unity of Italy, was thirty years ago called its liberation from foreign domination; and that it was the Liberals of France who proclaimed that liberation, who accused the Government of the day of not taking the cause of Italy sufficiently to heart. The Italian question had then, for a long time, been the question of the day; and M. Thiers himself, when not in office, demanded, in the name of the tranquillity of Europe and of the dignity of France that it should then be settled once for all. He had no need to recapitulate the causes which led to the war of 1859. Every body knew that France did not draw the sword till the last moment, and till the security of her frontiers was seriously menaced. When the war was over, France advised Italy to adopt a federation system; but Italy, then free, refused to do so; and she embraced the policy of unity. Was France to impose her will by force? Was she to turn her arms against those whom she had just rescued, and substitute her own domination for that of Austria? No one would dare to affirm that she should. There remained the question of Rome, which was more than a national question; it was a Catholic question. There remained that of Venice, which was one exclusively Italian. All the efforts the Government had made to settle it pacifically were baffled by the refusal of Austria, who declared she was bound by honour to defend Venice. It was then that the conflict arose between Austria and Prussia; Italy saw that it was, perhaps, the only opportunity offered her to obtain what she had vainly solicited, and she allied herself to Prussia. And did any one suppose—did M. Thiers suppose—that Italy, trembling with impatience, agitated by popular passion, would have accepted the veto of France, appeased those passions, and been prevented from uniting with Prussia? There was but one mode, and only one, to put a stop to this alliance, and to prevent the war—that was, the cession of Venetia. It was for this that France proposed the Congress, at which the great pending questions might be discussed, without offending the honour or the dignity of any Power. The refusal of Austria to discuss the Venetian question made a Congress useless; and, despite the energetic efforts of the French Government, war broke out. Having done its best to stifle the conflagration, the French Government contented itself with watching events as they occurred. That neutrality bore its fruits; for, under the very walls of Vienna, the conqueror of Sadowa, as well as the Emperor of Austria, accepted the Emperor Napoleon for mediator. All the world knew that mediation was conducted in the interest of peace

and moderation. It arrested the march of the conqueror, it stipulated for the integrity of Austria and Saxony, it obtained better terms for the Southern States, and the prompt conclusion of peace. In concluding his speech, M. Rouher asked, "What is required of us? War? No one thinks of it. Violent annexations? No one has proposed them. A policy of watchfulness? That is the policy of the Government. Our isolation has been mentioned. We will have no exclusive alliances. To-day we will be the allies of England; to-morrow of Prussia or Austria; and that, not with the object of conquest, but to solve by conciliatory diplomatic interference the various questions as they arise. We seek great means to allay great storms."

M. Rouher was followed by M. Jules Favre, who, alluding to the Bill for the Re-organization of the Army, said, "I put this simple question to the Minister of State: Why do you disturb the whole country by presenting to us a law which is without precedent in its history? One of two things—either the speech you have just now made in this tribune is nothing but ostentation, in reality answering to no one of the known facts of policy; or you must at once withdraw your Bill on those military requisitions which have spread throughout the nation profound alarm. I am not aware that there is any answer to this simple dilemma; in all the developments in which the Minister has just indulged, it is the only point he has not thought proper to touch; and if he had touched it, as a glittering but brittle edifice, the whole of his reasoning would fall to the ground."

At a subsequent period, in the course of a debate, M. Rouher described the new Army Bill as "France placing her hand on the hilt of her sword in the midst of prosperity and peace."

At the end of March Count Walewski resigned the office of President of the *Corps Législatif*. A letter addressed by him to the Emperor, which appeared in the *Moniteur*, assigned as his reason, "personal dissensions independent of his own will;" but no explanation was given as to what those personal dissensions were. It was believed that the Emperor did not consider him possessed of sufficient firmness to conduct the debates in the Chamber, which were often excited and stirring; and he conveyed to him an intimation that his resignation would be accepted.

The Great Exhibition, or *Exposition*, as it was called, for the display of arts and manufactures from all countries, in the Champ de Mars, was opened on the 1st of April, without any formal ceremony. The Emperor and Empress merely walked round the building, and, after conversing with the representatives of the foreign commissions, left, as they arrived, in an open carriage.

Public feeling in France was much agitated in the early part of the year by the question of the territorial aggrandizement of Prussia; and the specific form which this feeling assumed was a determination to prevent, if possible, the retention by that Power

of the strong fortress of Luxemburg, on the north-eastern frontier of France. The Duchy of Luxemburg belonged to the King of Holland as Grand Duke, and formed part of the German Confederation, which was broken up at the close of the war last year between Prussia and Austria. The territory had been guaranteed to the King of Holland in April, 1839, by a treaty concluded between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the King of Holland, as Grand Duke. As part of the German Confederation, the city of Luxemburg had been, for some years past, garrisoned by Prussian troops; but the French Government and the French people now considered that the fortress, in possession of a Prussian garrison, would no longer be merely a defensive position for Germany, but would be an offensive position against France.

In a speech made by Count Bismarck in the North German Parliament at the end of March, he said that it was necessary that Germany should take the just susceptibilities of France into account. He admitted that Luxemburg was an independent State, of which the King of Holland could dispose, in the exercise of his sovereign rights, and upon his own responsibility. He admitted also the fact, that the inhabitants of the Duchy of Luxemburg experienced a strong repugnance to being incorporated with Germany; and he insisted upon the influence which the desire of maintaining pacific and friendly relations with its powerful neighbour must exercise upon the policy of the Prussian Government.

The question was brought before the *Corps Législatif* on the 8th of April, when the Marquis de Moustier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, rose and informed the Chamber that he had received orders from the Emperor to acquaint it with the circumstances under which the Luxemburg question had arisen, and also with the actual position of the matter. He said—

“The Government, guided by the interests of France, which require the preservation of peace, has brought to the consideration of this question thoughts only of conciliation and peace. Nor was it the French Government that raised the discussion of the question. The undecided situation of Luxemburg and Limburg gave rise to diplomatic communications between France and Holland; but these communications had no official character when the Dutch Cabinet consulted Prussia, and when the latter replied by appealing to the treaty of 1839. The French Government had always considered this question from three points of view, namely, as connected with the free consent of Holland, the loyal examination of the treaties by the Great Powers, and the consultation of the wishes of the inhabitants by means of universal suffrage. The French Government is disposed to examine the question in concert with the Great Powers, and believes, therefore, that peace cannot be disturbed.”

The result was, that England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Holland agreed to open a Conference in London, for the pur-

pose of settling the question of Luxemburg; and in announcing the fact to the Chambers, on the 3rd of May, the Marquis de Moustier said, "The sentiments which actuate all the Governments, the respective appreciations exchanged among them before the determination of the Conference, give us the assurance that the meeting will lead to a solution in conformity with the interests and the dignity of the Powers engaged in the question, and will in that way consolidate the peace of Europe."

The representatives of the Great Powers met in London in Conference on the 7th of May. The King of Italy had expressed his desire to participate in the deliberations by his ambassador, and his request was acceded to. Belgium was also there represented.

The Conference closed its labours on the 11th of May, when the following Treaty was agreed to and signed by the representatives of the different Powers:—

"ARTICLE I.

"His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, maintains the ties which attach the said Grand Duchy to the House of Orange-Nassau, in virtue of the Treaties which placed that State under the sovereignty of the King Grand Duke, his descendants and successors.

"The rights which the Agnates of the House of Nassau possess with regard to the succession of the Grand Duchy, in virtue of the same treaties, are maintained.

"The high contracting parties accept the present declaration, and place it upon record.

"ARTICLE II.

"The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, within the limits determined by the Act annexed to the treaties of the 19th of April, 1839, under the guarantee of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, shall henceforth form a perpetually neutral State.

"It shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards all other States.

"The high contracting parties engage to respect the principle of neutrality stipulated by the present Article.

"That principle is and remains placed under the sanction of the collective guarantee of the Powers signing parties to the present Treaty, with the exception of Belgium, which is itself a neutral State.

"ARTICLE III.

"The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg being neutralized, according to the terms of the preceding Article, the maintenance or establishment of fortresses upon its territory becomes without necessity as well as without object.

"In consequence, it is agreed by common consent that the city

of Luxemburg, considered in time past, in a military point of view, as a Federal fortress, shall cease to be a fortified city.

"His Majesty the King Grand Duke reserves to himself to maintain in that city the number of troops necessary to provide in it for the maintenance of good order.

"ARTICLE IV.

"In conformity with the stipulations contained in Articles II. and III., His Majesty the King of Prussia declares that his troops actually in garrison in the fortress of Luxemburg shall receive orders to proceed to the evacuation of that place immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty. The withdrawal of the artillery, munitions, and every object which forms part of the equipment of the said fortress shall commence simultaneously. During that operation there shall remain in it no more than the number of troops necessary to provide for the safety of the material of war, and to effect the despatch thereof, which shall be completed within the shortest time possible.

"ARTICLE V.

"His Majesty the King Grand Duke, in virtue of the rights of sovereignty which he exercises over the city and fortress of Luxemburg, engages, on his part, to take the necessary measures for converting the said fortress into an open city, by means of a demolition which His Majesty shall deem sufficient to fulfil the intentions of the high contracting parties expressed in Article III. of the present Treaty. The works requisite for that purpose shall be commenced immediately after the withdrawal of the garrison.

"They shall be carried out with all the attention required for the interests of the inhabitants of the city.

"His Majesty the King Grand Duke promises, moreover, that the fortifications of the city of Luxemburg shall not be restored in future, and that no military establishment shall be there maintained or created.

"ARTICLE VI.

"The Powers signing parties to the present Treaty recognize that the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation having equally produced the dissolution of the ties which united the Duchy of Limburg, collectively with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, to the said Confederation, it results therefrom that the relations, of which mention is made in Articles III., IV., and V. of the Treaty of the 19th of April, 1839, between the Grand Duchy and certain territories belonging to the Duchy of Limburg, have ceased to exist, the said territories continuing to form an integral part of the kingdom of the Netherlands."

At the sitting of the *Corps Législatif* on the 13th of May the Marquis de Moustier, Minister for Foreign Affairs, rose, and after shortly describing the proceedings and results of the Conference,

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said,—“The treaty fully accords with the views of the French Government. It does away with a state of things established against us in evil times, and which has been maintained for fifty years. It gives to our northern frontier the guarantee of another neutralized State. It secures to the King Grand Duke complete independence, and it not only removes the causes of an imminent conflict, but gives fresh pledges for the strengthening of good relations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. The Government has to congratulate itself upon having obtained these results, and to make known how just and friendly are the sentiments of the Powers towards us. The Government thinks it useful especially to point out that for the first time the meeting of a Conference, instead of following a war and confining itself to sanctioning its results, has succeeded in anticipating it and in preserving the benefits of peace. This is a precious indication of the new tendencies which prevail in the world, and over which the friends of progress and civilization should rejoice.”

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE.—SPAIN.

FRANCE (*continued*).—Attempt to assassinate the Emperor of Russia in Paris—Trial and Conviction of the Assassin—Report on the Budget—Distribution of the Prizes at the Exhibition by the Emperor—Meeting of the French and Austrian Emperors at Salzburg—Speech of the Emperor at Arras and Lille—Death of M. Achille Fould—Opening of a new Session of the French Chambers—Speech of the Emperor—Debate in the Senate on the Occupation of Rome by French Troops—Debate in the *Corps Législatif* on the same subject—Debate on the Affairs of Germany—The Army Re-organization Bill.

SPAIN.—Failure of an attempted Insurrection in the Provinces—Amnesty—Circular of the Spanish Government.

AMONGST the Sovereigns of Europe who visited Paris this year in honour of the Great Exhibition was the Emperor of Russia; and on the 6th of June a dastardly attempt was made to assassinate him as he was driving with the French Emperor in a carriage in one of the avenues of the Bois de Boulogne. The perpetrator of the deed was a Pole, named Berezowski, who fired two pistol-shots at the Czar as the carriage passed. One of the shots was intercepted by the horse of M. Rainbeaux, Equerry to the Emperor Napoleon, who observing the assassin holding both his hands above the shoulders of the crowd, pushed his horse forward, and the bullet struck the animal in the head. Another shot was almost simultaneously fired by Berezowski, but owing to an overcharge the barrel burst, and no harm was done.

Berezowski was tried on the 15th of July in the Assize Court of the Seine, when the jury found him guilty, *with extenuating circumstances*, and he was sentenced to transportation for life.

The Report on the Supplementary Budget of 1867 and the Budget of 1868 was laid before the French Chambers in the middle of June. The Supplementary Budget showed an increase in the ordinary expenditure of 21,000,000*f.* The expenditure of the ordinary Budget of 1868 was estimated at 1,548,800,621*f.* and the revenue at 1,673,451,585*f.*, showing a surplus of 121,650,964*f.*

With respect to the expenses of the Mexican Expedition, the Report states that the Government was occupied in collecting them; but in the meantime it was ascertained that the losses in *matériel* were, in 1864, 22,500,000*f.*, in which sum was comprised the expenses of bringing home the troops. The Report added, with reference to an Amendment moved by some of the Opposition Deputies, calling for detailed accounts of the expenses of the Expedition,—

“But, even supposing them to be double that sum, by reason of the time which has elapsed since that date, and adding it to the 337,000,000 which stands in the annexed table, the total, we are convinced, will be considerably under that which the movers of the Amendment supposed.”

On the 1st of July the Emperor distributed the prizes awarded at the Exhibition in the *Champs de Mars*, and made a speech, in the course of which he said,—

“In drawing near, nations learn to know and to esteem each other. Hatred is extinguished, and the truth becomes more and more evident that the prosperity of each country contributes to the prosperity of all. The Exhibition of 1867 may justly be termed universal, for it unites the elements of all the riches of the globe. . . . Let us congratulate ourselves upon having received among us the majority of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe, and so many distinguished visitors. Let us also be proud of having shown to them France as she is—great, prosperous, and free. One must be destitute of all patriotic faith to doubt of her greatness, must close one’s eyes to evidence to deny her prosperity, must misunderstand her institutions, tolerant some times even of licence, not to behold in them liberty. . . . I hope the Exhibition of 1867 will mark a new era of harmony and of progress. Assured that Providence blesses the efforts of all who, like ourselves, desire good, I believe in the definitive triumph of the great principles of morality and justice, which, while satisfying all legitimate desires, are alone able to consolidate Thrones, to elevate nations, and to ennoble humanity.”

In the month of August the Emperor and Empress paid a visit to the Emperor of Austria at Salzburg, and this meeting led to all kinds of exaggerated rumours as to the objects which the two Sovereigns had in view. This led ultimately to a circular addressed

by the Marquis de Moustier to the diplomatic agents of France in Foreign countries, in which he said,—

“The journey of their Majesties was solely dictated by the idea of bearing an affectionate testimony of sympathy to the Imperial family of Austria, so cruelly afflicted by a recent misfortune¹. Certainly the heads of two great Empires could not be together in confiding intimacy for several days without mutually communicating to one another their impressions, and exchanging ideas on questions of general interest. But neither the object nor the result of their interviews was the formation of combinations which there is nothing in the present state of Europe to justify. . . . The interviews of the Emperor Napoleon with the Emperor Francis Joseph could not therefore have the character attributed to them by certain journalists. Long before meeting at Salzburg the two Sovereigns had both attested by their acts, and by the pacific sentiments which guide them, that their Governments united could not form any other design than that of persevering in the same line of conduct as hitherto. The conversations upon general affairs were limited to this assurance, which was mutually given.”

Before, however, this circular appeared, the Emperor himself, on his return to France, in answer to addresses presented to him at Arras and at Lille, made two speeches for the purpose of allaying unfounded alarms.

At Arras, he said,—

“You are right to have confidence in the future. It is only weak Governments who seek in foreign complications to divert attention from troubles at home. But he who derives his strength from the great body of the nation has only to do his duty, and to satisfy the permanent interests of the country; and, while holding aloft the national flag, we should not allow ourselves to be drawn away by intemperate impulses, however patriotic they may be.”

And at Lille,—

“During the last fourteen years many of my hopes have been realized, and great progress has been accomplished. Dark spots, however, have darkened our horizon. But even as good fortune has not dazzled me, so transient reverses will not discourage me. How should I be discouraged when I see from one end of France to the other the people greeting the Empress and myself with acclamations in which are unceasingly associated the name of our son? To-day I do not come here only to celebrate a glorious anniversary in the capital of ancient Flanders; I also come to learn your wants, to heighten the courage of some, to confirm the confidence of all, and to endeavour to increase the responsibility of this great Department by still further developing its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. You will aid me in this noble task, but you will not forget that the first condition of the prosperity of

¹ This alludes to the execution of the Emperor Maximilian by Juarez in Mexico, of which an account is given under the head of Mexico.

a nation like ours is to possess the consciousness of its own strength, and not allow itself to be depressed by imaginary fears, but to rely upon the wisdom and patriotism of the Government. The Empress, touched by the sentiments which you express, unites with me in thanking you for your warm and sympathetic welcome."

At the beginning of October M. Achille Fould, the well-known and distinguished Finance Minister, died suddenly at Tarbes, in the south of France. He had been called into the Ministry by the Emperor in November, 1861, to administer the finances of the empire, which were in a very unsatisfactory state; and his unceasing efforts had been directed to restore them by practising economy. But he was unable to accomplish what he proposed; and being unwilling to continue in office without the power of seriously diminishing the public expenditure, he resigned his post in the early part of the present year, and was succeeded by M. Rouher. He was buried in Paris, where his remains were honoured by a public funeral.

A new Session of the French Legislature was opened on the 18th of November by the Emperor, who delivered the following Speech:—

"The necessity of resuming the interrupted discussion of important laws has obliged me to call you together earlier than usual. Recent events have further caused me to experience the wish of availing myself of your sagacity and your assistance.

"Since you separated, vague inquietudes have arisen to affect the public mind in Europe and to restrict the movements of industry and commercial transactions in all quarters. Notwithstanding the declarations of my Government, which has never varied in its pacific attitude, the belief has been spread that any modification in the internal system of Germany must become a cause of conflict. This state of uncertainty could not endure longer. It is necessary to accept frankly the changes that have taken place upon the other side of the Rhine; to proclaim that, so long as our interests and our dignity shall not be threatened, we will not interfere in the transformations effected by the wish of the populations. The disquiet that has been displayed is difficult of explanation at a period in which France has offered to the world the most imposing spectacle of conciliation and of peace.

"The Universal Exhibition, which nearly all the Sovereigns of Europe have attended, and where the representatives of the labouring classes of all countries have met, has drawn closer the ties of fraternity between the nations. It has disappeared; but its traces will leave a deep impression upon our age; for if, after having majestically risen, the Exhibition has only shone with momentary brilliancy, it has destroyed for ever a past of prejudices and of errors. The shackles of labour and of intelligence, the barriers between the different peoples, as well as the different classes, international hatreds—these are what the Exhibition has cast behind it. These incontestable pledges of concord do not allow us to dispense

with improving the military institutions of France. It is the imperative duty of every Government to follow progress, independently of circumstances, in all the elements which constitute the strength of a country; and it is for us a necessity to bring to perfection our military organization as well as our weapons and our navy. The project of law presented to the Legislative Body divided equally between all citizens the charges of recruiting. That system has appeared too absolute, and arrangements have been come to for mitigating its application. Measures have been adopted to diminish this burden. Since then I have thought it advisable to submit this important question to further consideration. In fact, this difficult problem cannot be too carefully investigated, as it touches upon such great and often contradictory interests. My Government will propose new arrangements to you, which are only simple modifications of the law of 1832, but which achieve the object I have always had in view—the reduction of the effective strength of the army during peace and its increase during time of war. You will examine them, as also the organization of the National Garde Mobile, under the impression of that patriotic idea that the stronger we shall be the more certain will be the assurance of peace—that peace which it is the wish of us all to preserve, and which seemed for a moment in danger.

“Revolutionary agitations, prepared in broad daylight, threatened the Pontifical States. The Convention of the 15th of September not having been executed, I have been compelled once again to send our troops to Rome, and to protect the power of the Holy See by repulsing the invaders. Our conduct could not partake of any thing hostile to the unity and independence of Italy; and that nation, for a moment surprised, has not been long in understanding the dangers which these revolutionary manifestations caused to the monarchical principle and to European order.

“Calm is now almost entirely re-established in the States of the Pope, and we may calculate the proximate time when our troops will be recalled home.

“For us the Convention of the 15th of September exists so long as it is not replaced by a new international Act. The relations of Italy to the Holy See interest the whole of Europe, and we have proposed to the Powers to settle these relations at a Conference, and thus to prevent new complications.

“Attention has been turned to the Eastern question, from which, nevertheless, the conciliatory spirit of the Powers removes every irritating character. If some differences of opinion have existed between them as to the means of bringing about the pacification of Crete, I am happy to announce that they are all agreed upon two principal points—viz. the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the improvement of the condition of the Christians.

“Foreign politics permit us, therefore, to devote all our efforts to domestic improvements. Since your last Session universal

suffrage has been called upon to elect a third of the members of the *Conseils Généraux*. These elections, held with calm and independence, have every where demonstrated the good feeling of the people. The journey I have made with the Empress in the east and north of France has afforded the opportunity for manifestations of sympathy which have profoundly touched me. I have been able to ascertain once more that nothing has occurred to shake the confidence the people have placed in me, and the attachment they entertain towards my dynasty. For my part, I labour incessantly to anticipate their wishes.

"The completion of connecting roads was required by those agricultural classes of which you are the enlightened representatives. It was for us an act of justice—I should almost say of gratitude—to satisfy this want; and an inquiry upon a large scale is preparing a solution. It will be easy for you, in concert with my Government, to assure the success of this great measure.

"The state of affairs is, undoubtedly, not free from some embarrassments. Industrial and commercial activity has slackened. This uneasiness is general in Europe, and is in great part due to apprehensions which the good understanding prevailing between the Powers will cause to disappear. The harvest has not been good, and dearness was inevitable; but free trade can alone secure supplies at lower prices. If these various causes prevent the revenue from completely balancing the estimates of the Budget, the provisions of the laws of finance will not be modified, and we may be allowed to foresee the period when a reduction of taxation may be taken into consideration. This Session will be chiefly devoted to the examination of the laws of which I took the initiative in the month of January last. The time that has elapsed since then has not altered my convictions respecting the utility of those reforms; doubtless the introduction of these new liberties exposes the public mind to excitement and to dangerous impulses; but to render them powerless I count at the same time upon the good sense of the country, the progress of public morality, the firmness of repression, and the energy and authority of the ruling power. Let us, then, follow up the work which we have undertaken together. For fifteen years we have shared the same idea—to uphold above controversies and hostile passions our fundamental laws which the popular voice has sanctioned, but at the same time to develop our liberal institutions without weakening the principle of authority. Let us not cease to spread around us the comforts of life by the prompt completion of our means of communication, to multiply the means of instruction, to render access to justice less expensive by simplifying our mode of procedure, to adopt every measure of a nature to render prosperous the social condition of the great masses. If, with me, you become convinced that this path is that of real progress and of civilization, let us continue to advance in the agreement of views and sentiments which is a precious guarantee of the public welfare. You will, I trust, vote

the laws which will be submitted to you. They will contribute to the greatness and to the wealth of the country. For my part, you may rest assured that I will uphold firmly and strongly the power which has been conferred upon me, for neither obstacles nor unjust opposition will shake either my courage or my faith in the future."

The events which had recently taken place in Italy, and of which an account will be found in a subsequent chapter, led to a fresh occupation of Rome by French troops, and became the subject of full discussion both in the Senate and the Legislative Body. The debate in the Senate was opened by Baron Dupin, who thanked the Government for what they had done in rescuing the Holy Father from the danger that menaced him. At the close of his speech he said: "A movement is tending to displace the principal Powers. In the north an empire is endeavouring to form itself, and may become a source of uneasiness to other nations—perhaps to France. But France has one resource which other nations do not possess, and that is Catholicism. Is not the French Government the natural defender of the affections and religion of 200,000,000 men? It cannot fail in its mission; and in following that course the Emperor will make of France the first Power in the world; the Empire of the North will only occupy the second or third place."

Several of the Archbishops addressed the Senate during the debate. The Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen said: "The whole series of acts of the Italian Government leave no room for doubt that Italy wishes to complete her unity in absorbing Rome. She wishes to retain the Pope there as guardian of the tombs of the Apostles, despoiled of all temporal power, and protected by Victor Emmanuel. The clouds heaped up for the last twenty years by the worthy heirs of Machiavel (to whom they have raised a statue) are vanishing; we see brought out into full light the formidable antagonism of the temporal Papacy and Italian unity, which disputes in the face of Europe the right of the former to live on Italian soil. Italian unity is the work of secret conspiracies; of fraud, corruption, intimidation, violence, and crime. And in the direct ratio of its formation we have seen a recrudescence of insults directed against France; ingratitude has lately been pushed to its extreme limits. God grant that this Prussia of the South may not become a peril for us; it is already a threat. I know that many say, 'The Pope can remain free in the Vatican, while Victor Emmanuel and his Parliament sit in the Capitol.' But the Catholics will never accept these terms; will never endure that the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the regulator of 200,000,000 of Catholic consciences, should be at the mercy of a King of Italy. . . . What, then, are we now to do? I do not ask you to give the death-blow yourselves to this kingdom of Italy, since you have willed its existence; but, as this new Power declares itself incompatible with that which constitutes the life of

the moral world of the universe, let us await the dispensations of Providence; let us disengage our own responsibility; let us allow that to crumble to pieces which is destined to perish; and let us remain the protectors and defenders of that which cannot fail. Let us stay at Rome till the Sovereign Disposer of all Events shall have pronounced, and till the future shall have brought about a situation in which the august Head of the Church can repose in security on his time-honoured throne, re-established in all the conditions of its dignity and independence."

The Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux spoke thus of the Italian Government: "I pass over in silence the conspiracies it has favoured, the alarms it has caused us, the tears it has drawn from our eyes, the very blood of our brethren shed by the hands of its soldiers. I shall content myself with pitying it, and in return for so many falsehoods, so many Machiavellic efforts to seduce my country out of the path traced by Providence, I shall only invoke in its favour the forbearance of earth and the compassion of Heaven. But if ever this Royalty, after having trampled on the most sacred engagements, should become the victim of the passions it has evoked for its own profit, I wish for it no worse fate than to be forced to ask an asylum from the Pontifical throne, always so ready to pardon and to bless."

The Archbishop of Paris declared that if the Pope were forced to quit Rome it would most assuredly be a calamity for those who remained there after him. Let the Senate picture to themselves the august and aged Pontiff wandering through the world as a pilgrim. Why, the very earth would tremble beneath his footsteps, and his words would be maledictions. Would they suppose the Pope remaining at Rome? No. Rome was not large enough to contain two Sovereigns. He had no intention to make personal reflections; he spoke merely for the future and the unknown; but he had the right to declare that a King of Italy was too petty a personage to have his seat side by side with the Papacy. This arrangement, then,—viz. the Pope at Rome and Rome belonging to the King of Italy—was but a dream; not merely a dream, but the very extreme of ignorance. The Catholic nations of the earth would never allow the patrimony of St. Peter to pass, after fourteen centuries of possession, into the hands of any sovereign, be that sovereign who he may. It was in Rome that the great Past which is called the Papacy must abide, and abide alone.

These Prelates were followed by the Marquis de Moustier, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in the course of a long speech said,—

"For my part, I believe there would be danger in attempting to base the independence of the Holy See, not only upon the security, upon the stability of the temporal power, but even upon this or that political combination; there is danger in saying that the temporal power ought not only to preserve its independence, but that this or that arrangement is necessary for it, that it must be surrounded by a certain number of small secondary states,

according to the former organization of Italy. This is tempting Providence, gentlemen, for we must not reckon upon His intervention to secure such arrangements. There is another considerable danger in basing security upon the hope of the dissolution of Italian unity. The French Government, you are aware, is favourable to this unity, and it does not believe in the prognostications of those who announce its enfeeblement. When consequences like those which have followed events in Italy are produced, it is rare that we can come back to accomplished facts; the world progresses, it does not retrograde. It must be admitted, therefore, that the unity of Italy will subsist, and must be taken into account; but at the same time the French Government does not consider Italian unity as bound up with the possession of Rome by Italy. It has never understood the necessity that Italian unity could not subsist with such an *enclave* as Rome. This is an idea that may have its partisans, but which does not present itself as necessary. . . . Nothing is easier to conceive, looking at the past, than an Italian Pope living in the midst of an honest and tranquil people, without upon that account abdicating any thing of his independence or his dignity. What is necessary to arrive at the solution of the Roman question is less a facility of agreement upon fundamental questions than sentiments of reciprocal confidence between Italy and the Papacy. Up to the present time there is mutual mistrust, and it must be avowed that upon the side of the Holy See there are good reasons for being suspicious of Italy. Assuredly we have no pretence to impose confidence, but we say that it is necessary, and is the only element of solution. New elements of security for the Holy See must, therefore, be waited for and sought at the same time, and for Italy the means of stopping herself, without wounding her self-respect, upon the decline where she is now situated. For this purpose it is requisite that Italy should cease to look upon France as a troublesome tutor; and precisely because France has rendered great services to Italy, every pressure on our part seems a check upon her, an attack upon her dignity."

On the question of a Conference the Marquis said,—

"We have wished to put the Roman Question into the hands of all persons interested. This question is at once religious and political: it interests, therefore, all the Powers, either in its political or religious aspect. Allusion has formerly been made to a Congress composed exclusively of the Catholic Powers; but it is easy to understand why this Congress was not at that time possible. One of the Great Powers was involved in political complications with Italy, into which those of the Powers who might take part in the Congress would have been drawn. At that period it could only have led to a violent solution. On the other hand, at present the intervention of France sufficed. I do not intend to say by that that France undertook to monopolize, so to speak, the honour of finding a solution to the Roman Question, but by her

intervening singly, the task was found to be simplified. It is further evident that a Congress of the Great Catholic Powers alone would have produced no greater result than has up to the present time been effected by France alone. It might have resulted in an increase of our material power, but of that we have no need. In addition to this, all the Catholic Powers, with the exception of Spain, have declared that they would not agree to the proposal of a Congress composed exclusively by Catholic Powers. There was, therefore, nothing to cause us to embrace their idea. We might have summoned the Great Powers only, but that combination had its inconveniences. Three of the Great Powers are not Catholic, and a fourth, Italy, is a party interested in the question. It is hard to believe that the Holy See would have consented to enter into a Conference the elements composing which would have been found so foreign to its interests. It was therefore necessary that all the Powers should take part in the Congress, since all are interested in the question. The Archbishop of Paris just now expressed doubts on the nature of the adhesion of the Holy Father to the Conference. I am able to state that the Holy Father immediately gave in his adhesion to the Conference, and that he did so without any hesitation. He simply replied that he would send a plenipotentiary to the Conference to maintain all his rights. It is in this sense that we ourselves understand the meeting of the Conference. All rights, and at the same time all claims, must be free to be asserted under the responsibility for each of the impression produced. France has not asked any Power to abdicate its rights."

In the Legislative Body M. Jules Favre expressed strongly his disapproval of the French expedition to Rome, which he said was contrary to the principles of right, and compromised the interests of France. He declared that the proposed Conference was a delusion, and concluded by saying that the French Government had had the Encyclical, "that Charter of Obscurantism," torn to pieces by the Council of State, but had picked up the fragments to make cartridges for its Chassepot rifles.

Several speakers followed, and amongst them M. Thiers, who said that the policy of the Government could only be understood if it were possible to dream of reconciling Italy with the Papacy. But he regarded such reconciliation as a pure illusion. The mouthpiece of the Government had announced what language it would hold at the Conference; but before that Conference could meet, Europe would ask—What is it you require? The only policy which is suitable to France ought to start from this point—France has every claim upon Italy, every duty towards Rome. Under cover of French intervention the weak Princes of Italy have been overthrown. Reproaches are not uttered because we intervened for the despoiler; and are reproaches to be launched against our action to protect the last of the robbed?

M. Rouher.—You are perfectly right. Ours was an intervention against an odious intervention, with a view to stop it.

M. Thiers, continuing his speech, reviewed the successive aggrandizements of Italy. The House of Savoy, he said, had hunted with Garibaldi as a falcon. The temporal power of the Pope was the necessary guarantee of the liberty of the Catholic conscience. The world would never understand how France, having it in her power to be the protector of 200,000,000 of Catholics, should decline such a post. M. Thiers concluded as follows:—

“The situation is a difficult one for France, between Victor Emmanuel, unhappy in his grandeur at the Pitti Palace, and the Pope, menaced in the last remaining ruins of the temporal power. It is a difficult position for France, placed between Italy and Germany, the two revolutions of which are striving to be completed together. These great embarrassments are the fruits of an equivocal policy. The danger on the German side is not at the present moment so great as it may be hereafter, because France, in the Roman question, has so many just claims to assert that Prussia would not dare to declare against her. But the danger remains the same, nevertheless, for the future. How are we to get out of this situation? By an act of frankness, by saying to Italy,—‘I have compromised the most important interests by allowing you to unite with Prussia. I have allowed the world to doubt of my loyal intentions by handing over to you the petty States of Italy; but there is one thing which I cannot abandon to you, and that is my honour, by delivering up to you the Papacy.’”

Mr. Thiers was followed by M. Rouher, Minister of State, who made a long speech, in the course of which he said,—

“The French Government exercised great moderation and firmness. It refused to identify the Italian nation with an ephemeral Cabinet; it gave time for a Liberal-Conservative Ministry, disposed to respect treaties, to be formed; and was able to preserve the Holy Father without having to combat with Italian troops. . . . We are told that after Villafranca we failed in fulfilling our engagements by allowing Italian unity to be accomplished. It was based on two elements: the first I respect, the second I blame. The States which Piedmont first annexed had been abandoned by their Sovereigns. Were we to go and support those princes who had fought against us at Solferino, and who had taken refuge at Vienna? When subsequently the hero of Caprera attacked Sicily with his thousand men, that was no longer a movement of independence but of revolution. That is the element I blame. Yes, the conquest of the Two Sicilies, accomplished by Garibaldi and accepted by Victor Emmanuel, imposed on the King of Italy a heavy mutual responsibility, of which he is now supporting in a large measure the chastisement.

His responsibility became afterwards greater when he seized on the Marches and Umbria. . . . M. Thiers has qualified the convention as absurd. Yet by it Italy recognized the Pontifical States, contracted an obligation towards Rome, and effaced the vote of the Italian Parliament in 1861. Gentlemen, if, after the invasion of Garibaldi, France had remained indifferent, she would have fallen very low in the opinion of the world. Our intervention against parasite and disorderly forces was not commanded solely in the interest of Rome. It served also to protect the throne of Victor Emmanuel. In preserving Rome from invasion we have saved Italy from anarchy. I do not reveal completely enough all the plots made at Geneva; the foetid miasmas of the demagoguery have reached even the soil of Paris. There was a miserable attempt at an appeal to arms, which sank into shame. All conspirators are acquainted with each other; evil passions know how to unite, and the three projected centres of insurrection were Rome, Florence, and Paris. . . . On the subject of the Conference, we have declared to all the powers that we would not form any programme. Do you wish to be more urgent than they? We shall present ourselves to that assembly with our past and our present in our hands. And has not the Pope, the most interested party of all, accepted the idea without reserve? How then can you feel any hesitation under such circumstances? I now come to this dilemma: the Pope wants Rome, and Italy cannot do without it. *We declare that Italy shall not seize upon Rome.* France will never submit to such a violence committed on her honour and on Catholicity in general. She demands from Italy the rigorous and energetic execution of the Convention of September, and if this be not conceded she will supply the deficiency herself. Is that clear enough? Gentlemen, if your plaudits cause me great emotion, they are also the occasion of some little embarrassment, inasmuch as whilst we firmly support the Convention of September we desire to see Italian unity respected and strengthened. We wish the two powers to co-exist side by side."

After M. Rouher had sat down he again rose and added,—

"During the short suspension of the sitting some members have expressed to me a fear that my words were not sufficiently clear. I will add, therefore, that when I spoke of Rome, I meant to speak of the present Pontifical territory in all its integrity."

M. Jules Favre followed, and in the course of his speech said,—

"I do not say that the Government of France is not strong enough to force its will on Italy, but I do say it pursues a chimera when it hopes to obtain the renunciation of the vote of 1861. Italian unity has been attributed to the House of Savoy. Without going back to Machiavel and Dante, the principal inspirer during the present century has been the Pontiff who now obstructs it. He it was who first sounded in Italy the cry for deliverance; he it was who roused the courage of the Italians. I desire to see a

conciliation, but I see no more probability now than in 1849 and 1864, for this reason, that neither Italy nor the Holy See will abandon their pretensions. From thence this consequence arises, that our occupation will be indefinite. We shall spend there twenty-five millions a year; we shall lock up an army and a fleet which, under certain circumstances, would be valuable elsewhere. You compromise not only the dignity of France, but you mark with the brand of policy a cause which ought to find its strength higher than in arms."

A good deal of interruption now took place in the Chamber, and after it had ceased M. Cheinelong, who was one of the Opposition members who had addressed the interpellation to the Government on the question of the intervention by France by sending troops to Rome, rose and said,—

"After the speech of the Minister of State, and the explicit declarations made by him, to the effect that the French Government will never permit Italy to seize Rome or the present Pontifical territory; that if any new international act intervenes, the past conduct of the Government gives the certitude that it will not permit the guarantees of the Holy Father's security to be weakened; and that if there is no new Convention, that of September shall subsist in its integrity. Considering these declarations, we have only thanks to address to the Government, and withdraw our demand for interpellation."

The question of the order of the day was then put to the Chamber, and carried by a majority of 237 to 17.

The next subject of debate was on the affairs of Germany, when M. Garnier Pagès declared that the interview of the two Emperors at Salzburg had paralyzed public business and alarmed Germany. He said, "The Government which proclaimed the principle of nationalities has arrayed against it the nationalities of America, of Russia, of Germany, and of Italy. France ought to seek a *point d'appui* not in Austria, but in Germany. It was above all things necessary to guard against an alliance between Prussian Germany and Italy."

M. Thiers maintained that the political object of Henry IV. in supporting the small States was to oppose the House of Austria, which wished to form a German unity, as Prussia is doing at the present moment. He again protested against the policy of great agglomerations, which resulted in authorizing conquests around France to her detriment, and might change the face of the world, by introducing into Europe the establishment of two great Powers—one, Germany, with 66,000,000 of inhabitants, the other Russia, with 120,000,000.

M. Rouher replied that doubtless the first principle acted upon by a Government ought to be to promote the national interests; but it ought not to look with a jealous eye upon events abroad, always thinking of intervening to prevent them. Nor ought it to allow itself to be taken in tow by events which were being accom-

plished in the name of the principle of nationality, nor forget that patriotism which ought always to be its guiding star. The policy of the French Government might be defined as an energetic feeling in favour of the maintenance of right every where, and the revindication of that of France without alarms, and with confidence in the strength of the country. Applying these ideas to accomplished facts in Italy and Germany, M. Rouher repelled the reproach of inconsistency which had been cast upon the policy of the Government. He denied that Italian unity had been "made" by the medium of France. Nevertheless, France did not entertain any idea of dismembering it. He disowned in the most absolute manner such an idea, but affirmed anew the determination of the Government to see the autonomy of the States of the Pope admitted, in accordance with the Convention of the 15th of September. Relative to Germany the policy of France had consisted in political appeasement and quiet. The French Government frankly accepted accomplished facts as long as its interests and its dignity were not compromised.

Other speakers followed, and ultimately the order of the day was adopted by a majority of 231 votes against 23.

The New Army Organization Bill came again before the Chambers in the course of the Session, and was discussed at considerable length in the *Corps Législatif* in December. M. Jules Simon attacked the Bill, and complained of its increasing the military expenditure, and of too long postponing the period when the reserve might marry. He censured the establishment of the National Garde Mobile, which suppressed the chances of the conscripts drawing favourable numbers. The policy of the Government had offended foreign nations. After the faults that had been committed, the moment was inopportune for asking France to give all her children to the military service. The true strength of the people did not consist in a standing army, but in patriotism.

Baron David pointed out the existence beyond the Rhine of a military party intoxicated with victory. Across the Alps the revolutionary party was hostile to France. This situation required that France should exercise foresight. "We require," he said, "a strong organization. That proposed will be the least burdensome. Patriotism demands that the Chamber should unanimously vote the Bill."

Several other members followed and spoke, some in support of the measure and others against it. M. Richard declared that if it passed it would inevitably provoke a war, while M. Beauverger approved of it, as necessary to the new situation of France.

M. Gressier, Reporter of the Committee on the Bill, declared that the military resources of the country were at present insufficient, and the Bill was favourable to their development. He added that if the balance of power in the world was disturbed, it was not by the efforts of Governments, nor by the agreement of peoples that it could be restored. War alone could accomplish it. He

was adverse to war, but he wished to ask whether France was prepared to meet a future war. He observed that in the next spring, and for many years, the law as it now stood, instead of increasing the strength of the army, would have the result of reducing it. The measure before the Chamber was therefore not a law suited to the eventuality of a proximate war, but to a future eventuality.

M. Picard maintained that the Bill would be burdensome during peace and insufficient in time of war. He asked why a Bill drawn up immediately after the battle of Sadowa was inspired rather by the system of vanquished Austria than of victorious Prussia. He should wish that the right of declaring war were reserved for the *Corps Législatif*. He alleged that the Bill was intended to serve a clandestine policy, which would only be revealed at the moment of its being carried into execution, while the country wished for a policy it could clearly understand.

On the part of the Government M. Rouher said that he did not hesitate to protest in the most absolute manner against all interpretations tending to show that the Bill constituted any preparation for a more or less distant war. The Minister concluded thus:—

“If the Government had intended war, it would have asked for the immediate increase of our forces, and would not have brought in a Bill which only provides for their slow and gradual development. No! the Bill does not respond to any intention of war. It only provides for the maintenance of the great national interests and the independence of the country¹.”

M. Jules Simon brought forward an Amendment, the object of which was the suppression of a permanent standing army. He advocated a general national armament as in Switzerland. He said that the project of the Government was the organization of war.

Marshal Niel opposed the system advocated by M. Jules Simon, behind which he could foresee the disastrous Utopian folly of a general call to arms. He refuted the criticisms launched against the French army. It was not an army of Prætorians, but there existed an intimate union between it and the nation. The military spirit which it was desired to destroy was the foundation of the greatness of France. Referring to his efforts to complete the organization of the army, Marshal Niel said that he believed that he had worked for peace, and he hoped that it would be maintained. Relative to the amount of the proposed contingent, Marshal Niel said that the real object of the Bill was to create such a normal contingent that its effective strength should never be less than 750,000 men. The contingent of this year would be 100,000

¹ It may be interesting to state, that before the First French Revolution the strength of the army on a peace footing was, in 1787, 228,449 men; and on a war footing, 300,865.

men. The result of the Bill would be to prevent any one whomsoever attacking France with impunity.

M. Jules Favre maintained that the Bill, as it then stood, instead of being a guarantee of peace, would be an instrument of war. If nations did not settle their differences by common agreement, but by war, it was because they were not free. The Empire had startled Europe, and had thus provoked foreign Powers to increase their armaments. The Empire had but one friend—the clergy.

M. Emile Ollivier said that strength was not to be sought for in increased armaments, but in the suppression of the existing causes of weakness. He advocated the suppression of the Imperial Guard, and maintained that the Bill was framed with a view to a proximate war. He insisted that the Prussian army was simply an army of defence; and added that a constitutional liberal Government ought to be substituted for a personal one.

The Chamber rejected M. Jules Simon's Amendment.

Various other Amendments were then brought forward and successively rejected; but the Bill had not passed into a law at the end of the year, and the discussion upon it in the Chambers was still continuing.

SPAIN.

In the month of August this year another insurrection broke out in Spain, which, however, was as abortive and almost as short-lived as the last. The rising took place in Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Tarragona, and on the borders of Murcia and Castille, where bands of armed men made their appearance, and in some places the mayors of towns and other functionaries joined in the movement. But there was this difference between the present and former revolutionary attempts in Spain—the military remained true to their colours, and no regiments revolted, as on other occasions. This gave the death-blow to the insurrection, the leaders of which had reckoned on the co-operation of part of the army. The troops remained firm, and in some places defeated the insurgents; but there was very little fighting. One of the principal chiefs, named Pierrad, was deserted by his followers, and made his escape across the frontier into France. In fact, the movement in a short time wholly collapsed, and several of the persons engaged in it were taken prisoners and executed. Afterwards an amnesty was granted by the Queen. The Spanish Government, in a circular addressed to its representatives at foreign Courts, said that the revolt aimed “at the destruction of social order and existing policy, including, as social consequences, the constitutional principle, the monarchical principle, the Catholic

principle, and the dynasty as symbol and practical application of the whole." The circular went on to state that the failure of the attempt was "caused by the indifference and good sense of the population, the noble determination of our worthy and valiant army, the zeal and active co-operation of the authorities, and the confidence Her Majesty's Government has never ceased for an instant to feel and to inspire."

CHAPTER III.

ITALY.

Speech of the King to a Deputation from the Chambers—Speech of the Minister of Finance—Bill for the Conversion of Ecclesiastical Property defeated—Dissolution of the Italian Parliament—Speech of the King at the opening of the new Parliament—Resignation of the Ricasoli Ministry—Signor Ratazzi forms a new Cabinet—Financial Statement—Insurrectionary Movements in the Papal States—Declaration of the Italian Government—Arrest of Garibaldi—Visit of General Dumont to Rome—Conflicts between the Papal Troops and Insurgents—Intervention of the French Emperor—Proclamation by the King of Italy—Resignation of the Ratazzi Ministry—New Cabinet under General Menabrea—Arrival of French Troops in Rome—Defeat of the Insurgents at Mentana—Fresh Arrest of Garibaldi—General Menabrea demands the withdrawal of the French Troops—The French Emperor proposes a Conference—Thanks of the Pope to the French Army—Amnesty granted by the King—Debate in the Chambers on the Policy of the Government—Manifesto of the Roman Committee of Insurrection—Vote of Confidence in the Ministry proposed in the Chamber, but not carried—Prorogation of the Parliament.

ON New Year's day King Victor Emmanuel received a deputation from the Italian Parliament, and said—

"The new year reminds Italians that they have now secured the independence of their country, and with it an improvement in the civil administration, and increased public prosperity. During the period of peace upon which we are entering we shall not cease to devote our attention to the army. The army is not only necessary for the preservation of that independence which it so greatly contributed to acquire, but is in itself a solid guarantee for internal security, and an element of moral unity and of that civil training which renders disciplined nations strong, and capable of accomplishing great deeds."

In laying before the Italian Chambers a detail of the means by which he proposed to meet the deficit in the Treasury, amounting to 185,000,000 lire, the Minister of Finance, Signor Scialoja, made a long speech, in which he said—

"Had not Italy passed through periods of war and revolution, and were she placed under more favourable economic conditions, the means of recruiting the Treasury would be easy. So, also, if in Italy that firmness of purpose which I am rejoiced to see ani-

mates all were united to what I might call the sublimity of courage which so greatly characterizes the young and vigorous nation dwelling beyond the Atlantic, and which can only exist in a country whose material prosperity, having endured and increased through a long series of years, has only been interrupted by a single war, I should say, let us cover the deficit by 185,000,000 of taxes. In fact, after a most disastrous war of five years, America found her public debt increased by fifteen milliards, obtained for the most part from the national capitalists; and, in order to meet this heavy burden and the war expenses, new and onerous taxes were imposed upon the nation, one alone of which yielded a revenue of one milliard and 500,000,000. We have no means of obtaining so great a result. We must therefore, in order to cover our deficit, have recourse to more moderate measures than those adopted by the Americans."

Signor Scialoja then stated that he intended to provide for 85,000,000 of the debt by reductions in the public expenditure, by supplementary taxes, and by modifications of existing taxes, calculated to render them more productive. He continued—

"I have hitherto spoken only of 85,000,000 of the deficit, so that 100,000,000 remain to be provided for. If Italy shall have a Government strongly supported by Parliament; if she shall acquire greater internal security, and shall show herself to the world not as eager for adventure, but desirous of independence, the national prosperity cannot but develop itself in such a manner as not only to support the present taxation, but, under any especial circumstances, to sustain any extraordinary impost. The great public works that have hitherto cost us heavy sacrifices will produce ample fruit, and taxation, which follows the development of the public wealth, will yield a larger product. In France the augmentation of similar imposts has exceeded twenty per cent. per annum, and in some countries has even reached forty per cent. I know that we are not in the position of France; neither do I propose to augment the taxes in that proportion. I repeat that Italy, after having passed through a difficult period of crisis, will develop her national wealth in a manner that will place her upon a level with the most prosperous nations. The administrative reforms, together with the law upon the accountability of the State, will contribute to this improvement; and meanwhile, by augmenting by ten per cent. only those taxes of which I have already spoken, we shall in ten years reduce the deficit by 100,000,000. We must therefore adopt extraordinary measures to provide for 450,000,000 or 500,000,000, in order to enable us to reduce the deficit gradually; but if we apply to credit we shall impose fresh burdens upon the Budget, and remain within the old vicious circle. We must, then, have recourse to extraordinary means—and we have a source of wealth which still remains for us to employ. You already anticipate my idea, and divine that I am about to speak of

the ecclesiastical property. This matter is to be considered from two points of view, that of policy and that of finance. You will permit me to touch briefly upon both these considerations. The conflict between Cæsar and the Pope and Church and State is of ancient date. But the origin of that conflict is to be found in causes which modern civilization has removed. Liberty should terminate the contest. The Church should return under the *régime* of liberty, and liberty should not be arrested in its course by the Church. The idea heretofore entertained of the Church has falsified the idea of liberty, and therefore has it been said that the two powers, civil and ecclesiastical, should follow parallel courses without any controlling force to keep them in their separate paths and prevent any deviation by either. We regard the Church in a different manner. Its regulations, constitution, and statutes have been admitted or recognized by the State and consecrated as laws. In this way Church became State, and State Church. At present this condition of things no longer exists. The statutes of the Church cannot and ought not to be any longer, in Italy, the law of the State. The State will not interfere with the statutes of the Church any more than it would with the management of a private company. It regards the Church merely as it regards all other civil associations—never intervening in their affairs further than may be necessary to insure that their statutes do not violate existing laws, and are executed without prejudice to any right."

Signor Scialoja next explained the conditions of a Convention entered into by the Italian Government with the Belgian banking house of Langrand Dumonceau, for the payment to be made by them on account of the corporations and the bishops of 600,000,000 lire in six years, by half-yearly instalments of 50,000,000; and proceeded—

"In the event of the ecclesiastical authorities not consenting to the treaty, it will nevertheless be executed—always with due regard to the rights appertaining to the Church. The alienation of the ecclesiastical property will be effected by lots, the purchasers being allowed a certain delay between the sale and payment of the purchase-money, which delay will be fixed by Royal decree. Within the period of ten years all these properties will be converted into public *rentes*, and the law of suppression voted by the Chamber will thus be fully carried into effect."

He stated that the subventions of the State to railways amounted to 60,000,000 lire; but by means of a conversion that heavy charge would be diminished. At the conclusion of his speech he said—

"A few days ago I was asked by an illustrious personage how Italy would extricate herself from the present crisis. I replied in brief terms, and am glad to close my long discourse with the same words, 'Italy, at whatever cost, will uphold her name; Italy will completely fulfil her engagements; Italy will always and fully meet her obligations.'"

The Bill for the conversion of ecclesiastical property declared the Catholic Church in its exercise of religious worship to be free from all interference on the part of the State. It proposed to abolish the nomination of the Bishops by the King and the formalities of the oath of allegiance, as well as the privileges, exemptions, immunities, and prerogatives of the Church in the State.

All payments from the State, provinces, or communes were to cease. If the Bishops declared themselves willing to undertake the conversion and liquidation of the ecclesiastical property, such property must be alienated within ten years. All landed property was to be converted into personal property, and the Bishops were to pay to the State 600,000,000 lire, in half-yearly instalments of 50,000,000 lire each. The Bishops would also have to undertake the payment of the pensions granted to individuals belonging to the suppressed religious corporations. Should the majority of the Bishops not be willing to undertake this conversion, the Government would proceed to carry out that measure, allowing to the Bishops 50,000,000 lire yearly. It would dispose of all the ecclesiastical property, and alienate the landed possessions.

The Ministry, however, were not able to carry this Bill, which, by an adverse majority in February, the Chamber refused to accept. The consequence was that the King dissolved the Parliament and convoked a fresh election for the 10th of March.

The new Parliament met on the 22nd of that month, when the King opened the Session with a Speech, in which he said—

“Nations love and appreciate institutions by reason of the benefits which they derive from them. It is necessary to show that our institutions give satisfaction to the noblest aspirations after national dignity and activity, and that they are at the same time a guarantee for the good organization of the State and the welfare of the people, in order that the latter may not lose confidence in liberty, which is the honour and the strength of our political reconstruction.

“In order to obtain this result my Government will submit to your deliberation a Bill for a complete administrative reorganization, which will strengthen at the same time both liberty and authority, and facilitate as well as simplify the relations between the governing and the governed. While the provinces and the communes, in accordance with the proposed law, are to enjoy greater liberty in the sphere of their jurisdiction, more extensive powers must be united in the hands of the chief of the province, so as to diminish the confusion inherent in decentralization, by the application of a remedy calculated to strengthen the bonds of unity. There will be presented to you at the same time, Bills, of which the object will be to render the collection of the taxes more simple and uniform, to reform some portions of our system of taxation, and to obtain, by a more sensible method of accounts, a safe and rapid check over the application of the public money.

The necessities and engagements of the State do not allow us for the moment to diminish, as I would wish, the burdens which weigh upon my people.

"In the meantime, the legitimate conversion of the ecclesiastical patrimony into money, strict economy in the expenditure, a vigilant application of the new laws, and the severest morality in the conduct of all the branches of the public administration, will make the payment of the taxes appear less burdensome. The prompt discussion and effective application of the proposed reforms can alone restore our credit and remove the necessity for fresh imposts. The financial question is at the present day not only a question of supreme interest for Italy, but also one of honour and national dignity. Parliament will, I have no doubt, direct all its activity to the solution of this question. On solemn occasions we have pledged ourselves to Europe that we would become a Power for the advancement of civilization, order, and peace, so soon as we were placed in possession of our national existence. Now is the time for us to redeem that pledge, and to fulfil the hopes that have been placed in us."

We may mention that Garibaldi was returned to the new Parliament for two places, Ozieri in Sardinia, and Mantua.

Early in April the Ricasoli Ministry resigned office, but the causes that led to this are by no means clear. There was a difference of opinion between them and the King with reference, as was believed at the time, to some financial question affecting the Civil List; and the result was that Signor Ratazzi was called upon by the King to form a new Cabinet. He succeeded in doing so; and under him, as President and Minister of the Interior, were Signor Erizzo, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Signor Ferrara, of Finance; Signor Pecchio, of Justice; and Signor Coppino, of Public Instruction.

In announcing the list of the new Ministry to the Chamber, Signor Ratazzi said—

"The aim of the Ministry and of the Parliament should be to at once seriously take into consideration those financial measures which are demanded by the country and by the necessity of restoring the public credit. No preoccupations exist for Italy abroad; we ought, therefore, to actively occupy ourselves with home affairs. Relative to administrative and financial questions—that is, the introduction of reforms in the administration and the redistribution of the taxes—the Ministry will follow the course traced out in the Speech from the Throne."

He stated that the Government would introduce Bills for the reorganization of the army, for the conversion of the ecclesiastical patrimony, and for the introduction of a regular system in carrying on public works guaranteed by the State and the credit establishments of the country.

Signor Ferrara made, on the 9th of May, a long financial statement, in which he said—

"I suppose that at the end of 1867 there will be a deficiency of 180,000,000, or that the total deficit will then reach the figure of 580,000,000. This is the first danger that must be surmounted. In order to obtain such a sum, it is impossible to seek it from taxation, unless we wished to distribute it fractionally over a long period of years. It is necessary, you perceive, to recur to other extraordinary means; and here permit me to say that of these means there are plenty, and there are some which many term bold and revolutionary. I, who love above all things the proper use of words, call them subversive and iniquitous. They are a sign, not of beneficial changes, but of decay and ruin, which begin with spoliation and end in failure. These means I reject, as unworthy of Italy, and I spurn from me the very thought. There is a masked form of loan which recommends itself to nations sometimes when every other resource fails—namely, the issue of so much paper money as may correspond with the exigencies of the moment. But I am opposed to this species of loan, which I shall simply term desperation; since, to my mind, paper currency may be a plank of safety to those who are shipwrecked, but it is a plank which, if they were to sit on it permanently, would cause them the greatest torments."

With respect to the conversion of Church property, Signor Ferrara said that, in his opinion, the best method was to give to the operation the character of a tax, and to secure the intervention of some company which would undertake to pay each separate quota of the tax into the coffers of the State some time before the respective dates of their falling due. "In this we have been successful. A Convention has been concluded in this sense between us and some of the most respectable credit establishments in Europe, and a large portion has been left open to the action of the national credit institutions. This Convention, to which nothing is wanting but the solemn forms of authenticity, will be submitted in a few days to your approval as an integral part of the Church Property Liquidation Bill. By means of this Convention, I have been enabled to reduce to a three per cent. charge upon the Treasury all the burdens of which the finance department divests itself and transfers to the contracting company. I now come to the political question, on which I shall dwell very briefly. I am an old partisan of liberty, in every thing, for every thing, and every body. I am, therefore, for the perfect separation of the Church from the State. This, however, is merely my individual opinion, nor has it any thing to do with the financial statement. I am here neither a theologian, nor a Messiah, nor a philosopher. I am a financier, and as such I do not discuss the principle of the conversion of the Church property, but consider it as admitted; and with this idea I say to Parliament, if you wish to convert the ecclesiastical patrimony, the best method, in my opinion, is that which I propose to you."

In the course of the autumn an insurrectionary movement broke

out in the Papal States, caused by armed bands of volunteers who, from different parts of Italy, approached the Roman frontier with the avowed object of marching upon Rome.

The following declaration of the Italian Government was published on the 21st of September :—

“The Ministry has carefully watched up to the present the great agitation which under the glorious name of Rome is trying to force the country to violate international stipulations, consecrated by the vote of the Parliament and the honour of the nation. The Ministry regretted the injury which such agitation would do to the tranquillity of the State, the public credit, and those financial operations on which depend the well-being and fortune of the country. Up to the present the Ministry have respected the rights of all citizens; but now that, contrary to those rights, certain persons would proceed to threats, the Ministry feel it their duty to preserve inviolate the public confidence and the sovereignty of the law. The Government will remain faithful to, and thoroughly carry out, the declarations laid before and accepted by Parliament. In a free State no citizen can rise above the law, or substitute himself in the place of the high Powers of the nation, and thus disturb by violent means the organization of the country, and lead her into the gravest complications.

“The Ministry has confidence in the wisdom and love of country of the Italians; but if any one should fail in loyalty towards those national stipulations, and should attempt to violate that frontier for which we have passed our word, the Ministry will not permit such an act in any way, and will place on those persons contravening this order the responsibility of whatever acts they may provoke.”

Two days afterwards Garibaldi was arrested by order of the Government at Sinalunga, near Sienna, as he was on the point of entering the Papal territory. He was conveyed to the fortress of Alessandria, and detained there a prisoner; but he was afterwards removed to his old quarters in the island of Caprera, which was watched by Italian ships of war.

Large numbers of Italian volunteers were on their way to the Roman frontier, where *depôts* of arms had been for some time made, and awaited their arrival. Several arrests of separate bands of armed volunteers took place; and almost every day arms and ammunition were seized on the various lines of railway leading to the frontier of the Papal States. The Court of Rome withdrew all its troops from the provinces, with the exception of the garrisons of Civita Vecchia and Viterbo, and concentrated them on the capital. The officers of the French auxiliary force, called the Antibes Legion, threw up their commissions for some unexplained reason, and the greatest alarm prevailed at Rome.

Before this the desertions from the Legion had become so frequent as to threaten the total dissolution of the force; and General Dumont was sent, in the summer, to Rome by the French

Government, to inquire into the cause, and re-animate the spirit of the corps. He discovered that the Legion had been actively tampered with by the Revolutionary party: but his presence and the measures he adopted had a good effect; and after his departure from Rome no cases of desertion occurred.

By the end of September, and in the early part of October, swarms of Italian volunteers had crossed the frontier in different places, and established themselves in the Papal territory.

Various engagements took place between them and the Papal troops, who in general behaved well, and frequently drove back the enemy. The command of the insurgents had been bestowed by Garibaldi on his son Menotti, who established his head-quarters at Nerola, while his advanced guard occupied Monte Rotondo.

On the 13th of October, the Pontifical troops attacked and defeated a body of Garibaldians who opposed their march to Monte Librate; but the insurgents soon received reinforcements, and, acting on the offensive, compelled the Papal troops to retreat. And in an attempt to take the town of Nerola, where the insurgents were concentrated in force, another detachment of the Papal army was beaten with heavy loss, and pursued as far as Monte Maggiore, to which it retreated in disorder.

It is, however, of little interest or importance to detail the various desultory struggles that took place, which led to no decisive result as regarded the contending parties, who might have prolonged the contest for an indefinite period, if the irresistible intervention of the French Emperor had not taken place. There can be no doubt that he was justified by the terms of the Convention of September, 1864, in interfering, for the King of Italy had thereby in effect guaranteed the Papal dominions against external invasion. Now he was either unable or unwilling to fulfil this stipulation; and in either case the Convention was broken, and the Emperor Napoleon had the right to act as if it had not been made. He determined, therefore, to send a French force to Rome, and put a stop to the invasion. The reasons which induced him to take this step were explained by a Circular addressed by the Marquis de Moustier to the diplomatic agents of France on the 25th of October. In this it was stated —

“The September Convention has been induced and freely signed by the Italian Government. It obliged that Government to protect efficaciously the frontier of the Pontifical States against all aggression from without. No one can now doubt that this obligation has not been fulfilled, and that we have a right to replace matters in the position they occupied prior to the loyal and complete execution of our own engagements by the evacuation of Rome. Our honour certainly imposes upon us the duty of not failing to recognize the hopes founded by the Catholic world upon the value of a treaty bearing our signature.

“Let us hasten to say, however, that we do not wish to renew in the old form an occupation of whose gravity no one is better

aware than we are. We are not animated by any hostile idea towards Italy, and we faithfully retain the remembrance of all ties which unite us with her. We are convinced that the spirit of order and legality—the only possible basis for her prosperity and her greatness—will not delay in loudly asserting itself. As soon as the Pontifical territory shall be liberated and security is re-established, we shall have accomplished our task, and we shall withdraw.

“But henceforth we must call the attention of Powers, as much interested as we ourselves are in causing the principles of order and stability to prevail in Europe, to the reciprocal situation of Italy and the Holy See.”

Two days afterwards the following proclamation was issued to the Italian people by the King:—

“Italians!—Bands of volunteers, excited and seduced by a party without my authorization or that of my Government, have violated the frontier of the State. The respect equally due by all citizens to the laws and international stipulations sanctioned by Parliament and by me, under these serious circumstances, prescribes an inexorable debt of honour.

“Europe knows that the flag raised in territories adjacent to ours, and upon which is inscribed destruction to the supreme spiritual authority of the head of the Catholic religion, is not mine. This attempt places our common country in the most serious danger. It imposes upon me the imperious duty of saving at the same time our honour and the country, and of not confounding two causes absolutely distinct, two different objects.

“Italy must be secured against the dangers she may run. Europe must be convinced that, faithful to her engagements, Italy does not desire to be, and cannot be, the disturber of public order.

“A war with our ally would be a fratricidal war between two armies who have fought for the same cause. As holder of the right of peace or war, I cannot tolerate its usurpation. I feel confident, therefore, that the voice of reason will be listened to, and that the Italian citizens who have violated that right will promptly withdraw behind the line of our troops.

“The dangers which disorders and rash schemes may create among us must be appeased by maintaining the firm authority of the Government and the inviolability of the laws. The honour of the country is in my hands, and the confidence the nation has shown in me during the saddest periods cannot fail me. When calm shall be restored to men’s minds, and public order shall be fully re-established, according to the vote of Parliament, my Government, in agreement with that of France, will endeavour, with all loyalty, to make a practicable arrangement calculated to put an end to the serious and important Roman question.

“I have had, and always shall have, confidence in your wisdom, as you have had in the affection of your King for this great

country, which, thanks to our common sacrifices, we have at last restored to the number of nations, and which we must hand down entire and honoured to our children."

The question of French intervention led to the resignation of the Ratazzi Ministry, and the King called upon General Cialdini, a popular soldier, to form a Cabinet. He was, however, unable to do so, and the King then summoned General Menabrea to undertake the task, in which he succeeded. He assumed the portfolio of Foreign Affairs with the Presidency of the Council; Signor Gualterio was Minister of the Interior; Signor Digny, of Finance; Signor Mari, of Justice; and General Bertole Viale, of War.

In the meantime Garibaldi, who had been conveyed from Alessandria to his former residence in the island of Caprera, made his escape to the mainland, and once more reappeared in the scene of the insurrection. At the end of October he succeeded in capturing Monte Rotondo, not far from Rome, and there established his head-quarters. But a complete change in the aspect of affairs now took place. A French fleet arrived off Civita Vecchia on the 28th of October, and two days afterwards French troops entered Rome amidst the sullen silence of the inhabitants.

The General who commanded them issued a proclamation, in which he said—

"The Emperor Napoleon sends an expeditionary corps to protect the Holy Father and the Pontifical throne against the attacks of bands of revolutionists. The French will respect the persons, customs, and laws of the Romans."

This fresh occupation of Rome by the French was immediately followed by the entry of the Royal Italian forces into the Papal territory, and they advanced upon Civita Castellana, Orte, Acquapendente, and Frosinone. It was feared that in the present complicated state of affairs a collision might take place between them and the French troops, which would have led to disastrous consequences, but the insurrection collapsed by the decisive defeat of Garibaldi and his followers at Mentana, not far from Monte Rotondo on the 3rd of November. General Faily, who commanded the French, directed an attack on that day on Monte Rotondo by a column of Pontifical troops, 3000 strong, supported by a French column of 2000 men. A severe struggle took place under the walls of Mentana. In his despatch narrating the engagement General Faily said—

"After four hours' fighting, night approaching, the Pontifical troops (the centre column), supported by the wings (French troops), made an attack on Mentana. Night coming on prevented them from completing their success. The two columns agreed to renew the attack on the following day.

"On the 4th at daybreak a flag of truce was displayed. The garrison of Mentana sought to lay down their arms and to retire. Our troops immediately marched upon Monte Rotondo, which they found evacuated. The positions chosen by the enemy were

very strong. Our losses were limited to two men killed, two officers and thirty-six men wounded. Those of the Pontifical army are heavier. It has had twenty killed and 123 wounded. On the side of the Garibaldians 600 dead remained upon the field of battle; the wounded are in proportion. The prisoners brought to Rome amount to 1600, and 700 have been sent across the frontier."

Garibaldi was soon afterwards again arrested and placed under custody at Verignano, on the gulf of Spezzia. Large numbers of his followers also were intercepted and disarmed by the Italian forces on the frontier. The attempted revolution was thus at an end, and the head of the Italian Government, General Menabrea, now called upon France to withdraw the troops from Rome. He said, in a note addressed to the Italian Minister in Paris on the 9th of November—

"With this re-establishment of public peace the dangers that menaced the Papal States have ceased. The condition of affairs being in this manner changed, there likewise ceased the motives which had rendered necessary our intervention; and consequently on its part the government of the King recalled within the frontiers of the State its troops.

"The French Government, too, in its Circular of the 25th of October, has taken a solemn engagement to regard as fulfilled its task, and to consent to withdraw from the Papal soil as soon as the latter became free from the aggressors, and security was there re-established. These conditions have now been realized. By our withdrawal behind our frontiers we have removed every motive of delay; and now, trusting to the word of France, we expect that the Imperial Government, in its turn, will bring to a close an intervention which we regard as not necessary, which was for Italy a painful fact, and which, if protracted, would prove an obstacle to a permanent settlement. . . .

"Rome presents at this moment the singular spectacle of a Government which, in order to maintain itself, hires an army consisting of persons gathered together from all countries, quite out of proportion to the population and financial means of the State, and which, nevertheless, believes itself obliged to have recourse to foreign intervention. A sincere agreement with Italy would, on the contrary, remove every suspicion of danger for the Holy See, would allow the application, for the benefit of religion, of the treasures squandered in superfluous armaments; and, by securing the peninsula against the renewal of deplorable scenes of bloodshed, would be the certain pledge of that peace which is equally necessary for the Pontiff and for the Italian kingdom. . . . The land which contains the tomb of the Apostles, and where is preserved the treasure of the traditions of the Catholic faith, is the safest dwelling of the Papacy. Italy will know how to defend it, and encircle it with all the veneration and the splendour which are its due, and secure the respect of its independence and of its liberty. . . ."

The Emperor of the French now proposed that the Italian question, that is, the position respectively to each other of the Holy See and the kingdom of Italy, should be settled in an European Conference, but many difficulties intervened, and no Conference met before the close of the year. We may mention, however, that most of the European Powers readily accepted the Emperor's proposal. The Pope accepted it unconditionally. The Italian Government accepted it "on principle," but stated that it could not admit any retrospective consideration of the facts by which the kingdom of Italy had been constituted, and insisted that the deliberations of the Conference should be confined to removing the difficulties between Italy and the Holy See. The Government also declared that it rejected the idea of a Conference, if it consisted only of representatives of the Catholic Powers. But in this the French Government was entirely in accord with the Italian, and wished all the European Powers to take part in the Conference. The reply of Russia was in effect that it was not necessary to engage Italy to resist revolutionary movements, and that Russia could not accept a Conference for the settlement of the Roman question without knowing its basis.

In the meantime the Italian army received orders from the King to evacuate the Papal territory, and the French troops gradually retired from Rome and the other places which they had occupied in that territory, and concentrated themselves on Civita Vecchia, which the Emperor determined to hold with a portion of his forces until, as was stated by the Government, "the moment when the Holy Father shall be no longer menaced."

On the 13th of November the Pope gave an audience to the officers of the French Expeditionary Force. He declared that the satisfaction with which he saw himself surrounded by the French army was now greater than ever, in presence of the dangers which environed the Pontifical throne. He thanked the army, France, her Government, and its chief, who had sent them to his assistance. The gratitude of Italy was also their due, as she had been freed by their arrival from anarchists carrying the flag of rapine and devastation. He lamented that the Italian Government had availed itself of disorderly masses as the vanguard of its schemes of invasion. The valour of the small Pontifical army had defended the morsel of territory remaining to the Pope for the free exercise of his spiritual authority, and the assistance of France had arrived in time to crown that splendid defence.

The Pope finally concluded by bestowing his blessing upon France, her army, her Government, her chief, and his family.

At the beginning of December the Session of the Italian Parliament, which had been adjourned, was renewed. General Menabrea, President of the Ministry, said that it was the right and the duty of the Government to arrest Garibaldi, who had violated the laws of his country. The conduct of the Ministry in spontaneously withdrawing the troops of Italy when all danger had ceased pre-

vented the arrival of other foreign soldiers, and facilitated the departure of a portion of those who had entered the Papal territory.

He announced that the King had determined to grant an amnesty to all persons compromised by the late events. With reference to the Roman question he maintained that Rome being in an isolated position in the centre of Italy, prevented freedom of communication between the Provinces of the Italian kingdom; but that the question was not to be solved by violence. "The Holy See," he said, "will be respected, and the Pope will find his strongest support in Italy and not from abroad." And, in the course of a speech he delivered in the Senate shortly afterwards, General Menabrea said—

"I wish to establish that to obtain a settlement of the Roman question all rashness must be avoided, and that even the thought of violence or force must be dismissed. When our right is affirmed in the presence of Europe; when we have shown all the respect due to religious interests; when Europe is convinced that not only are we not hostile to the Papacy, but that we wish to guard its independence and uphold its majestic principle; then a certain divergence of view, which now appears deeply seated because it is formed from the recent painful recollections, will gradually diminish, and at length, I hope, entirely disappear."

On the 9th of December, when an interpellation was about to be addressed in the Chamber of Deputies to the Government, relative to its conduct in the late crisis, Signor Sella moved—

"That the Chamber, firmly determined to maintain inviolate the national programme declaring Rome the capital of Italy, passes to the discussion of the interpellation."

This motion was signed by different members of the Right and Left.

After several speeches had been made, General Menabrea said that the question at issue was one of practical results, not of aspirations; and Signor Sella's motion would only prejudice the discussion of the interpellation. Neither could he approve a motion thus supported; such a coalition of parties could only produce ambiguity. He continued—

"Let us not discuss or even affirm the principle all have at heart. Discuss the means and clearly establish what path you intend following on this point. The Government frankly declares itself and will firmly maintain its views. The country is weary of ambiguity, and wishes to know where and with whom we are going. If the Roman question has not been earlier solved, do not accuse the Right, but rather those who have impelled the country to the brink of an abyss."

Signor Sella's motion was then rejected by 201 against 166 votes, and the Chamber proceeded to discuss the subject of interpellation.

Several of the Deputies spoke strongly against the policy of the

Government and declared that the September Convention was irrecoverably broken.

Signor Cavinine expressed his opinion that Italy could not renounce Rome, but should cease to speak about it, and for the present, put the Roman question aside, as it was derogatory to the national dignity to be constantly proclaiming Rome the capital of Italy without being in a position to enforce the fulfilment of the national programme. It was first necessary that Italy should be strong to command the confidence of Europe.

General Menabrea afterwards rose and replied on behalf of the Ministry. After justifying the arrest of Garibaldi and the march of the royal Italian troops into the Papal territory, and their subsequent withdrawal from it, the Minister said—

“We are asked if, after recent events, the Convention exists or not. Until notice of its termination is given, a treaty always exists, unless some provision is made in the treaty itself. No such clause is contained in the September Convention, which therefore exists; but in fact, or materially, it does not exist while the Pontifical territory is occupied by France. One contracting Power has not maintained its engagements. We are also in the same case, since we have suspended payment of our quota of the Pontifical debt. As to what we shall do with the Convention, we shall act as may be in our interest; but, first of all, the object of the Government is to obtain the departure of the French troops from the Roman territory. Afterwards we can consider further. The September Convention has prejudiced no question or right. It is true that one French Minister has declared that the Convention was the rule and conduct of France while it existed, and another has said that we shall be obliged to give fresh guarantees. We shall see. Meanwhile, we must not compromise ourselves in any way, but let the French evacuate the Pontifical territory. We may then consider whether it may be our interest to confirm our engagements or annul them, or establish others anew, so as best to guard our interests.”

Alluding to a declaration of Signor Crispi, that Rome was not necessary to Italy, General Menabrea said—

“We are of a similar opinion, but we none the less believe it necessary tenaciously to affirm our right to Rome. Rome, as a question of expediency, is the crowning of the national edifice, and only to be obtained by moral means. The Papacy is a power not only in Italy, but in Europe, and cannot be opposed by violence. Italy must give absolute guarantees to Europe for the respect of religious principle, and with a regular Government, strong in the prestige and vigour of liberty, Rome will come to us. . . .

“The country now stands in need of order and tranquillity at home and confidence abroad. The programme of the Government does not deviate from the national aspirations and the right of Italy. There are but two parties—one for order and respect of the law, the other for violence and agitation. The country must

choose between them definitively. We desire no repressive measures, but shall exercise the law against licence and abuse."

General Menabrea was followed by Signor Ratazzi, the former Prime Minister, who energetically defended the policy of his own Government. He said—

"During the two months that have elapsed since we left office, not a day has passed that we have not been taken as a mark for the vilest accusations, both at home and abroad. We have been accused of bad faith and of Machiavellian perfidy. Those attacks have not moved me; I have taken no steps to justify myself, but have waited until the day should come when I could do so in my place in Parliament. I cannot remain insensible to the shafts launched at me in this Chamber. The very men now in power make us the target for their attacks, while they have in their hands the documents that would exculpate us. . . .

"I wished to go to Rome by means permitted by our right, without compromising order at home or our foreign relations. I believe that moral means are useful as preparatory to a great act; but it is vain to hope to obtain a final result from them. We must be prompt to seize an opportune moment. Order and financial prosperity are not sufficient to bring us to Rome. I do not feel bound to specify what moments or circumstances I should consider propitious. Relative to the September Convention, I would observe that treaties between two Powers, one weak and the other strong, should never be in the least degree ambiguous, as the weaker Power must, in case of controversy, accept the interpretation of the stronger. . . .

"You allowed the French fleet to sail from Toulon without uttering a word of protest against this attack upon our rights. What was our programme? The question of Rome was not forgotten, but the late Administration, laying it aside for a moment, had turned all its attention towards obtaining, by means of new laws and new financial combinations, administrative reorganization and the equilibrium of the Budget. Had we obtained these results, we should then have busied ourselves with endeavours to obtain Rome and to destroy the temporal power, because, whatever may be said, Rome is a necessity, and Italy will not give it up. It is not Garibaldi, Mazzini, or any other citizen, who desires it; it is the whole nation, and Count Menabrea himself. Rome is no fictitious want; it is the capital idea of our regeneration. The House of Savoy itself, accepting the national programme, made that idea its own. And since I am on this subject, I cannot do less, as an old councillor of the Crown, personally very devoted to King Victor Emmanuel, than repel the insulting words lately spoken by the French Minister of State, in a speech wherein it is hard to say whether the levity of the ideas or the impropriety of the form predominated. I regret and wonder that the President of the Council, when to-day referring to that speech, did not find a word of protest against the expressions it contained. It is not true that,

as M. Rouher said, Garibaldi gave the King the Crown of the Two Sicilies, and that it oppresses him like a chastisement. That Crown was no man's gift; the Sicilies were given to the House of Savoy by the vote of those populations which acclaimed the formula of 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel!' . . .

"We, too, admit the employment of moral force to obtain the solution of the Roman Question. We, too, desire to convince the Catholics that we mean no attack upon their worship, and that the authority of the Pontiff would be enhanced by the loss of the temporal power. We, too, wish to ameliorate our internal condition so as to make the Romans desire union with the rest of Italy. But these are indirect means. There are also direct means; but who can define them? Events cannot be foreseen from to-day till to-morrow. Many things may occur in Europe rendering it easy for us to obtain our object. Those means do not admit of discussion until the occasion presents itself. We come to General Garibaldi's enterprise, with respect to which I shall always reply, as I before replied, that the movement was inopportune, and that those were not the means to employ. The moment was ill chosen by reason both of our domestic condition and of our international relations. We were beginning to reorganize, the army had been diminished; you know in what state our finances were. . . . I declare it on my honour that I disapproved the movement, and so did many men of the advanced party. . . . I invite the Minister of the Interior, who has all the circulars and telegrams, to lay them on the President's table. More than 3000 young men were arrested; arms and provisions were seized."

After vindicating his conduct, Signor Ratazzi explained the reason why he had resigned office. It was his inability to pursue the line of policy which he considered necessary to maintain the national dignity. He would not alone assume the responsibility of advising the King to send the Italian army to Rome. The King consulted others who opposed his views. If the recent declarations made in the French Legislature really represented the views of the Emperor, he considered that the national dignity required the recall of the Italian Ambassador; but he did not believe such to be the Emperor's views, and he had faith in the ultimate triumph of the liberal ideas in the French policy towards Italy.

After some further discussion, in which General Menabrea said that he had withheld certain documents out of consideration for Signor Ratazzi, but now felt compelled to produce them, and that the September Convention still existed, although it had not been completely observed by one of the parties to it, the Chamber passed to the order of the day.

A day or two afterwards the following motion was brought forward by Signor Bonfadini.

"The Chamber, taking note of the declaration of the Ministry, that it is resolved to maintain entire the national programme which acclaimed Rome capital of Italy, deplores that it has been

attempted to realize that programme by means contrary to the laws of the State and to the votes of Parliament; and convinced that the surest guarantee of liberty and unity is to be found in rigorous respect for the laws and in good organization of the public administrations, approves the conduct of the Ministry, and passes to the order of the day."

General Menabrea said that he accepted this as a vote of confidence in the Ministry, and upon that issue the Chamber voted. The result was, that the motion was lost; the numbers being 199 for it, and 201 against it.

In consequence of this defeat the Ministry resigned; but after ineffectual attempts to form another Cabinet, General Menabrea was again, at the close of the year, reinstated in the post of Prime Minister, and the Chambers were prorogued to January, 1868.

CHAPTER IV.

PRUSSIA AND NORTHERN GERMANY.

Speech of the King of Prussia at the close of the Chambers—His Speech at the opening of the North German Parliament—Speech of Count Bismarck on the proposed New Constitution—Protest of the Polish Deputies—Question as to the Executive—Question of Luxemburg—Speech of the King at the close of the Session of the North German Parliament—Extraordinary Session of the Prussian Chambers for the purpose of ratifying the North German Constitution—Speech of the King of Prussia at the opening of the Session of the North German Parliament—Policy of Bavaria and Grand Duchy of Baden—Circular of Count Bismarck with reference to the meeting of the Emperors of France and Austria at Salzburg—Royal Speech at the opening of the Prussian Chambers—Bill to secure Liberty of Speech.

THE Prussian Legislature was closed on the 9th of February by the King, who delivered a speech, in which he said—

"At the close of a memorable and eventful period, I express to you my thanks for having assisted my Government to bring those hopes to fulfilment which I coupled with this Session.

"By granting the indemnity for the Financial Administration of recent years carried on without a Budget law, you have held out the hand to a settlement of the dispute upon a matter of principle which had for years obstructed the co-operation of my Government with the representatives of the country.

"I entertain the conviction that the experience gained, and a general correct understanding of the essential conditions of our constitutional life will conduce to avert the recurrence of similar events in the future. . . .

"Now that Parliament has afforded its efficient co-operation in

carrying out the changes rendered necessary by the material enlargement of Prussian territory, and has trustfully placed in my hands the transfer of the relations hitherto subsisting in the newly-acquired districts into free community with the older provinces, I may confidently expect that the inhabitants of all the countries now united with Prussia will feel themselves more and more at home in the great commonwealth of their fellow-countrymen and recent neighbours, and will participate in the tasks falling to the share of the latter with increasing devotion. . . .

"Assisted by agreement with the representatives of the country, my Government has been able to call into existence important facilities and improvements in all departments of public life. The preparatory steps towards abolishing the salt monopoly and the increase of judicial costs, the settlement of the relations of trading and innkeeping companies, the removal of the limitation of the rate of interest, the postal and commercial treaties, the conversion of the Pomeranian fiefs, the abolition of the Rhine navigation dues, the increase of the salaries of lower-class officials and of schoolmasters, together with the grant of the supplies for the construction and completion of important railways, will be hailed by large circles as grateful fruits of the Session just completed. . . .

"I shall look upon it as the highest glory of my Crown, if God has appointed me to devote the power of my people, strong by fidelity, valour, and education, to the re-establishment of the lasting unity of the German races and their Sovereigns. I trust in God, who has so graciously guided us, that He will permit us to attain this object!"

The first Session of the North German Parliament was opened by the King of Prussia, at Berlin, on the 24th of February, when His Majesty delivered the following speech:—

"ILLUSTRIOUS, NOBLE, AND HONOURED GENTLEMEN OF THE
NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION—

"It is an elevating moment in which I come among you. Mighty events have brought it about. Great hopes are bound up with it. I thank Divine Providence, which has led Germany towards the object desired by her people, by paths we neither chose nor foresaw, for the privilege of giving expression to these hopes in community with an Assembly such as has not surrounded any German Prince for centuries. Relying upon this guidance, we shall attain that object all the earlier, the clearer we recognize, looking back upon the history of Germany, the causes that have led us and our forefathers away from it.

"Formerly powerful, great, and honoured, because united and guided by strong hands, the German Empire did not sink into dissension and weakness without both its head and its members being in fault. Deprived of weight in the Councils of Europe, of influence over her own history, Germany became the arena of the struggles of Foreign Powers, for which she furnished the blood of

her children, the battle-fields, and the prizes of combat. But the longing of the German people for what it had lost has never ceased, and the history of our time is filled with the efforts of Germany and the German people to regain the greatness of their past. If these efforts have hitherto not attained their object—if they have only increased dissension in the place of healing it, because people allowed themselves to be deceived by hopes or reminiscences as to the value of the present, by ideals as to the importance of facts—we recognize in that the necessity of seeking the union of the German people in company with facts, and of not again sacrificing what is within our reach to what we may desire.

“In this sense the allied Governments, in accordance with old accustomed practice, have agreed upon a number of defined and limited, but practically important, arrangements, as immediately possible as they are undoubtedly requisite. The draught of the Constitution, which will be laid before you, asks from the independence of individual States for the benefit of the whole only such sacrifices as are indispensable to protect peace, to guarantee the security of Federal territory, and the development of the prosperity of its inhabitants.

“I have to thank my allies for the readiness with which they have met the requirements of the common Fatherland. I express this gratitude with the consciousness that I, too, would have been found ready to display the same devotion to the general welfare of Germany, if Providence had not placed me, as heir to the Prussian Crown, at the head of the most powerful State of the Confederation, and for that reason the one called to the leadership of the Commonwealth. I feel myself, however, strong in the conviction that all the successes of Prussia have tended at the same time towards the restoration and elevation of German power and honour.

“Notwithstanding the general readiness—and although the mighty events of the past year have convinced all men of the paramount necessity of reconstructing the German Constitution, thus rendering the public mind more favourably inclined towards such a measure than it had previously been, and perhaps might be at a later period, we have again perceived during the negotiations how difficult is the task of attaining complete unanimity between so many independent Governments, which have also in their concessions to bear in mind the views of their separate estates. The more, gentlemen, you realize these difficulties, the more carefully I am convinced you will bear in mind, in your examination of the draught, the heavy responsibility with regard to the dangers that might arise to the peaceful and legal execution of the work now commenced, if the agreement arrived at with the Governments upon the Bill now laid before you could not again be obtained for the alterations demanded by the Parliament. The point of supreme importance at present is not to neglect the favourable moment for laying the foundation of the building; it

more perfect completion can then safely remain entrusted to the subsequent combined co-operation of the German Sovereigns and races.

"The regulation of the national relations of the North German Confederation towards our brothers South of the Maine has been left by the Peace Treaties of last year to the voluntary agreement of both parties. Our hands will be openly and readily extended to bring about this understanding, as soon as the North German Confederation has advanced far enough in the settlement of its Constitution to be empowered to conclude treaties. The preservation of the Zollverein, the common promotion of trade, and a combined guarantee for the security of German territory will form fundamental conditions of the understanding which it may be foreseen will be desired by both parties.

"As the direction of the German mind generally is turned towards peace and its labours, the Confederate Association of the German States will mainly assume a defensive character. The German movement of recent years has born no hostile tendency towards our neighbours, no striving after conquest, but has arisen solely from the necessity of affording the broad domains, from the Alps to the sea, the essential conditions of political progress, which the march of development in former centuries has impeded. The German races unite only for defence, and not for attack; and that their brotherhood is also regarded in this light by neighbouring nations is proved by the friendly attitude of the mightiest European States, which see Germany without apprehension and envy take possession of those same advantages of a great political Commonwealth which they themselves have already enjoyed for centuries.

"It therefore now only depends upon us, upon our unity and our patriotism, to secure to the whole of Germany the guarantees of a future in which, free from the danger of again falling into dissension and weakness, she will be able to further by her own decision her constitutional development and prosperity, and to fulfil her peace-loving mission in the Council of Nations. I trust in God that posterity, looking back upon our common labours, will not say that the experience of former unsuccessful attempts has been useless to the German people; but that, on the other hand, our children will thankfully regard this Parliament as the commencement of the unity, freedom and power of the Germans.

"Gentlemen, all Germany, even beyond the limits of our Confederation, anxiously awaits the decisions that may be arrived at here. May the dream of centuries, the yearning and striving of the latest generations, be realized by our common work! In the name of all the allied Governments,—in the name of Germany, I confidently call upon you to help us to carry out rapidly and safely the great national task. And may the blessing of God, upon which every thing depends, accompany and promote the patriotic work!"

A Bill was brought in to determine the Constitution of the North German Confederation, and it gave rise to a long debate.

In introducing the Bill, Count Bismarck said—

“No doubt there is something unfavourable to unity in our national character, otherwise we should not have lost it, or, at all events, should have recovered it long before this. Looking back to the days of German greatness, the early days of the German Empire, we find that no country in Europe was so likely to become strong and united as Germany. From Russia, which was portioned out among the descendants of Rurick, to the Visigoths and Arabians of Spain, no European nation, amid the vicissitudes of ages, had such a chance of retaining its unity as Germany. Why, then, did we lose it? Why have we till now failed in recovering it? To express myself briefly, it seems to me there is a certain excess of manly and independent feeling in the German character, prompting the individual as well as the corporation, the province, and the tribe, to rely upon themselves rather than upon the nation to which they belong. We lack the accommodating spirit which in other nations induces individuals as well as tribes to conform themselves to the requirements of the whole, and we have accordingly been prevented from securing the benefits of a strong national Commonwealth, so long and so fully possessed by our neighbours. In the present instance, however, the Governments have given you a good example. There was not one among you but had to sacrifice some legitimate objections in order that our common purpose might be realized. Let us, then, follow the precedent given, and prove on our part that Germany, in her history of 600 years' division, has been taught prudence, and that we have taken to heart the teachings inculcated by the abortive attempts to secure unity made at Frankfort and Erfurt. The failure of those attempts plunged Germany into a state of uncertainty and dissatisfaction, which lasted no less than sixteen years, and, as was manifest from the very outset, had to be terminated by some such catastrophe as was experienced last year. God decided in our favour. The German nation now has a right to expect that we shall obviate the recurrence of such a catastrophe, and I am persuaded that you as well as the allied Governments will do all in your power to fulfil the anticipations of the people.”

The Polish Members of the Parliament entered their protest against the incorporation of the former Polish territory into the North German Confederation—and other Deputies favourable to Denmark also brought forward a protest against so including North Schleswig.

Both these protests were opposed by Count Bismarck, who said, as to the first—that the majority of the Prusso-Polish population were satisfied with their condition, especially the peasants, who had valiantly fought as Prussian soldiers against Denmark and Austria. Only the nobility and clergy of Poland carried on political agitation. He added—

"The restoration of Poland is not to be thought of. A great portion of the Polish population itself would not hear of such a thing. Let the Polish Deputies go hand in hand with the North German Confederation."

As to the latter protest, Count Bismarck said—

"The Emperor of Austria alone has the right, by virtue of the Austro-Prussian Treaty, to require that a vote should be taken in North Schleswig to determine the future position of the Northern Districts of that Duchy. It is a matter of small importance for the power of the Prussian Monarchy whether a few Schleswigers who speak Danish belong to Prussia or Denmark. The boundary line between the two countries will be drawn in conformity with the interests of Prussia. We do not intend to have to conquer Düppel afresh. The portion of Schleswig which will be ceded to Denmark will, at all events, be smaller than people in Copenhagen imagine; and before this cession is made, an understanding is necessary with Austria with reference to certain financial questions relating to the Duchies. The completion of the North German Confederation cannot wait for the settlement of these questions."

In the course of the debate on the proposed Constitution, Count Bismarck said—

"If you ask for responsible Ministers to conduct the affairs of the Executive, I beg to inquire who is to appoint them? Are the twenty-two Governments of the Confederacy to agree upon the choice of Ministers, or is their nomination to be left to the King of Prussia? The former alternative would be impossible; the latter the minor potentates will not assent to, while they object to be reduced to the level of English peers. There remains, then, nothing but to let the Governments determine the action of the Confederacy by majorities, and entrust the Crown of Prussia with the execution of their votes. This Government has no wish to use the power it claims against public freedom. Having engaged in a task so great and difficult as the one in hand, it cannot but rely upon the co-operation of the people, and is determined to extend liberty to the utmost limits compatible with a powerful State geographically and politically situate as is the Northern Confederacy. Why does the Opposition wish for the right to vote the military supplies annually? What is the practical use of owning a right which, while the general condition of Europe remains what it is, could be exercised only for the purpose of perpetuating our existing military institutions? To choose a simile from a branch of the public administration to which I devoted my time before taking up politics, were the maintenance of the army to be made dependent upon annual votes, this would be about as sensible as though majorities were to be allowed to decide at the end of every year whether the dykes of the Vistula are to be kept in repair or recklessly pierced. Again, if it has been said that the Southern States will not join us unless a

responsible Ministry be instituted at once, I should like to ask the gentlemen taking this view of the matter what they think those Southern States are. Why, they are simply their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Do you really believe their Majesties crave responsible ministers? I know the reverse to be the case. What we have to settle immediately with the South is the renewal of the Zollverein on a permanent basis, and the establishment of a common authority to legislate in Zollverein matters. Negotiations for this purpose will be taken in hand upon the conclusion of our labours here. As to a political alliance between the two halves of Germany, I trust that, with or without it, the South will always stand by the North, as the North will always stand by the South. Gentlemen, let us not differ on trifles, when greater things are at stake. We cannot now have every thing we want, but something may be gained. Assist Germany to vault into the saddle, and trust her to ride alone."

On another occasion, in reply to a charge brought against him that he had abandoned the principles he had formerly advocated, Count Bismarck said that he was proud to acknowledge that he belonged to those whose ideas matured with their years. If, seventeen years ago, he had affirmed that the then proposed Federal institutions would be unacceptable unless they left the Prussian Constitution untouched, it was yet possible for him to have a different opinion now. During the sixteen years he had been a practical politician he had learnt that the world looked differently from a seat in the House of Parliament—the pit of the political theatre, so to say—than from the stage—i. e., the Cabinet itself.

On the 1st of April, in answer to an interpellation put to the Prussian Government on the question of a cession of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to France, Count Bismarck said—

"By the dissolution of the old Confederation, the King of Holland acquired full sovereign rights over Luxemburg. There prevails in the Grand Duchy a disinclination to enter the North German Confederacy, on account of the military burdens that step would entail. In the higher and highest circles a bad feeling is entertained with regard to the victories of Prussia, and in a despatch addressed to the Prussian Government last October, Holland demanded the evacuation of the fortress of Luxemburg. The Government, not wishing to have foreign Princes in the Northern Confederation, has not put any pressure upon the Netherlands. Prussia values amicable relations with France, and has respected her susceptibilities so far as was consistent with her own honour. The Prussian Government does not adopt the opinion that an arrangement has been entered into between Holland and France; but cannot, on the other hand, assert that the contrary is the case. The question was first officially brought forward by a communication made by the King of Holland to the Prussian Ambassador, asking what position Prussia would take up

in case His Majesty should in any way cede his sovereign rights over the Duchy. In reply, Prussia declared that she would leave the responsibility of such a step to the King of Holland. So far as Prussia is concerned there is no reason to make any declaration on the subject. Prussia will assure herself of the views entertained by the Powers which signed with her the Treaty of 1839 and by her Federal allies, as well as of the state of public opinion as represented by the North German Parliament. Holland has offered her good offices to further negotiations between France and Prussia, but they have been declined."

The sitting of the North German Parliament for the purpose of framing the new Constitution was closed on the 17th of April by the King of Prussia, who, after congratulating the members on the patriotic earnestness with which they had accomplished their task, said—

"By this universal readiness, coupled with the conciliation of and victory over opposing views, the guarantee is at the same time gained for that future fruitful development of the Confederation, with the conclusion of which also the hopes common to us with our brethren in South Germany have advanced nearer to their fulfilment. The time has arrived when our German Fatherland is able to uphold its peace, its rights, and its dignity by its own collective strength. The national self-consciousness which has found elevated expression in the Parliament has met with a powerful echo from all quarters of Germany. None the less, however, are all the Governments and peoples of Germany unanimous that the regained power of the nation has, above all, to uphold its significance by rendering secure the blessings of peace.

"The great work in which we have been thought worthy by Providence to co-operate is approaching its completion. The popular representations of the individual States will not refuse their constitutional recognition to what you have created in community with their Governments. The same spirit that has enabled the task to succeed here will also preside over their deliberations. Thus, then, the first Parliament of the North German Confederation may close its labours with the elevating consciousness that it is accompanied by the thanks of the Fatherland, and that the work it has accomplished will, with the help of Providence, be fruitfully developed both in our time and in future generations. May God bestow His blessing upon us and our dear Fatherland!"

An Extraordinary Session of the Prussian Chambers was opened by the King on the 29th of April. In the course of his speech he said—

"The newly-formed Confederation at present only includes the States of North Germany, but an intimate national community will always unite them with the South German States. The firm relations my Government concluded for offensive and defensive purposes with those States as early as last Autumn will have to be

transferred to the enlarged North German commonwealth by special treaties.

"The vivid consciousness of the South German Governments and populations of the dangers of German dissension, and the necessity of firm national union which constantly finds more decided expression throughout the whole of Germany, will assist to hasten the solution of that important task. The united strength of the nation will be entitled and be competent to guarantee to Germany the blessings of peace and effectual protection of her rights and her interests. With this assurance my Government will devote itself to averting any interruption to European peace by every means compatible with the honour and the interest of the Fatherland. The German people, however strong its unity, will be able calmly to face the vicissitudes of the future, if you, gentlemen, will aid in completing the great work of national union with that patriotism which has always been displayed in Prussia in serious times."

The object of this Session was that the Prussian Legislature might ratify by their votes the North German Constitution; and when this was accomplished the Session was brought to a close on the 24th of June.

On the 10th of September the North German Parliament was opened by the King of Prussia, who delivered the following Speech from the throne:—

"ILLUSTRIOUS, NOBLE, AND HONOURED GENTLEMEN OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION—

"At the close of the first Parliament of the North German Confederation I was able to express my confidence that the popular representative Assemblies of the several Federal States would not refuse their constitutional recognition of that which the Parliament had created in unison with the different Governments. It affords me great satisfaction to find that I was not deceived in that confidence. The constitution of the North German Confederation has in a constitutional manner become law in all the Federal States. The Federal Council has entered upon its functions, and to-day I herewith, with joyful confidence, bid welcome, in my name and in the name of my illustrious allies, to the first Parliament assembled on the basis of the Federal Constitution. Immediately after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution, an important step was taken towards regulating the national relations of the Confederation with the States of South Germany. The German sentiments of the allied Governments have created for the Zollverein a new basis corresponding with the altered circumstances, and a treaty concluded on that account, and approved by the Federal Council, will be laid before you. The Budget of the Confederation will form a prominent subject for your deliberations. The careful limitation of the expenditure to absolute requirements will permit of nearly three-fourths of it being defrayed by the

Confederation's own revenues; and a careful estimate of these revenues warrants the belief that the estimated contributions of the several Federal States will fully suffice to cover the whole expenditure.

"Bills have been laid before the Federal Council, and others are intended, the object of which is the settlement of such matters in the domain of Federal legislation as the present time permits of and requires. A law will be introduced upon freedom of settlement, which is meant to prepare the further development of the common right of nationality founded by the Constitution. A Bill upon liability to military service will be laid before you with the object of making this common right of nationality apply to the army; and, at the same time, with the object of collecting, in a manner easily to be surveyed, the provisions which are contained in the Constitution, partly in a distinct form and partly by reference to Prussian legislation on liability to military service. A Bill upon the passport system aims at doing away with antiquated restrictions upon intercourse, and at forming the basis of an agreement between the Confederation and the South German States corresponding with the national interests. A law upon weights and measures will be brought forward, with the view of regulating the weights and measures of the Confederation on a common principle and in a way required by international intercourse. The position of the Post as a Federal institution renders legislative arrangements necessary on the subject of the postal system generally and the postal tariff. The establishment of Federal Consulates requires a legal determination of the rights and duties connected with the exercise of the office of Consul. The unity of the Mercantile Marine requires a basis in the shape of a law upon the nationality of trading ships. I hope that these laws, which denote a first, but decisive step towards the completion of the Federal Constitution, will meet with your and the Federal Council's approval.

"The deliberations from which proceeded the Federal Constitution were guided by the conviction that the great task of the Confederation could only be accomplished by accommodating, through reciprocal advances, special interests to those of a more general and national character. This same conviction has found expression in the discussions of the Federal Council, and will, I confidently believe, form the basis of your deliberations. With this thought, honoured gentlemen, direct your efforts to the completion of the work founded by the Federal Constitution. It is a work of peace to which you are called, and I trust that, with God's blessing, the Fatherland will enjoy in peace the fruits of your labour."

With respect to the question of the South of Germany joining the North German Bund, Count Bismarck said, at a later period, that no pressure whatever would be exercised upon the Southern States, If South Germany should give it to be understood that it was her

wish to be excluded from the Bund, no Federal Government would be so wanting in self-respect as to oppose such a wish. The Parliament, however, would, he felt sure, not wish to force him to abandon a certain necessary reserve on the subject, as such a course would, perhaps, conduce to bring about objects entirely opposed to those which they had in view. Alluding to the question of Northern Schleswig, he declared that the difficulty of bringing the matter to a settlement lay in the fact that, owing to the mixture of nationalities in the Duchy, the Danish population could not be restored to Denmark without some German inhabitants in the same districts being ceded with them.

We may in this place mention that at the sitting of the Bavarian Chambers, in the early part of October, the Prime Minister, Prince von Hohenlohe, made an important declaration with respect to the policy of Bavaria. He said—

“The Bavarian Government does not desire the entry of the Southern States into the North German Confederation, nor yet a constitutional alliance with Austria. On the other hand, it does not desire an isolated Southern Confederation, or one co-operating with France. The Bavarian Government pursues neither a policy aiming to make Bavaria a great Power, nor one which would make her play the part of a mediator between Prussia and Austria. It desires only a national union between all the Southern States and the Northern Bund. Negotiations with this object in view are still pending. In the opinion of the Bavarian Government, the Treaty of Prague prevents the entry of a single Southern State into the Northern Confederacy.”

But in an Address to the throne of the second Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, they said—

“The dissolution of the German Confederacy has for the present separated Baden, together with the other States of Southern Germany, from all national connexion with our compatriots on the other side of the Maine. But we trust that we shall not long lack a permanent organic connexion with the North German Confederacy, recently established under the auspices of the most powerful of the German States. We trust that the revival of Germany will thus be completed, and the nation restored to that position in the world which it has missed so long. The continuation of our present separation from the North would be incompatible with the rights of a free people, incompatible more especially with the history of Germany.”

We have already alluded, in a previous chapter, to the interview that took place in August between the Emperors of France and Austria at Salzburg, and to the political rumours which the incident occasioned. With reference to this meeting, Count Bismarck addressed, early in September, a circular to the diplomatic agents of Prussia abroad, the tone of which was much commented upon by the French press, and denounced as menacing and unfriendly towards France.

After expressing satisfaction at the explanations given by the French and Austrian Governments as to the object of the meeting of the two Sovereigns, Count Bismarck said—

“The domestic affairs of Germany, then, have not been the object of political conversation at Salzburg, at least not in the way the first news led us to suppose. We rejoice the more at this, inasmuch as the reception given to that news and those suppositions in all Germany has again demonstrated the fact that German national sentiment cannot endure the idea that the affairs of the nation should be placed under the superintendence of foreign intruders, or conducted so as to suit other interests than our own.

“It has been always our aim so to direct the stream of national development in Germany as to cause it to fertilize, not to destroy. We have avoided every thing calculated to precipitate the national movement. We have endeavoured not to irritate, but to calm and quiet. We may hope that our efforts in this direction will be successful, if foreign Powers are as careful to avoid all which might lead the Germans to apprehend foreign plans of possible interference, and which, in consequence, might arouse in them a sense of violated dignity and independence. In the interest of the quiet development of our own affairs, therefore, we receive with the most lively satisfaction the disavowal of any intention to interfere with the internal affairs of Germany.”

The Prussian Chambers were opened on the 15th of November by the King in person, who said, in the course of his Speech—

“ILLUSTRIOUS, NOBLE, AND HONOURED GENTLEMEN OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE DIET—

“To-day I salute, for the first time in this place, the representatives of the new territories which have been united with my kingdom by the events of a great epoch. I renew with confidence the expression of my conviction that the inhabitants of those territories, inasmuch as I accept them with my whole heart as my people, will also on their part devote themselves with honourable fidelity to me and to their extended Fatherland. . . .

“In the new territories, after the views of the principal inhabitants had been ascertained, district and provincial constitutions, connected as closely as possible with the institutions already established, and which had become dear to the population, have been called into existence,—constitutions which, on being carried out and further developed, will be calculated to revive the interests of the inhabitants in the regulation of their economical affairs, and to prepare the way for the much-to-be-desired autonomy of the larger and communal corporations. . . .

“The project of the Budget for the year 1868, which will be laid before you without delay, differs essentially from previous Budgets. While, on the one hand, it comprises the territories newly united with the monarchy, on the other, important categories of revenue and expenditure have been separated from it,

and have been passed over to the Budget of the North German Confederation.

"From the Bills on the Budget you will see that the revenue, which has been carefully estimated, will not only provide the means to cover the current expenses of the administration, but that it has also been possible to satisfy the fresh and increased demands which have arisen in many departments of the administration of the State. While premising that the present condition of the finances will gratify you, I, at the same time, trust to obtain your willing assent to the increased expenditure which I consider called for to maintain the dignity of the Crown under the altered circumstances which have arisen. . . .

"The pressure of uncertainty which, resulting from various causes now chiefly removed, weighed upon commerce will, as I confidently hope, in consequence of the more peaceful aspect of the state of affairs in Europe, make place for an animated revival; the more so, as most important alterations have been made in the interests of the advancement of trade and commerce by the renewal of the Customs' Union with the South German States, together with an appropriate alteration of the internal organization of the Zollverein by the entrance this day of Schleswig-Holstein into the latter, and by a notable reduction of port-dues and other taxes which weighed upon navigation. . . .

"By the organization of the North German Confederation the Prussian people have acquired additional pledges of security and an enlarged field for organic development, while, at the same time, in conjunction with our fellow-countrymen of the South German States, the community of all social interests and an effective protection of all the higher blessings of national existence have been secured. . . .

"The relations of my Government with foreign Powers have not undergone any change in consequence of the new conditions in which Prussia is placed in the midst of the North German Confederation. With the friendly character of those relations the personal interviews with the majority of the reigning Sovereigns in Germany and abroad, the opportunity for which was offered me last summer, perfectly harmonize. The peaceful object of the German movement is recognized and appreciated by all the Powers of Europe; and the peaceful endeavours of the rulers are supported by the wishes of the peoples, to whom the increasing development and amalgamation of spiritual and material interests makes peace a necessity. The recent anxiety respecting a disturbance of peace in one part of Europe, where two great nations, both most amicably connected with us, appeared to be threatened by a serious complication, I may now look upon as having disappeared. It will be the endeavour of my Government, as regards those difficult questions which in that quarter still remain unsolved, on the one hand to respond to the claims of my Catholic subjects, and to evince my care for the dignity and the independence of

the head of their Church; and, on the other hand, to satisfy the duties which increase for Prussia in consequence of political interests and the international interests of Germany.

"In neither direction do I see, in fulfilment of the tasks which are laid before my Government, any danger to peace.

"Let us, then, the more confidently undertake the task of the solution of our internal development, and may your labours for the welfare of the State be richly blessed!"

At the end of November a Bill was brought into the Prussian Chamber by some of the Liberal Deputies, the object of which was to protect Members of the Legislature from being prosecuted before the legal tribunals for the opinions they might express in the Chambers. It was in fact a Bill to secure liberty of speech. Two of the Deputies, Herr Fränzel and Herr Twesten, had been prosecuted and convicted for speeches they had made in the Chamber, which the Ministry considered calumnious. During the discussion on the Bill, Count Bismarck said, that if he had not objected to the concession of unqualified freedom of speech to the Federal Deputies, this must not be construed into approval of the principle. His only motive had been that, rather than imperil the enactment of the Federal Charter, he would yield on a point of secondary importance. He could have wished that the prosecutions which had given rise to the Bill under discussion had not been persevered in so long; but he must remind them that the accusations launched against the Cabinet for consecutive years had been so exceedingly offensive as to become unendurable to any but the low, mean, and cowardly. The question now was how to get out of the difficulty. He must say that he did not account it a just or dignified state of things that permitted each of the 430 members to insult him, or any other Minister, with impunity. Yet there was a marked difference between a spoken and a written insult. Oral accusations were quickly wafted away; when printed they were communicated to millions, and he could not hinder their being cast up against him by any obscure scribbler who chose to do so. In the House he might defend himself, and, even if he did not convince his audience, had the consolation of knowing that he was sacrificing himself for the constitutional development of his country; but against constant reiteration by the press he had no weapons. He would, therefore, propose that the Deputies should be declared free to say what they liked, but that the reports in the public papers should be subject to the operation of the ordinary press laws. So far as he knew, this was the practice observed in England.

The first reading of the proposed Bill was carried by a majority of twenty-one votes.

On the 6th of December Herr von Benningsen moved in the Prussian Chambers a resolution that the Budget of the Minister for Foreign Affairs should be assumed by the North German Confederation; and that Prussian Legations and Consulates within the

territory of the Confederation should be abolished. Count Bismarck supported the first part of this motion, but opposed the second. He said—

“We will wait till the right of the several States to have separate foreign representatives ripens and falls into our lap. The representation of the Bund by foreign Legations has already received the assent of the King, and will soon be carried out.”

The consequence was that the first part of Herr Benningssen’s motion was adopted, and the second part was rejected.

CHAPTER V.

AUSTRIA.—MEXICO.

Message of the Austrian Government to the Diets—Formation of an Hungarian Ministry—Speech of the Emperor at the opening of the Reichsrath—Restoration of the Constitution to Hungary—Coronation of the Emperor and Empress as King and Queen of Hungary—Debate in the Reichsrath on the Question of the Concordat—Liberal Measures proposed in the Reichsrath.

MEXICO.—Occupation of the Town of Queretaro by the Emperor and his Troops—Conflicts with the Juarists—The French Army quits Mexico—Capture of Puebla by the Juarists—Siege of the City of Mexico—The Emperor besieged in Queretaro—His surrender—Execution of the Emperor—Surrender of the City of Mexico—Proclamation by Juarez—He is elected President of the Mexican Republic.

ON the 18th of February the following Message from the Austrian Government was communicated to all the Diets of the Empire which met on that day:—

“In convoking an extraordinary meeting of the Reichsrath, the Emperor was guided by the intention to insure to all the kingdoms and countries not belonging to the Hungarian Crown the means of giving an equal vote in the solution of the Constitutional question, as promised by the Patent of September, 1865, and at the same time to afford the basis of coming to an understanding and settlement of the different claims and views upon questions of right prevailing in those countries. The intention of the Emperor did not meet every where with the hoped-for appreciation. Indeed, it was subjected to much misinterpretation, as though the Government intended thereby to curtail or even permanently to withdraw the Constitutional rights granted by the October Diploma and February Patent. However greatly the Government regretted these views and declared them to be without foundation, it nevertheless could not conceal from itself the fact that the attainment of an object viewed in that manner was considerably endangered. To these considerations has since been added a circumstance full of important consequences, and one which rendered persistence in

the course which had been entered upon no longer consistent with the object held in view. Later negotiations have led to the gratifying result that the Hungarian Diet may be confidently expected to give its assent to propositions which are calculated to preserve the power of the whole monarchy, and which on being carried into execution will probably give to that power a successful development. The preliminary condition of an arrangement with Hungary has been the appointment of a responsible Hungarian Ministry. The leading idea which the Government entertained on convoking the Extraordinary Reichsrath was hereby anticipated, and the important question arose whether in this state of things it was not to the interest of the Empire that the convocation of the Extraordinary Reichsrath should be abandoned. Guided by the following considerations, the Government has felt bound to decide that question in the affirmative. During a long course of years the constitutional organization of the monarchy has suffered from hitherto inseparable contradictions between the older rights of the Hungarian Constitution and the liberal institutions which the Emperor has made it the aim of his life to establish throughout the monarchy. During the continuance of this conflict the restoration of the greatness of the Empire and of the historical position it has so long occupied among the other States of Europe is not to be hoped for, and, owing to the relations which have arisen out of the recent calamities, every new delay that occurs in the settlement of pending questions is fraught with the most decided disadvantages. If, however, a solution is now arrived at, the object which the Emperor had in view in suspending the Constitution by means of the February Patent would thereby appear to be fully accomplished. This measure, therefore, owing to the preliminary arrangement with Hungary, is now no longer necessary. A means has thus occurred of returning to a Constitutional course, and the Government is afforded an opportunity of explaining to the Diets about to assemble the negotiations it has entered upon, and of justifying the measures it has adopted. The Emperor has, therefore, issued a decree, dated the 2nd inst., ordering that the intended meeting of the Extraordinary Reichsrath shall be abandoned, and that the Constitutional Reichsrath shall assemble in Vienna on the 18th of March, when the amendments to the Constitution, necessitated by the arrangement with Hungary, will be submitted to that body for approval. After this the Reichsrath will deliberate upon various measures, relating severally to the sending of delegates to assemblies for the discussion of common affairs; to the questions of Ministerial responsibility; the modification of paragraph 13 of the February Patent; the extension of the Constitutional self-government of the different provinces of the Empire; the reorganization of the army; the improvement of the administration of justice, and the promotion of the economical interests of the country. The Government hopes that the Diets will proceed forthwith to the

election of members to the Constitutional Reichsrath, and thereby contribute to bring about the termination of a Constitutional crisis which has already lasted but too long."

The prospect of the immediate restoration of the Constitution caused great rejoicings in Hungary, and on the 24th of February a *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches. An Hungarian Ministry was formed, of which Count Andrassy was the President.

The Reichsrath was opened by the Emperor, in Vienna, on the 22nd of May, when His Majesty delivered the following speech from the throne:—

"With joyful satisfaction I see the Reichsrath once more assembled round me. Responding to my appeal, the royal and other countries called upon have sent hither their elected deputies, from whose patriotic co-operation I confidently expect fresh guarantees for the welfare of the Empire and of all the countries which Providence has placed under my sceptre. What I promised when I for the first time saluted the Reichsrath in this place has remained the unchangeable aim of all my efforts. The establishment of constitutional institutions upon a sure basis—this is what I have unwaveringly kept in view. But precisely this object was not to be obtained without first bringing into accord the more ancient constitutional rights of my Kingdom of Hungary, with the fundamental laws granted by my Diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, and my Patent of the 26th of February, 1861.

"The sincere recognition of this fact on the part of this portion of the Empire could alone secure to the other kingdoms and provinces—equally full of devotion to the Empire—the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights and liberties granted to them by the fundamental laws as well as a progressive development in accordance with the present age.

"The heavy blows of fortune which have fallen upon the Empire were another earnest warning to act in conformity with this necessity. My efforts were not in vain. A satisfactory arrangement has been found for the countries of my Hungarian Crown, which secures their coherence with the rest of the Monarchy, the eternal peace of the Empire, and its position as a great Power abroad. I am animated by the hope that the Reichsrath will not refuse its consent to this arrangement, and that an impartial and careful consideration of all the circumstances in connexion therewith will serve to banish from this assembly apprehensions which would cause me serious anxiety, were I not firmly persuaded that the honest good-will of all parties will bring the new organization to a successful issue. The past, the present, and the future exhort us to rigorously apply ourselves to the completion of the work which has been begun. The Reichsrath, upon whose patriotic devotion I rely, will, in the present urgent state of things, disdain to shrink from the task of a prompt organization of the relations of the State on the basis now offered, and will refuse to follow instead an object, the fruitless pursuit of which could only

offer fresh experiments, but no successful results. The Reichsrath, so much I expect from its justice, will not underestimate the advantages which have already become perceptible in Austria's position in the European equilibrium through the course which I have initiated. The Reichsrath—its tried discrimination is my guarantee for it—will finally not ignore how the new order of things must have for consequence equal security for the other kingdoms and provinces, inasmuch as it surrounds with new and unshakeable guarantees the constitutional rights and liberties of the provinces of the Hungarian Crown.

“The realization, however, of this prospect is essentially dependent upon the consolidation of the fundamental laws of the 20th of October, 1860, and the 26th of February, 1861, in the countries the representatives of which are now assembled here. The unconditional election of deputies to the Reichsrath was therefore also an absolute necessity. But as the idea of curtailing the existing rights of the different kingdoms and provinces has been foreign to my mind, so also have I had in view the granting to them, in unison with the Reichsrath, of every extension of their autonomy that will meet their wishes, and can be accorded without endangering the whole Monarchy. Therefore, in consideration of the arrangement arrived at with the Hungarian Representative Assembly, in so far as it relates to common affairs, there will be at once submitted to you for adoption the amendments which have become necessary to my Patent of the 26th of February, 1861, together with a Bill establishing Ministerial responsibility, and a modification of paragraph twelve of the Constitution, corresponding with the constitutional requirements. To these will be added other Bills, especially those announced to the Provincial Diet by our resolution of the 4th of February last.

“The financial affairs of the Empire will claim your most especial attention and constitutional co-operation. You will receive full reports with regard to the extraordinary measures which have been unavoidably necessitated since the last Session of the Reichsrath by the outbreak of the late destructive war. Satisfactory provision has already been made for the requirements of the current year, so that the Reichsrath, freed from all demands and exigencies of the moment, can at once devote itself to the solution of the important and permanent financial questions now submitted to its deliberation in consequence of the arrangement with Hungary. It will be our urgent care that no portion of our Empire shall have cause to complain of being disproportionately taxed.

“To-day we are about to establish a work of peace and of concord. Let us throw a veil of forgetfulness over the immediate past, which has inflicted deep wounds upon the Empire. Let us lay to heart the lessons which it leaves behind, but let us derive, with unshaken courage, new strength, and the resolve to secure to the Empire peace and power. For this the fidelity of my life, which has been manifested in times of the most urgent

need, is my best guarantee. Let not the secret thought of revenge guide our steps. A more noble satisfaction is reserved for us. The better we succeed in our present effort to change the antagonistic feelings and enmities at present existing into esteem and respect, the sooner the peoples of Austria, whatever may be their nationality or language, will rally around the Imperial standard, and will cheerfully trust to the word of my ancestor, that Austria will endure and prosper under the protection of the Almighty until the most distant time."

Early in June the Emperor and Empress of Austria went to Hungary for the purpose of being crowned King and Queen of that ancient kingdom. When they arrived at Pesth the Emperor signed the Diploma granting the Constitution, in the presence of the Magnates and Deputies. His Majesty was then addressed by the Primate on their behalf, who said—

"With the most profound and devoted respect the assembled nobles and representatives receive this precious jewel of the Constitution from the hands of your Majesty, and while they perform a sacred duty in expressing the most fervent gratitude in the name of the whole country, they cannot but entertain a gratifying presentiment that your Majesty may have been chosen by Providence to re-awaken the ancient hereditary virtues of the Hungarian nation, and that under your glorious rule she may regain and retain her historical position, to the advancement of civilization."

The Emperor replied—

"Our loyal kingdom of Hungary has fully justified the confidence with which we appealed to the nation for the removal of obstacles that had arisen from the difficulties of the situation. By the favour of God and the earnest endeavours of the Diet, the time has now arrived, to the joy of our paternal heart, which enables us to subscribe an inaugural Diploma, assuring alike the rights of the King and of the Constitution, and, according to hereditary custom, to celebrate our solemn coronation. It is impossible that the agreement so frankly and sincerely made between the King and the nation should not be beneficial and lasting in its results."

On the 8th of June the coronation of the Emperor and Empress took place at Pesth, amidst great public rejoicings. The Emperor published at the same time an "Act of Grace," which was in the following terms:—

"We herewith cancel and annul all sentences that have been passed, up to this day, upon any inhabitant of our Kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, in consequence of political accusations or of offences against the press laws, and ordain that all prosecutions commenced upon the same grounds shall be abandoned. Confiscated estates we restore to those who have forfeited them, and we give free permission to all who for similar reasons (to those which led to forfeiture) are residing in foreign countries, to return. We extend this also to those who since the restoration

of the Constitution have not ceased to direct their endeavours against the laws of the land; but the most sacred interests of the country require that we should insist upon a solemn promise from these persons to be loyal to their crowned King, and obedient to the laws of the land."

A Coronation gift of the Hungarian nation was presented to the King and Queen, in two silver caskets, each containing 50,000 ducats; and these their Majesties graciously made over for the support of the widows and orphans of "former Honveds, and of invalids of the same force incapacitated from supporting themselves by their own labour." To appreciate the significance of this gift, it must be borne in mind that the Honveds, or Home Defenders, were Hungarians who had fought against Austria during the rebellion of 1848-9.

At the latter end of July an important debate took place in the Reichsrath, with reference to the Report of a Committee which had been appointed to consider certain resolutions which had been proposed by Professor Herbst, to the effect that civil jurisdiction should be established in matrimonial cases, and that Schools should be emancipated from ecclesiastical control. These Resolutions involved a violation of the Concordat, which existed since 1855, between the Government of Austria and the Papal See; for by it all matrimonial causes were placed under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the entire education of the Roman Catholic youth in Austria was given over to the control of the Church. The Committee had reported in favour of the Resolutions, and advised that Bills should be prepared and laid before the Reichsrath, in conformity with them. The Report was attacked on the ground that the Concordat was an International Treaty, and as such could only be set aside with the consent of both the contracting parties.

The Minister of Justice read a declaration on the part of the Government, earnestly calling upon the Reichsrath not to urge the immediate and simultaneous solution of all these questions, as the Government was sincerely endeavouring to bring about a satisfactory arrangement of them by conciliatory negotiations with the Church, and wished to avoid even the appearance of disregard for existing treaties.

Professor Herbst replied that the Concordat was ignored in Hungary, because it was contrary to the privileges and Constitution of Hungary; and if it was contrary to the rights of Austria, it was also not binding upon her.

After a long debate, the proposition of the Committee was carried by a majority of 130 to 24 votes.

In consequence of this determination of the Reichsrath, a Committee was appointed to draw up Bills to carry it into effect, and they prepared three measures; one to emancipate Schools from the control of the Clergy, another to make marriage a civil rite, and a third to define the relations of the different

religious denominations towards each other. Under the Marriage Bill canonical impediments were no longer to be a bar to matrimony; nor were differences of religion to prevent or invalidate it. All clerical jurisdiction in matrimonial matters was to cease, and divorce was to be recognized and held legal; 1. In the case of adultery on either side. 2. In case of the condemnation of one side for crime to five years' imprisonment. 3. In case of desertion. 4. In case of an attempt on life or health. 5. In case of cruelty. 6. In case of incompatibility, provided both parties consented.

We need hardly say that these measures were encountered by the strongest hostility on the part of the Roman Catholic Clergy.

At the same time other measures of a very liberal character were prepared by Committees of the Reichsrath. By one of these all citizens were declared equal before the law. Inviolability of domicile was guaranteed. Letters were to be sacred, except in cases of a judicial order. Right of petition, right of meeting, liberty of religion were established, as well as the right of speech, teaching, writing, and printing; for the regulation of all which special laws were to follow. All nations were declared to have equal rights to their language and nationality.

MEXICO.

At the beginning of February the Emperor Maximilian left the city of Mexico at the head of his army, and marched to the north, where the adherents of Juarez were in force. He occupied the town of Queretaro with about 10,000 troops, and there had to sustain a series of fierce attacks from the enemy under General Escobedo, which were, however, generally defeated by the Imperialists. In the meantime the whole of the French troops quitted the shores of Mexico to return home, and the Emperor was left to carry on the conflict as he best might with native soldiers. Puebla was captured by the Juarists in the beginning of April, and they soon afterwards commenced the siege of the city of Mexico. At the same time they surrounded and besieged Queretaro, the garrison of which was reduced to desperate straits. At last the place became untenable, and the Emperor seems to have resolved to attempt to cut his way through the enemy's lines, when, on the 15th of May, the Juarists under Escobedo forced their way into the town, and after a short resistance the Emperor surrendered, and was taken prisoner with all his staff. It was currently believed and asserted that the entry of the enemy into the town was owing to the treachery of one of Maximilian's generals named Lopez, who commanded an outwork of the place, the fortified convent of Santa Cruz, and betrayed it to the Juarists. But no satisfactory proof of

this has been given, and Lopez himself afterwards published an address to his "fellow-citizens and the whole world," in which he utterly denied that there was any foundation for the charge.

There are several versions as to the details of subsequent events; but we may state that, in June, the Emperor and two of his generals, Miramon and Mejia, were brought before a council of war at Queretaro, and by them condemned to death. On the morning of the 19th of that month they were led out to the place of execution and shot, meeting their fate with heroic firmness. The following official notice of this sanguinary act was published to the Mexican people:—

"Ferdinand Maximilian von Hapsburg, a Grand-Duke of Austria and an ally of Napoleon III. of France, came to Mexico to rob the country of its independence and of its institutions; and, although a mere usurper of the national sovereignty, assumed the title of Emperor. This usurper having been captured by the Republican forces at Queretaro on the 15th of May, 1867, he was sentenced to death by a military court-martial, with the concurrence of the nation, and was shot for his crimes against the independence of the nation, at Queretaro on the 19th of June, 1867, in company with Generals Miramon and Mejia. Peace be to his ashes."

A few days afterwards the city of Mexico surrendered, and Juarez became once more absolute master of the kingdom, or rather republic, which, in the space of less than fifty years, has been the scene of upwards of thirty changes of government.

On entering the capital Juarez issued a proclamation, in which, after thanking "in the name of a grateful country," the Mexicans who had defended her, and who had "shed their blood with sublime patriotism," he said—

"After four years the Government returns to the city of Mexico with the banner of the Constitution, and with the same laws, never having ceased to exist one single instant within the national territory. . . ."

"Under our free institutions the Mexican people are the arbiters of their fate. With the sole purpose of sustaining the cause of the people during the war, when they could not elect the executors of their will, it was my duty, in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution, to retain the power they had conferred upon me. The struggle ended, it becomes my duty to convoke immediately the people, in order that, without the pressure of force, and without illegal influences, they may elect at entire liberty him to whom they shall choose to confide their destinies. . . ."

At the close of the year Juarez was elected President of the Mexican Republic.

CHAPTER VI.

CANADA.—UNITED STATES.

Act for the Union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—Royal Proclamation—Speech of the Governor General at the opening of the Canadian Parliament.

UNITED STATES.—Question of the Impeachment of the President—Several Bills Vetoed by the President—Reconstruction Bill for the Government of the South—Reasons assigned by the President for his Veto—Supplemental Reconstruction Bill—Meeting of New Congress—Attempt to obtain an injunction in the Supreme Court to restrain the President from putting in force the Reconstruction Act—Mr. Jefferson Davis released from Prison on Bail—Negro Disturbances—Appointment of Military Officers for the Government of the South—Preponderance of Negro Voters in the Southern States—Removal of General Sheridan from his Command in the South.

AN Act of the Imperial Parliament was passed on the 29th of March, this year, for the Union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and it provided that the Queen in Council might declare, by proclamation, within six months from the passing of the Act, that those provinces should form one Dominion under the name of Canada, and that such "persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen by warrant, under Her Majesty's Royal sign manual, thinks fit to approve, and their names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union."

A Royal Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 21st of May, in which the persons were named who were to be first summoned to the Senate of Canada. The total number of these was seventy-two, thus distributed:—twenty-four for the province of Ontario, twenty-four for the province of Quebec, twelve for the province of Nova Scotia, and twelve for the province of New Brunswick.

The new Canadian Parliament was opened at Ottawa, the capital of the Confederation, by the Governor-General, Lord Monck, on the 7th of November, when he delivered the following speech:—

"HON. GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:—

"In addressing you for the first time, Parliamentary representatives of the Dominion of Canada, I desire to give expression to my own deep feelings of gratification that it has been my high privilege to occupy an official position which has made it my duty to assist at every step taken in the creation of this great Confederation. I congratulate you on the Legislative sanction which has been given by the Imperial Parliament to the Act of Union, under the provisions of which we are now assembled, and which has laid

the foundation of a new nationality that I trust and believe will ere long extend its bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. In the discussions which preceded the introduction of this measure in the Imperial Parliament between the members of Her Majesty's Government on one side, and delegates who represented the Provinces now united on the other, it was apparent to all those who took part in those conferences that, while Her Majesty's Ministers considered and pressed the principle of Union as a subject of great Imperial interest, they allowed to the provincial representatives every freedom in arranging the mode in which that principle should be applied. In a similar spirit of respect for your privileges as a free and self-governing people, the Act of Union, as adopted by the Imperial Parliament, imposes the duty and confers upon you the right of reducing to practice the system of government which it has called into existence, of consolidating its institutions, harmonizing its administrative details, and of making such legislative provisions as will secure to a constitution in some respects novel, a full and unprejudiced trial. With the design of effecting these objects, measures will be laid before you for the amendment and assimilation of the laws existing in the several provinces relating to Currency, Customs, Excise, and Revenue generally; for the adoption of a uniform postal system; for the proper management and maintenance of the public works and properties of the Dominion; for the adoption of a well-considered scheme of military organization and defence; for the proper administration of Indian affairs; for the introduction of uniform laws respecting patents of invention and discovery; the naturalization of aliens, and the assimilation of criminal law, and the laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency. A measure will also be submitted to you for the performance of the duty imposed upon Canada, under the terms of the Union Act, of immediately constructing the Intercolonial Railway. This great work will add a practical and physical connexion to the legislative bond which now unites the Provinces comprising the Dominion, and the liberality with which the guarantee for the cost of its construction was given by the Imperial Parliament is a new proof of the hearty interest felt by the British people in your prosperity. Your consideration will also be invited to the important subject of Western territorial extension, and your attention will be called to the best means for the protection and development of our fisheries and marine interests. You will also be asked to consider measures defining the privileges of Parliament, and for the establishment of uniform laws relating to elections and the trial of controverted elections.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:—

“The circumstances under which the Act of Union came into operation rendered it impossible to obtain the assent of the Legislature to the expenditure necessary for carrying on the ordinary

business of the Government. The expenditure since the 1st of July has, therefore, been incurred on the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown. The details of that expenditure will be laid before you and submitted for your sanction. I have directed that the estimates for the current and succeeding financial year shall be laid before you. You will find that they have been framed with all the attention to economy which is compatible with the maintenance of efficiency in the different branches of public service.

“HON. GENTLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN:—

“The general organization and efficiency of the Volunteers and Militia has been greatly improved within the last year, and the whole Volunteer force of Ontario and Quebec is already, by the liberality of the Imperial Government, armed with the breech-loading rifle. I am happy to be able to congratulate you on the abundant harvest with which it has pleased Providence to bless the country, and in the general prosperity of the Dominion. Your new nationality enters on its course backed by the moral support, the material aid, and the most ardent good wishes of the mother country. Within your own borders peace and prosperity prevail; and I fervently pray that your aspirations may be directed to such high and patriotic objects, that you may be inspired with such a spirit of moderation and wisdom, as will cause you to render the great work of Union which has been achieved a blessing to yourselves and your posterity, and a fresh starting-point in the moral, political, and natural advancement of the people of Canada.”

UNITED STATES.

EARLY in January the question of the impeachment of the President of the United States was brought before the House of Representatives, when Mr. Ashley, the member for Ohio, rose and moved the following resolution:—

“I do impeach Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanours. I charge him with usurpation of power and violation of law; in that he has corruptly abused the appointing power; in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power; in that he has corruptly used the veto power; in that he has corruptly disposed of the public property of the United States; in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts, and conspired with others to commit acts, which, in the contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanours.

“Therefore be it resolved,—That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and they are hereby authorized to inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, discharging the powers and duties of the office of President of the United States, and to

report to this House whether, in their opinion, the said Andrew Johnson, while in said office, has been guilty of acts which were designed or calculated to overthrow, subvert, or corrupt the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, and whether the said Andrew Johnson has been guilty of any act, or has conspired with others to do acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanours, requiring the interposition of the constitutional power of this House, and that said Committee have power to send for persons and papers, and to administer the customary oaths to witnesses."

The resolution was ultimately carried by 107 against 39 votes ; and the question was referred to the Judiciary Committee, which body afterwards, in the month of June, by a majority of five to four, decided not to recommend the impeachment, but, by a majority of seven to two, resolved that the President should be censured.

A Bill conferring negro suffrage on the District of Columbia was passed by Congress and vetoed by the President, but in the beginning of January both Houses again voted for the Bill by sufficient majorities to render the veto nugatory, and it consequently became law. The President also interposed his veto against a Bill for the admission of Colorado into the Union, as a State, on the grounds that the territory had not a sufficient population, and that the inhabitants had protested against having a State Government forced upon them ; also against a similar Bill for admitting Nebraska, on the ground that negro suffrage was made a preliminary condition, which he contended ought to be left to the option of the inhabitants, voting for the purpose in a Convention. Both Bills, however, were passed by the requisite majorities over the veto, and thus the number of States in the Union was increased to thirty-seven.

Early in February a Bill was passed called the Tenure of Office Act, which made the removal of any member of the Cabinet subject to the approval of the Senate. This Bill was vetoed by the President, but immediately afterwards again passed by the two Houses, with the required majorities.

Before the end of that month a Reconstruction Bill for the Government of the South was passed by Congress. By this Bill five military districts were established, in which the whole of the Southern States that had seceded were included ; but it was provided that each State should be restored to its former place in the Union, whenever it adopted the new Constitution with the so-called Constitutional Amendment.

The Bill enacted that the present Governments of those States "shall be deemed provisional only, and subject to the paramount authority of the United States, at any time to abolish, modify, control, and supersede ;" and that all "male citizens of the State, twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, colour, or previous condition, who have been resident in the State for one

year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion, or for felony at common law," should be entitled to vote¹. The Bill also suspended the right of Habeas Corpus, unless the writ was indorsed by the General in command of the district.

Here again the President interposed his veto, on the ground that the measure was unnecessary and unconstitutional. He declared that the Bill was a Bill of Attainder against nine millions of people, and that according to the decisions of the Supreme Court, martial law could not, in accordance with the Constitution, be proclaimed in time of peace. His opposition however was vain, and the Bill was passed by the required majorities.

To the Reconstruction Act the Senate added what was called a Supplement, by which the military commanders of the Southern Districts were required to complete, by the 1st of September, the registration of all persons qualified to vote, including negroes; and then to cause an election to take place to decide whether a State Convention should be held, and if so to elect delegates. If a Convention was determined on by the majority of the registered voters, it was to assemble within sixty days after the elections, and frame a Constitution which, when submitted to the people of the State, and ratified by a majority of qualified electors, was to be transmitted through the President to Congress, and if declared by that body to be in conformity with the Reconstruction Act, it was to entitle the State to representation in Congress. All the provisional elections were to be by ballot.

A new Congress, the fortieth of the United States, met on the 4th of March; but there were no representatives of the ten Southern States which had engaged in the late war. On the 30th of the same month it was adjourned until the 30th of July; but the Senate met on the 1st of April, and discussed the provisions of a proposed treaty between the United States and Russia, which was afterwards ratified.

An attempt was now made to get the Supreme Court at Washington to pronounce judicially that the Reconstruction Act was unconstitutional, as contrary to the Charter of the United States, and therefore a nullity. For this purpose an application was made in April, for an injunction to restrain the President from putting into operation the provisions of the Act as regarded Mississippi, and a similar application was made on behalf of Georgia. But the Supreme Court held that it had no jurisdiction in the case, and had no power to interfere with the President, in the exercise of his official functions. If the injunction were allowed, and the Presi-

¹ The Reconstruction Act contained disfranchising clauses, which, according to the opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States, disfranchised all persons who had espoused the cause of the late Confederate States, if they were at the time members of Congress, or Members of State Legislatures, State officials, Militia Officers, or holders of any office under the Government of the United States. Also all members of the Confederate Congress and the diplomatic representatives of the Confederate Government.

dent refused to obey, the Court would be without power to enforce process.

In the month of May, Mr. Jefferson Davis, the former President of the Confederate States, whose capture and imprisonment we narrated in our last volume, was released from his long confinement in Fortress Monroe, but only upon bail, and the recognizances required him to surrender to stand his trial in November.

The emancipation of the negroes and the right of suffrage bestowed upon them led, as might be expected, to extravagant pretensions on their part. In some places they demanded the total exclusion of the whites from place and power, and violent speeches were made by them, which led to riots, and in some instances to bloodshed.

The President being obliged by law to carry out the Reconstruction Act, appointed the following five general officers to be military governors of the South; General Schofield, for Virginia; General Sickles, for North and South Carolina; General Thomas, for Georgia, Florida, and Alabama; General Ord, for Mississippi and Arkansas; and General Sheridan, for Texas. These officers had formerly been in command in the respective States, and the President, whose wish was to make the provisions of the Act as little onerous to the South as possible, chose them as being most likely to be acceptable to the inhabitants.

On the 19th of July the President vetoed the Supplementary Reconstruction Bill. He declared that it was unconstitutional. Congress had assumed the Southern State Governments to be illegal, yet had ordered the military commanders to appoint officials to carry on those Governments. Congress had repeatedly recognized the existence of the Southern States since the Rebellion by calling upon them as States to ratify the Amendments abolishing slavery and granting suffrage to the negroes, and by confirming the appointment of judges, district attorneys, and marshals for those States. The Supreme Court had recognized the Southern States by holding district courts in them; and even the Federal taxes were levied on the basis of the existence of those States. Congress was attempting to strip the President of his constitutional power by preventing him from executing his oath of office and enforcing the constitutional laws. The district commanders were given power rightly belonging to the President, whose attempts to exercise the constitutional power could be defied by his military subordinates. While he held office he would oppose these violations of the Constitution, which were an evil that would inevitably sap the foundation of the Federal system; but the people had the ballot for a remedy. He had abiding confidence in their patriotism, and he believed that the rod of despotism would be broken, the iron heel of power lifted from the necks of the people, and the principles of the violated Constitution preserved.

Congress, however, passed the Supplemental Bill over the Veto

by 30 against 6 votes in the Senate, and by 100 to 22 in the House of Representatives. During the debate many of the prominent Radicals demanded the impeachment of the President.

Soon afterwards Congress was adjourned until November.

During the autumn the work of registration of voters in the Southern States went actively on; and partly owing to the apathy, not to say despair, of the whites, and partly owing to the preponderance of numbers, the lists showed that the negro voters were in a very great majority. A vast number of the whites were disfranchised, owing to their having taken part in the late war. And to show the kind of result thus obtained, we may mention that in Louisiana the negro majority was upwards of 38,000, and in Tennessee nine-tenths of the Republican, *i.e.* anti-Southern, voters were negroes. The object of the forthcoming elections was to determine whether Conventions should be held to determine the forms of new State Constitutions, which were to be approved of by Congress before each State could be admitted into the Union.

In the course of August the President removed General Sheridan from the command of the fifth Military District, as he was dissatisfied with the mode in which he exercised his authority. He, however, transferred General Sheridan to the command in Missouri. This act of the President gave great offence to the Republican party; and General Grant at first opposed it, on the ground that, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, he alone had the right to act in the matter. But the President was firm, and General Grant was obliged to yield.

CHAPTER VII.

UNITED STATES (*Continued*).

Hostility between the President and Congress—Removal of Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, from his Office—Proclamation by the President—Amnesty granted by him to the South—Result of the State Elections in the Autumn—Speech of the President with reference to it—Committee on Question of Impeachment of the President—The Motion for Impeachment defeated—Debate in the Senate on the War between Great Britain and Abyssinia—Message of the President to Congress—*Topics*:—1. Question of the Union—2. Status of the Rebel States—3. The Reconstruction Laws—4. Negro Suffrage—5. The President *v.* Congress—6. Frauds on the Treasury—7. President's Power over Subordinate Officers—8. Finance—9. Naval Affairs—10. Foreign Affairs—11. The Alabama Claims—12. The West Indies—13. Naturalized Citizens—14. The Slave Trade.

THE state of ill-feeling between Congress and the President had now become almost intolerable. They had passed Bill after Bill in the early part of the year, which he had vetoed, and which they

had forced to become law by triumphant majorities. Their views of policy towards the South were diametrically opposed to his, and they were resolved to carry them out with a high hand and the most unflinching determination. He could only offer a passive and ineffectual resistance; but this was enough to irritate Congress, and the unseemly spectacle was exhibited of the supreme Executive Power and the Representatives of the nation engaging in a sullen and obstinate conflict. The President sent no Message, and made no communication to Congress, at the opening of the new Session in July, and both parties prepared to carry on the war of mutual opposition,—the one by passing Bills which the other was sure to veto, but which he had no power to prevent from ultimately becoming law.

A Bill was brought in which enacted that no person should be prevented from holding office in the district of Columbia on account of race or colour, and this was passed by both Houses.

At the end of July, Congress was again adjourned until the 21st of November.

Differences of opinion between the President and Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, which had for some time existed, terminated at last in the month of August in an open rupture, and the President called upon Mr. Stanton to resign his office, on “public considerations of a high character.” This, however, he declined to do, and notified his refusal in a letter addressed to the President, in which he said that “public considerations of a high character, which alone had induced him to continue at the head of the department, constrained him not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress.”

The President then *suspended* Mr. Stanton, and requested him to hand over the duties of his office to General Grant *ad interim*. Upon this, Mr. Stanton yielded under protest, and assigned as his reason that, although he denied the right of the President under the Constitution to suspend him without the advice and consent of the Senate (according to the provisions of the recent Tenure of Office Act), yet as General Grant, who commanded the armies of the United States, had been appointed Secretary of War, he (Mr. Stanton) had no alternative but to submit to superior force.

In the course of the autumn the President issued a Proclamation, declaring that, whereas the Constitution had made him Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and bound him under a solemn oath to preserve and defend the Constitution, which vests the national judicial power in the Supreme Court and subordinate Courts, and whereas impediments had recently been imposed in North and South Carolina, obstructing the action of the said Courts, and which unlawful proceedings would probably be attempted elsewhere, he therefore warned all civil and military officers to yield obedience to the laws, and to assist and sustain the National Courts in exercising their Constitutional powers.

He also published a Proclamation, granting an amnesty to the

people of the South who had taken part in the late war, with the exception of Mr. Jefferson Davis, Vice-President Stevens, all heads of Departments, agents of the Confederate Government, army brigadiers, naval officers, governors of Confederate States, persons who cruelly ill-treated Federal prisoners, persons convicted and in custody, and all persons directly and indirectly concerned in the assassination of President Lincoln.

The different State elections took place in October and November, and resulted in a marked defeat of the Republican or Radical party. The Democrats were in many instances victorious by large majorities. This was hailed by the President with the liveliest feelings of satisfaction, and he expressed them in a speech which he delivered at Washington on the 13th of November, when he had the honour of a serenade. He said that when the Constitution had been in the utmost peril, when free institutions were assailed by a formidable force, and the great Republic seemed to be tottering to its fall, and when he felt how vain were his efforts alone to preserve those institutions in their integrity, and to preserve the Republic from ruin, he was still hopeful. He had still an abiding confidence in the people, and felt assured that in their might they would come to the rescue. They had come, and he thanked God that the Republic might yet be saved. He had confidence, and was still hopeful that in the end the rod of despotism would be broken, the armed heel of power lifted from the necks of the people, and the principles of a violated Constitution preserved. The people had spoken in a manner not to be misunderstood, and the imperilled Constitution came back from them with renewed strength and power.

To show, however, how completely in the South the former state of things was changed, and how strong the conviction of the black population was that their star was now in the ascendant, we may state that in the address of a negro candidate for Congress in the State of Georgia, he promised that, if elected, he would do all he could to ameliorate the condition of the whites! To show also the feelings with which the future prospects of the Southern whites were regarded by some parties in the North, we will quote the following extract from the *New York Herald* newspaper:—

“Briefly, we may regard the entire ten unreconstructed Southern States, with possibly one or two exceptions, as forced by a secret and overwhelming revolutionary influence to a common and inevitable fate. They are all going one way. They are all bound to be governed by blacks, spurred on by worse than blacks—white wretches who dare not show their faces in respectable white society any where. This is the most abominable phase barbarism has assumed since the dawn of civilization. It was all right and proper to put down the Rebellion. It was all right, perhaps, to emancipate the slaves, although the right to hold them had been acknowledged before. But it is not right to make slaves of white men, even though they may have been former masters of

blacks. This is but a change in a system of bondage that is rendered the more odious and intolerable because it has been inaugurated in an enlightened instead of a dark and uncivilized age."

A Committee was appointed by the House of Representatives to inquire and report on the question whether the President should be impeached; and during the autumn they examined numerous witnesses, and took a great deal of evidence on the subject. The Committee consisted of nine members, seven of whom were of the Republican and two of the Democratic party.

The result was that the Committee, by a majority of five to four, recommended that the House should pass a resolution that "Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours."

When, however, at the meeting of Congress the motion for impeachment was brought forward in the House of Representatives, it was defeated by 108 against 57 votes.

Congress met nominally on the 21st of November, but the Message of the President was not transmitted until the 3rd of December. Before giving the contents of that document, we may mention that in the Senate a debate took place on the war which had broken out between Great Britain and Abyssinia; and a Mr. Chandler, Senator for Michigan, moved that both England and Abyssinia should be granted the same belligerent rights in the ports of the United States. This was of course intended as a sort of parody upon the conduct of Great Britain in recognizing the belligerent rights of the South at the commencement of the late war; but, happily, the Senate refused to countenance such nonsense, and the proposed Resolution was withdrawn.

The following are the most important passages in the Message of the President, which was of very great length:—

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:—

"The continued disorganization of the Union, to which the President has so often called the attention of Congress, is yet a subject of profound and patriotic concern. We may, however, find some relief from that anxiety in the reflection that the painful political situation, although before untried by ourselves, is not new in the experience of nations. Political science, perhaps as highly perfected in our own time and country as in any other, has not yet disclosed any means by which civil wars can be absolutely prevented. An enlightened nation, however, with a wise and beneficent Constitution of free government, may diminish their frequency and mitigate their severity by directing all its proceedings in accordance with its fundamental law. When a civil war has been brought to a close, it is manifestly the first interest and duty of the State to repair injuries which the war has inflicted, and to secure the benefit of the lessons it teaches as fully and speedily as possible. This duty was, upon the termination of the

rebellion, promptly accepted, not only by the Executive Department, but by the insurrectionary States themselves; and restoration in the first moment of peace was believed to be as easy and certain as it was indispensable. The expectations, however, then so reasonably and confidently entertained were disappointed by legislation, from which I felt constrained, by my obligations to the Constitution, to withhold my assent. It is, therefore, a source of profound regret that, in complying with the obligation imposed upon the President by the Constitution to give to Congress from time to time information of the state of the Union, I am unable to communicate any definitive adjustment satisfactory to the American people of the questions which, since the close of the rebellion, have agitated the public mind. On the contrary, candour compels me to declare that at this time there is no Union as our fathers understood the term, and as they meant it to be understood by us. The Union which they established can exist only where all the States are represented in both Houses of Congress, where one State is as free as another to regulate its internal concerns according to its own will, and where the laws of the central government, strictly confined to matters of national jurisdiction, apply with equal force to all the people of every section. That such is not the present 'state of the Union' is a melancholy fact; and we all must acknowledge that the restoration of the States to their proper legal relations with the Federal Government and with one another, according to the terms of the original compact, would be the greatest temporal blessing which God in His kindest providence could bestow upon this nation. It becomes our imperative duty to consider whether or not it is impossible to effect this most desirable consummation.

"The Union and the Constitution are inseparable. As long as one is obeyed by all parties, the other will be preserved; and if one is destroyed, both must perish together. The destruction of the Constitution will be followed by other and still greater calamities. It was ordained, not only to form a more perfect union between the States, but to 'establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' Nothing but implicit obedience to its requirements in all parts of the country will accomplish these great ends. Without that obedience we can look forward only to continual outrages upon individual rights, incessant breaches of the public peace, national weakness, financial dishonour, the total loss of our prosperity, the general corruption of morals, and the final extinction of popular freedom. To save our country from evils so appalling as these we should renew our efforts again and again. To me the process of restoration seems perfectly plain and simple. It consists merely in a faithful application of the Constitution and laws. The execution of the laws is not now obstructed or opposed by physical force. There is no military or other necessity, real or pretended,

which can prevent obedience to the Constitution, either North or South. All the rights and all the obligations of States and individuals can be protected and enforced by means perfectly consistent with the fundamental law. The Courts may be every where open, and, if open, their process would be unimpeded. Crimes against the United States can be prevented or punished by the proper judicial authorities in a manner entirely practicable and legal. There is, therefore, no reason why the Constitution should not be obeyed, unless those who exercise its powers have determined that it shall be disregarded and violated. The mere naked will of this Government, or of some one or more of its branches, is the only obstacle that can exist to a perfect union of all the States on this momentous question; and in some of the measures growing out of it I have had the misfortune to differ from Congress, and have expressed my convictions without reserve, though with becoming deference, to the opinion of the Legislative Department. Those convictions are not only unchanged, but strengthened by subsequent events and further reflection. The transcendent importance of the subject will be a sufficient excuse for calling your attention to some of the reasons which have so strongly influenced my own judgment. The hope that we may all finally concur in a mode of settlement consistent at once with our true interests and with our sworn duties to the Constitution is too natural and too just to be easily relinquished.

“THE STATUS OF THE REBEL STATES.

“It is clear to my apprehension that the States lately in rebellion are still members of the National Union. When did they cease to be so? ‘The Ordinances of Secession’ adopted by a portion—in most of them a very small portion—of their citizens were mere nullities. If we admit now that they were valid and effectual for the purpose intended by their authors we sweep from under our feet the whole ground upon which we justified the war. Were those States afterwards expelled from the Union by the war? The direct contrary was averred by this Government to be its purpose, and was so understood by all those who gave their blood and treasure to aid in its prosecution. It cannot be that a successful war waged for the preservation of the Union had the legal effect of dissolving it. The victory of the nation’s arms was not the disgrace of her policy; the defeat of Secession on the battlefield was not the triumph of its lawless principle; nor could Congress, with or without the consent of the Executive, do any thing which would have the effect, directly or indirectly, of separating the States from each other. To dissolve the Union is to repeal the Constitution which holds it together, and that is a power which does not belong to any Department of this Government, or to all of them united. This is so plain that it has been acknowledged by all branches of the Federal Government. The Executive (my

predecessor as well as myself) and the heads of all the Departments have uniformly acted upon the principle that the Union is not only undissolved, but indissoluble. Congress submitted an Amendment of the Constitution, to be ratified by the Southern States, and accepted their acts of ratification as a necessary and lawful exercise of their highest function. If they were not States, or were States out of the Union, their consent to a change in the fundamental law of the Union would have been nugatory, and Congress in asking it committed a political absurdity. The Judiciary has also given the solemn sanction of its authority to the same view of the case. The Judges of the Supreme Court have included the Southern States in their circuits, and they are constantly, *in banco* and elsewhere, exercising jurisdiction which does not belong to them, unless those States are States of the Union. If the Southern States are component parts of the Union, the Constitution is the supreme law for them, as it is for all the other States. They are bound to obey it, and so are we. The right of the Federal Government, which is clear and unquestionable to enforce the Constitution upon them, implies the correlative obligation on our part to observe its limitations and execute its guarantees. Without the Constitution we are nothing. By, through, and under the Constitution we are what it makes us. We may doubt the wisdom of the law, we may not approve of its provisions; but we cannot violate it merely because it seems to confine our powers within limits narrower than we could wish. It is not a question of individual, or class, or sectional interest, much less of party predominance, but of duty, of high and sacred duty, which we are all sworn to perform. If we cannot support the Constitution with the cheerful alacrity of those who love and believe in it, we must give to it at least the fidelity of public servants who act under solemn obligations and commands which they dare not disregard. The Constitutional duty is not the only one which requires the States to be restored. There is another consideration which, though of minor importance, is yet of great weight. On the 22nd of July, 1861, Congress declared, by an almost unanimous vote of both Houses, that war should be conducted solely for the purpose of preserving the Union and maintaining the supremacy of the Federal Constitution and laws, without impairing the dignity, equality, or rights of the States or individuals, and that when this was done the war should cease. I do not say that this declaration is personally binding on those who joined in making it, any more than individual members of Congress are personally bound to pay a public debt created under a law for which they voted. But it was a solemn public official pledge of the national honour, and I cannot imagine upon what grounds the repudiation of it is to be justified. If it be said that we are not bound to keep faith with rebels, let it be remembered that this promise was not made to rebels only. Thousands of true men in the South were drawn to our standard by it, and hundreds of thousands in the

North gave their lives in the belief that it would be carried out. It was made on the day after the first great battle of the war had been fought and lost. All patriotic and intelligent men then saw the necessity of giving such an assurance, and believed that without it the war would end in disaster to our cause. Having given that assurance in the extremity of our peril, violation of it now, in the day of our power, would be a rude rending of that good faith which holds the moral world together. Our country would cease to have any claim upon the confidence of men. It would make the war not only a failure, but a fraud.

“THE RECONSTRUCTION LAWS.

“Being sincerely convinced that these views are correct, I would be unfaithful to my duty if I did not recommend the repeal of the Acts of Congress which place ten of the Southern States under the domination of military masters. If calm reflection shall satisfy a majority of your honourable bodies that the Acts referred to are not only a violation of the national faith, but in direct conflict with the Constitution, I dare not permit myself to doubt that you will immediately strike them from the Statute Book. To demonstrate the unconstitutional character of those Acts, I need do no more than refer to their general provisions. It must be seen at once that they are not authorized. To dictate what alterations shall be made in the Constitutions of the several States; to control the elections of State legislators and State officers, members of Congress, and electors of President and Vice-President, by arbitrarily declaring who shall vote and who shall be excluded from that privilege; to dissolve State Legislatures or prevent them from assembling; to dismiss Judges and other Civil functionaries of the State, and appoint others without regard to State law; to organize and operate all the political machinery of the States; to regulate the whole administration of their domestic and local affairs according to the mere will of strange and irresponsible agents sent among them for that purpose; these are powers not granted to the Federal Government or to any one of its branches. Not being granted, we violate our trust by assuming them as palpably as we would by acting in the face of a positive interdict; for the Constitution forbids us to do whatever it does not affirmatively authorize, either by express words or by clear implication. If the authority we desire to use does not come to us through the Constitution, we can exercise it only by usurpation, and usurpation is the most dangerous of political crimes. By that crime the enemies of free government in all ages have worked out their designs against public liberty and private right. It leads directly and immediately to the establishment of absolute rule, for undelegated power is always unlimited and unrestrained. The Acts of Congress in question are not only objectionable for their assumption of ungranted power, but many of their provisions are in conflict with

the direct prohibitions of the Constitution. The Constitution commands that a republican form of government shall be guaranteed to all the States; that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without the due process of law, arrested without a judicial warrant, or punished without a fair trial before an impartial jury; that the privilege of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be denied in time of peace, and that no bill of attainder shall be passed even against a single individual. Yet the system of measures established by these Acts of Congress does totally subvert and destroy the form as well as the substance of republican government in the ten States to which they apply. It binds them hand and foot in absolute slavery, and subjects them to a strange and hostile power more unlimited and more likely to be abused than any other now known among civilized men. It tramples down all those rights in which the essence of liberty consists, and which a free Government is always most careful to protect. It denies the *Habeas Corpus* and the trial by jury. Personal freedom, property, and life, if assailed by the passion, the prejudice, or the rapacity of the ruler, have no security whatever. It has the effect of a bill of attainder, or a bill of pains or penalties, not upon a few individuals, but upon whole masses, including the millions who inhabit the subjected States, and even their unborn children. These wrongs, being expressly forbidden, cannot be constitutionally inflicted upon any portion of our people, no matter how they may have come within our jurisdiction, and no matter whether they live in States, territories, or districts. I have no desire to save from the proper and just consequences of their great crime those who engaged in rebellion against the Government; but, as a mode of punishment, the measures under consideration are the most unreasonable that could be invented. Many of those people are perfectly innocent; many kept their fidelity to the Union untainted to the last; many were incapable of any legal offence; a large proportion even of the persons able to bear arms were forced into rebellion against their will, and of those who are guilty with their own consent the degrees of guilt are as various as the shades of their character and temper. But these Acts of Congress confound them all together in one common doom. Indiscriminate vengeance upon classes, sects, and parties, or upon whole communities, for offences committed by a portion of them against the governments to which they owed obedience was common in the barbarous ages of the world; but Christianity and civilization have made such progress that recourse to a punishment so cruel and unjust would meet with the condemnation of all unprejudiced and right-minded men. The punitive justice of this age, and especially of this country, does not consist in stripping whole States of their liberties, and reducing all their people, without distinction, to the condition of slavery. It deals separately with each individual, confines itself to the forms of law, and vindicates its own purity by an impartial examination of every case before a

competent judicial tribunal. If this does not satisfy all our desires with regard to Southern rebels, let us console ourselves by reflecting that a free Constitution, triumphant in war and unbroken in peace, is worth far more to us and our children than the gratification of any present feeling. I am aware that it is assumed that this system of government for the Southern States is not to be perpetual. It is true this military government is to be only provisional, but it is through this temporary evil that a greater evil is to be made perpetual. If the guarantees of the Constitution can be broken provisionally, to serve a temporary purpose, and in a part only of the country, we can destroy them every where and for all time. Arbitrary measures often change, but they generally change for the worse. It is the curse of despotism that it has no halting-place. The intermitted exercise of its power brings no sense of security to its subjects, for they can never know what more they will be called to endure when its red right hand is armed to plague them again. Nor is it possible to conjecture how or where power, unrestrained by law, may seek its next victims. The States that are still free may be enslaved at any moment; for, if the Constitution does not protect all, it protects none.

“NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

“It is manifestly and avowedly the object of these laws to confer upon the negroes the privilege of voting, and to disfranchise such a number of white citizens as will give the former a clear majority at all elections in the Southern States. This to the mind of some persons is so important that a violation of the Constitution is justified as a means of bringing it about. The morality is always false which excuses a wrong because it proposes to accomplish a desirable end. The subjugation of the States to Negro domination would be worse than the military despotism under which they are now suffering. It was believed beforehand that the people would endure any amount of military oppression for any length of time rather than degrade themselves by subjection to the negro race. Therefore they have been left without a choice. Negro suffrage was established by act of Congress, and the military officers were commanded to superintend the process of clothing the negro race with the political privileges torn from white men. The blacks in the South are entitled to be well and humanely governed, and to have the protection of just laws for all their rights of person and property. If it were practicable at this time to give them a government exclusively their own, under which they might manage their own affairs in their own way, it would become a grave question whether we ought to do so, or whether common humanity would require us to save them from themselves. But, under the circumstances, this is only a speculative point. It is not proposed merely that they shall govern themselves, but that they shall rule the white

race, make and administer State laws, elect Presidents and members of Congress, and shape to a greater or less extent the future destiny of the whole country. Would such a trust and power be safe in such hands? The peculiar qualities which should characterize any people who are fit to decide upon the management of public affairs for a great State have seldom been combined. It is the glory of white men to know that they have these qualities in sufficient measure to build upon this continent a great political fabric and to preserve its stability for more than ninety years, while in every other part of the world all similar experiments have failed. But if any thing can be proved by known facts, if all reasoning upon evidence is not abandoned, it must be acknowledged that in the progress of nations negroes have shown less capacity for government than any other race of people. No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands. On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism. . . 'It follows, therefore, that in admitting to the ballot-box a new class of voters not qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise, we weaken our system of government, instead of adding to its strength and durability.' 'I yield to no one in attachment to that rule of general suffrage which distinguishes our policy as a nation. But there is a limit wisely observed hitherto, which makes the ballot a privilege and a trust, and which requires of some classes a time suitable for probation and preparation. To give it indiscriminately to a new class, wholly unprepared by previous habits and opportunities to perform the trust which it demands, is to degrade it, and finally to destroy its power; for it may be safely assumed that no political truth is better established than that such indiscriminate and all-embracing extension of popular suffrage must end at last in its overthrow and destruction.' I repeat the expression of my willingness to join in any plan within the scope of our constitutional authority which promises to better the condition of the negroes in the South by encouraging them in industry, enlightening their minds, improving their morals, and giving protection to all their just rights as freed men; but the transfer of our political inheritance to them would, in my opinion, be an abandonment of a duty which we owe alike to the memory of our fathers and the rights of our children. The plan of putting the Southern States wholly, and the general government partially, into the hands of negroes is proposed at a time peculiarly unpropitious. The foundations of society have been broken up by civil war. Industry must be reorganized, justice re-established, public credit maintained, and order brought out of confusion. To accomplish these ends would require all the wisdom and virtue of the great men who formed our institutions originally. I confidently believe that their descendants will be equal to the arduous task before them; but it is worse than madness to expect that negroes will perform it for us.

“THE PRESIDENT v. CONGRESS.

“How far the duty of the President ‘to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution’ requires him to go in opposing an unconstitutional act of Congress is a very serious and important question, on which I have deliberated much, and felt extremely anxious to reach a proper conclusion. Where an Act has been passed according to the forms of the Constitution by the supreme legislative authority, and is regularly enrolled among the public statutes of the country, Executive resistance to it, especially in times of high party excitement, would be likely to produce violent collision between the respective adherents of the two branches of Government. This would be simply civil war, and civil war must be resorted to only as a last remedy for the worst of evils. Whatever might tend to provoke it should be carefully avoided. A faithful and conscientious magistrate will concede very much to honest error, and something even to perverse malice, before he will endanger the public peace; and he will not adopt forcible measures, or such as might lead to force, as long as those which are peaceable remain open to him or to his constituents. It is true that cases may occur in which the Executive would be compelled to stand on its rights and maintain them, regardless of consequences. If Congress should pass an Act which is not only in palpable conflict with the Constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure of the Government; and if there be neither judicial remedy for the wrongs it inflicts, nor power in the people to protect themselves, without the official aid of their elected defender; if, for instance, the Legislative Department should pass an Act, even through all the forms of law, to abolish a co-ordinate department of the Government, in such a case the President must take the high responsibilities of his office, and save the life of the nation at all hazards. The so-called Reconstruction Acts, though as plainly unconstitutional as any that can be imagined, were not believed to be within the class last mentioned. The people were not wholly disarmed of the power of self-defence; in all the Northern States they still held in their hands the sacred right of the ballot, and it was safe to believe that in due time they would come to the rescue of their own institutions. It gives me pleasure to add that the appeal to our common constituents was not taken in vain, and that my confidence in their wisdom and virtue seems not to have been misplaced.

“FRAUDS ON THE TREASURY.

“It is well and publicly known that enormous frauds have been perpetrated on the Treasury, and that colossal fortunes have been made at the public expense. This species of corruption has increased, is increasing, and if not diminished will soon bring us

into total ruin and disgrace. The public creditors and the taxpayers are alike interested in an honest administration of the finances, and neither class will long endure the large-handed robberies of the recent past. For this discreditable state of things there are several causes. Some of the taxes are so laid as to present an irresistible temptation to evade payment. The great sums which officers may win by connivance at fraud create a pressure which is more than the virtue of many can withstand, and there can be no doubt that the open disregard of constitutional obligations avowed by some of the highest and most influential men in the country has greatly weakened the moral sense of those who serve in subordinate places.

“PRESIDENT'S POWER TO APPOINT OR REMOVE SUBORDINATES.

“The expenses of the United States, including interest on the public debt, are more than six times as much as they were seven years ago. To collect and disburse this vast amount requires careful supervision as well as systematic vigilance. The system, never perfected, was much disorganized by the ‘Tenure-of-Office Bill,’ which has almost destroyed official accountability. The President may be thoroughly convinced that an officer is incapable, dishonest, or unfaithful to the Constitution, but, under the law which I have named, the utmost he can do is to complain to the Senate and ask the privilege of supplying his place with a better man. If the Senate be regarded as personally hostile to the President, it is natural and not altogether unreasonable for the officer to expect that it will take his part as far as possible, restore him to his place, and give him a triumph over his executive superior. The officer has other chances of impunity arising from accidental defects of evidence, the mode of investigating it, and the secrecy of the hearing. It is not wonderful that official malfeasance should become bold in proportion as the delinquents learn to think themselves safe. I am entirely persuaded that under such a rule the President cannot perform the great duty assigned to him of seeing the laws faithfully executed, and that it disables him most especially from enforcing that rigid accountability which is necessary to the due execution of the Revenue Laws. The Constitution invests the President with authority to decide whether a removal should be made in any given case. The Act of Congress declares, in substance, that he shall only accuse such as he supposes to be unworthy of their trust. The Constitution makes him sole judge in the premises, but the statute takes away his jurisdiction, transfers it to the Senate, and leaves him nothing but the odious and sometimes impracticable duty of becoming a prosecutor. The prosecution is to be conducted before a tribunal whose members are not, like him, responsible to the whole people, but to separate constituent bodies, and who may hear his accusation with great disfavour. The Senate is absolutely without any known

standard of decision applicable to such a case. Its judgment cannot be anticipated, for it is not governed by any rule. The law does not define what shall be deemed good cause for removal. It is impossible even to conjecture what may or may not be so considered by the Senate. The nature of the subject forbids clear proof. If the charge be incapacity, what evidence will support it? Fidelity to the Constitution may be understood or misunderstood in a thousand different ways; and by violent party men, in violent party times, unfaithfulness to the Constitution may even come to be considered meritorious. If the officer be accused of dishonesty, how shall it be made out? Will it be inferred from acts unconnected with public duty, from private history, or from general reputation; or must the President await the commission of an actual misdemeanour in office? Shall he, in the meantime, risk the character and the interest of the nation in the hands of men to whom he cannot give his confidence? Must he forbear his complaint until the mischief is done and cannot be prevented? If his zeal in the public service should impel him to anticipate the overt act, must he move at the peril of being tried himself for the offence of slandering his subordinate? In the present circumstances of the country some one must be held responsible for official delinquencies of every kind. It is extremely difficult to say where that responsibility should be thrown if it be not left where it has been placed by the Constitution. But all just men will admit that the President ought to be entirely relieved from such responsibility if he cannot meet it by reason of restrictions placed by law upon his actions. . . . The forced retention in office of a single dishonest person may work great injury to the public interests. Danger to the public service comes not from the power to remove, but from the power to appoint; therefore it was that the framers of the Constitution left the power of removal unrestricted, while they gave the Senate the right to reject all appointments which, in its opinion, were not fit to be made. A little reflection on this subject will probably satisfy all who have the good of the country at heart that our best course is to take the Constitution for our guide, walk in the path marked out by the founders of the Republic, and obey the rules made sacred by the observance of our great predecessors.

“FINANCIAL MATTERS.

“The present condition of our finances and circulating medium is one to which your early consideration is invited. The proportion which the currency of any country should bear to the whole value of the annual produce circulated by its means is a question upon which political economists have not agreed; nor can it be controlled by legislation, but must be left to the irrevocable laws which every where regulate commerce and trade. The circulating medium will ever irresistibly flow to those points where it is in

greatest demand. The law of demand and supply is as unerring as that which regulates the tides of the ocean; and, indeed, the currency, like the tides, has its ebbs and flows throughout the commercial world. At the beginning of the rebellion the bank note circulation of the country amounted to not much more than \$200,000,000. Now the circulation of the National Bank notes, and those known as 'legal tenders,' is nearly \$700,000,000. While it is urged by some that this amount should be increased, others contend that a decided reduction is absolutely essential to the best interests of the country. In view of these diverse opinions, it may be well to ascertain the real value of our paper issues when compared with a metallic or convertible currency. For this purpose let us inquire how much gold and silver could be purchased by the \$700,000,000 of paper money now in circulation; probably not more than half the amount of the latter, showing that when our paper currency is compared with gold and silver its commercial value is compressed into \$350,000,000. This striking fact makes it the obvious duty of the Government, as early as may be consistent with the principles of sound political economy, to take such measures as will enable the holder of its notes and those of the national banks to convert them without loss into specie or its equivalent. A reduction of our paper circulating medium need not necessarily follow. This, however, would depend upon the law of demand and supply, though it should be borne in mind that by making legal tender and bank notes convertible into coin or its equivalent their present specie value in the hands of their holders would be enhanced 100 per cent. Legislation for the accomplishment of a result so desirable is demanded by the highest public considerations. The Constitution contemplates that the circulating medium of the country shall be uniform in quality and value. At the time of the formation of that instrument the country had just emerged from the war of the revolution, and was suffering from the effects of a redundant and worthless paper currency. The sages of that period were anxious to protect their posterity from the evils which they themselves had experienced; hence, in providing a circulating medium, they conferred upon Congress the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, at the same time prohibiting the States from making any thing but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts. The anomalous condition of our currency is in striking contrast with that which was originally designed. Our circulation now embraces, first, notes of the National Banks, which are made receivable for all dues to the Government, excluding imposts, and by all its creditors, excepting in payment of interest upon its bonds and securities themselves; second, legal tender notes, issued by the United States, and which the law requires shall be received as well in payment of all debts between citizens as of all Government dues, excepting imposts; and, third, gold and silver coin. By the operation of our present system of finance, however, the metallic

currency, when collected, is reserved only for one class of Government creditors, who, holding its bonds, semi-annually receive their interest in coin from the national Treasury. They are thus made to occupy an invidious position, which may be used to strengthen the arguments of those who would bring into disrepute the obligations of the nation. In payment of all its debts the plighted faith of the Government should be invariably maintained; but while it acts with fidelity toward the bondholder who loaned his money, that the integrity of the Union might be preserved, it should at the same time observe good faith with the great masses of the people, who, having rescued the Union from the perils of rebellion, now bear the burdens of taxation that the Government may be able to fulfil its engagements. . . . The feasibility of making our currency correspond with the constitutional standard may be seen by reference to a few facts derived from our commercial statistics. The production of precious metals in the United States from 1849 to 1857, inclusive, amounted to \$579,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, to \$137,500,000; and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, to 457,500,000; making the grand aggregate of products since 1849 of \$1,174,000,000. The amount of specie coined from 1849 to 1857, inclusive, was \$439,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, \$125,000,000; and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, \$310,000,000; making total coinage since 1849, \$874,000,000. From 1849 to 1857, inclusive, the net exports of specie amounted to \$271,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, to \$148,000,000; and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, \$322,000,000; making the aggregate of net exports since 1849 of \$741,000,000. These figures show an excess of product over net exports of \$433,000,000. There are in the Treasury \$111,000,000 in coin, something more than \$40,000,000 in circulation on the Pacific coast, and a few millions in the National and other banks—in all about \$160,000,000. This, however, taking into account the specie in the country prior to 1849, leaves more than \$300,000,000 which have not been accounted for by exportation, and therefore may yet remain in the country. . . . The condition of our finances and the operations of our revenue system are set forth and fully explained in the able and instructive report of the Secretary of the Treasury. On the 30th of June, 1866, the public debt amounted to \$2,783,425,879; on the 30th of June last it was \$2,692,199,215, showing a reduction during the fiscal year of \$91,226,664. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, the receipts were \$490,634,010, and the expenditures \$346,729,129, leaving an available surplus of 143,904,880. It is estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, will be \$417,161,928, and that the expenditures will reach the sum of \$393,269,226, leaving in the Treasury a surplus of \$23,892,702. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869, it is estimated that the receipts will amount to \$381,000,000, and that

the expenditures will be \$372,000,000, showing an excess of \$9,000,000 in favour of the Government.

“NAVAL AFFAIRS.

“The Report of the Secretary of the Navy states that we have seven squadrons actively and judiciously employed, under efficient and able commanders, in protecting the persons and property of American citizens, maintaining the dignity and power of the Government, and promoting the commerce and business interests of our countrymen in every part of the world. Of the 238 vessels composing the present navy of the United States, fifty-six, carrying 507 guns, are in squadron service. During the year the number of vessels in commission has been reduced by twelve, and there are thirteen less on squadron duty than there were at the date of the last Report. A large number of vessels were commenced and in the course of construction when the war terminated, and although Congress had made the necessary appropriations for their completion, the Department has either suspended work upon them, or limited the slow completion of the steam vessels, so as to meet the contracts for machinery made with private establishments. The total expenditure of the Navy Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, were \$31,034,011. . . .

“FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

“The re-establishment of peace at home, and the resumption of extended trade, travel, and commerce abroad have served to increase the number and variety of questions in the Department for Foreign Affairs. None of these questions, however, have seriously disturbed our relations with other States. The Republic of Mexico, having been relieved from foreign intervention, is earnestly engaged in efforts to re-establish her constitutional system of government. A good understanding continues to exist between our Government and the Republics of Hayti and San Domingo, and our cordial relations with the Central and South American States remain unchanged. The tender made, in conformity with a Resolution of Congress, of the good offices of the Government, with a view to an amicable adjustment of peace between Brazil and her allies on one side, and Paraguay on the other, and between Chili and her allies on the one side and Spain on the other, though kindly received, has in neither case been fully accepted by the belligerents. The war in the Valley of the Parana is still vigorously maintained. On the other hand, actual hostilities between the Pacific States and Spain have been more than a year suspended. I shall on any proper occasion that may occur renew the conciliatory recommendations which have already been made. Brazil, with enlightened sagacity and comprehensive statesmanship, has opened the great

channels of the Amazon and its tributaries to universal commerce. One thing more seems needful to ensure a rapid and cheering progress in South America. I refer to those peaceful habits without which States and nations cannot in this age well expect material prosperity or social advancement.

“THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

“No arrangement has as yet been reached for the settlement of our claims for British depredations upon the commerce of the United States. I have felt it my duty to decline the proposition of arbitration made by Her Majesty’s Government, because it has hitherto been accompanied by reservations and limitations incompatible with the rights, interest, and honour of our country. It is not to be apprehended that Great Britain will persist in her refusal to satisfy these just and reasonable claims, which involve the sacred principle of non-intervention—a principle henceforth not more important to the United States than to all other commercial nations.

“THE WEST INDIES.

“The West India Islands were settled and colonized by European States simultaneously with the settlement and colonization of the American continent. Most of the colonies planted here became independent nations at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Our own country embraces communities which at one period were colonies of Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Russia. The people in the West Indies, with the exception of those of the island of Hayti, have neither attained nor aspired to independence, nor have they become prepared for self-defence. Although possessing considerable commercial value, they have been held by the several European States which colonized or at some time conquered them chiefly for purposes of military and naval strategy, in carrying out European policy and designs in regard to this continent. In our revolutionary war, ports and harbours in the West India Islands were used by our enemy, to the great injury and embarrassment of the United States. We had the same experience in our second war with Great Britain. The same European policy for a long time excluded us even from trade with the West Indies, while we were at peace with all nations. In our recent civil war, the rebels and their piratical and blockade-breaking allies found facilities in the same ports for the work, which they too successfully accomplished, of injuring and devastating the commerce which we are now engaged in rebuilding. We laboured especially under this disadvantage, that European steam vessels, employed by our enemies, found friendly shelter, protection, and supplies in West Indian ports, while our own naval operations

were necessarily carried on from our own distant shores. There was then a universal feeling of the want of an advanced naval outpost between the Atlantic coast and Europe. The duty of obtaining such an outpost peacefully and lawfully, while neither doing nor menacing injury to other States, earnestly engaged the attention of the Executive Department before the close of the war, and has not been lost sight of since that time. A not entirely dissimilar naval want revealed itself during the same period on the Pacific coast. The required foothold there was fortunately secured by our late treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and it now seems imperative that the more obvious necessities of the Atlantic coast should not be less carefully provided for. A good and convenient port and harbour, capable of easy defence, will supply that want. With the possession of such a station by the United States, neither we nor any other American nation need longer apprehend injury or offence from any Transatlantic enemy. I agree with our early statesmen, that the West Indies naturally gravitate to, and may be expected ultimately to be absorbed by, the Continental States, including our own. I agree with them, also, that it is wise to leave the question of such absorption to this process of natural political gravitation. The Islands of St. Thomas and St. John's, which constitute a part of the group called the Virgin Islands, seemed to offer us advantages immediately desirable, while their acquisition could be secured in harmony with the principles to which I have alluded. A treaty has, therefore, been concluded with the King of Denmark for the cession of those islands, and will be submitted to the Senate for consideration.

“NATURALIZED CITIZENS.”

“The annexation of many small German States to Prussia, and the re-organization of that country under a new and liberal Constitution, have induced me to renew the effort to obtain a just and prompt settlement of the long-vexed question concerning the claims of foreign States for military service from their subjects naturalized in the United States.

“In connexion with this subject the attention of Congress is respectfully called to a singular and embarrassing conflict of laws. The Executive Department of this Government has hitherto uniformly held, as it now holds, that naturalization in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States absolves the recipient from his native allegiance. The Courts of Great Britain hold that allegiance to the British Crown is indefeasible, and is not absolved by our laws of naturalization. British Judges cite Courts and law authorities of the United States in support of that theory against the position held by the Executive authority of the United States. This conflict perplexes the public mind concerning the rights of naturalized citizens, and impairs the national authority abroad. I called attention to this subject in my last annual

message, and now again respectfully appeal to Congress to declare the national will unmistakably upon this important question.

"THE SLAVE TRADE.

"The abuse of our laws by the clandestine prosecution of the African slave trade from American ports, or by American citizens, has altogether ceased, and under existing circumstances no apprehensions of its renewal in this part of the world are entertained. Under these circumstances it becomes a question whether we shall not propose to Her Majesty's Government a suspension or discontinuance of the stipulations for maintaining a naval force for the suppression of that trade.

"ANDREW JOHNSON.

"Washington, Dec. 3, 1867."

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1867.

IN commencing our Annual Retrospect last year, we paused for a moment to reflect on the evil consequences which might possibly result to Literature, Art, and Science, in England, from neglect or waste of natural resources, or from unreasonable disagreement between class and class. We have nothing to add to what we then said; but, at the same time, we have nothing to retract. We still feel the same apprehension that the English, a people who can now, to use a popular phrase, carry every thing before them, may, at no distant time, lose their commanding position through the neglect of ordinary precautions. It is a favourite argument with those who consider no precautions necessary, that England shows no signs of decay at present. To this argument there are two answers; the first, that when the signs become clearly visible, the catastrophe will perhaps have ceased to be avertible; the other, that there may be signs already, though not precisely the same that have appeared before the decadence of other great Empires. The signs of the decay of greatness and power must be sought, and found, if found at all, in connexion with the history of their origin. A Roman Empire was established by stern valour and frugality; it was lost by continued luxury and effeminacy. Ancient Italy, with her education, resources, and organization, might, but for the neglect of ordinary precautions, have held out for centuries against the northern barbarians whom she had so often worsted in the field. But she forgot how she had risen in the world; she thought things would go on for ever as they were; looking back to what she knew of the history of Greece, Persia, Assyria, and Babylon, she probably thought that there were no signs of decay in Rome, merely because there was no precise similarity between her position and that of the more ancient empires that had been long since swept away. The same misfortune may happen to England from a similar cause. Superior to every other nation in the field of battle, she nevertheless owes her great influence, not to military successes, but to her commanding position in the arena of industry and commerce. If she forgets this, she is lost; not perhaps to the extent of being conquered and reduced to a province, but undoubtedly to the extent of having to give up the lead, and ceasing to be a first-rate power. The signs, for those who can read, are present, and can be plainly seen. An inter-

necine war is going on between the employers and the employed; numberless articles are manufactured abroad to undersell the English market; and the countless failures of the last few years show something very faulty in the working of our commercial system. As if to awaken us from our dream of perpetual affluence, and to compel us, however unwilling, to receive warning, a diminution of the produce of taxation has occurred, and, for the first time, a doubt is cast upon the vaunted buoyancy of our revenue. These are facts which should induce Englishmen to reflect seriously. In the interests of Literature, Art, and Science, we feel bound to notice them, since we feel that every catastrophe in the money-making world must diminish, either directly or indirectly, the undefined surplus of time and income which may be devoted to the pursuits of mental culture and artistic enjoyment.

Upon the whole, the year 1867 has not been unprolific. Although it has produced few works of extraordinary interest or popularity, yet it has given us a fair continuation of what we had before, and a fair promise for the future.

In English History, Mr. Andrew Bisset gives us a second volume of his "Omitted Chapters of the History of England," comprising the period which elapsed between the death of Charles I. and the expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell. Mr. Bisset is a writer of ability and independent thought. His sentences have a rich and easy flow, and he does not court popularity by flattering the momentary feeling of the day. It is the fashion at present to idolize Cromwell, a man who certainly did much to sustain England's honour among the nations, but who, according to Mr. Bisset's view, violated his own principles no less than public law, by repudiating the authority of Parliament and assuming the position of a Military Dictator. We say nothing about the Royalist question, for of course it must be assumed that those who approve of the Commonwealth have made up their minds on that point. But it is a remarkable fact, that many persons who condemn Charles I. as an absolutist can see no fault in Cromwell, whose government was still more absolute than that of the King who preceded him. Mr. Bisset, on the other hand, can see no excuse for Cromwell; and he boldly contrasts with his conduct that of the great naval commander, Blake, who raised England's fame on the sea to the highest pitch, but never appears to have given way to dreams of self-aggrandizement. A few powerful sentences from Mr. Bisset's work will give our readers a better idea of his opinions on this subject than any amount of comment:—

"So far from admitting Cromwell's plea for crushing English liberty—I mean constitutionally-regulated liberty—that he was forced to take upon himself the office of a high-constable to preserve the peace among the several parties in the nation, though he professed to approve the government of a single person as little as any; it is, to all who steadily examine the facts, a mere sophistry, or rather a palpable untruth. The Council of State acted the part of high-constable better than he did. The Council of State, indeed, could not command armies as Cromwell could, much less could it command navies as Blake commanded them; but Blake did not make that a reason for setting up as a king on his own account, and throwing England back two centuries in her progress towards good government. When we look calmly at what the Stuarts and Cromwell did, or attempted to do, we are forced to the conclusion that there is less excuse to be made for Cromwell than for the Stuarts."

The "Athenæum," without endorsing Mr. Bisset's opinions, bears strong testimony to his merits, not perhaps as an historian, but as a writer of "Omitted

Chapters," or sketches of particular portions of the historical field which have hitherto been insufficiently portrayed:—

"Three years ago we spoke in high terms of the first volume of Mr. Bisset's Commentaries on the History of England during the Commonwealth; and we are glad to find, in this second volume of criticism, the same calm judgment, the same liberal sentiment, the same large insight undiminished. Mr. Bisset's work is hardly a regular history of events; certainly not a picture of things in chronological order; it is rather a series of shrewd and animated conversations on the different ways in which the Commonwealth story has been presented to the public, and the various uses to which, in practical statesmanship, its many lessons may be applied.

"The whole volume is completed in a fine spirit of appreciation. Mr. Bisset loves his country even more than he loves his heroes, and the thing which he finds it most difficult to forgive, even in the men whom he admires, is the placing of their personal interests above those of their native land."

A new series of "Wellington Despatches" was announced some time since, and the first and second volumes have recently been issued. It will be remembered by most of our readers, that the original "Wellington Despatches," edited by Colonel Gurwood, consisted of about a dozen volumes, and contained the great Duke's brief and modest reports of all his victories, besides a vast amount of letters written by him to the officers under him, to the Home Government, &c., respecting the organization and supplies of the army, the state of the occupied countries, and the like. The second series, consisting of ten or twelve volumes was edited by the present Duke of Wellington, and contained numerous letters, some of great historical interest, which did not come within the more strictly military range of the first series. The new series, of which the issue has been commenced, is in continuation of the second series (beginning at 1819), and the work is prepared for the press by the same noble editor. To the "Athenæum" we are indebted for the following pregnant remarks concerning the first volume:—

"This first volume of a third series contains 672 pages, and may be followed by an indefinite number of successors. That these three collections of the great Duke's papers contain much which is of little moment may be inferred from their size and extent. Yet the names of the Duke's correspondents, and the affairs in which he took a part, are a sufficient guarantee of the general importance of his papers as materials for history. The military history of the great wars with France would be a blank without his assistance. The political history of the first half of the nineteenth century must necessarily owe much to one who was alternately actor, prompter, and critic."

Mr. Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England; its Causes and its Results" next claims our attention. But at present only one volume is published, and that volume only brings us down to the "Election of Eadward the Confessor." Under these circumstances, Mr. Freeman cannot be supposed to have yet written about any thing but the "Causes." When the actual history and the "Results" have been dealt with, it will be time to consider how far the author has further elucidated a period which has been already treated in widely different manners by Thierry and by Sir Francis Palgrave. In the meantime, we cordially agree with the "Athenæum," which, in the following passage, endorses, *ipsisimis verbis*, an opinion expressed by Mr. Freeman.

"In Mr. Freeman's volume we have preliminary chapters of the history—very

necessary preparation ; for ‘we cannot understand the Norman Conquest of England without knowing something of the history both of Englishmen and of Normans, before they met in arms on the hills of Sussex. As regards the Normans, the conquest of England was but the most brilliant and the most permanent of a series of brilliant conquests, from the occupation of Rouen to the occupation of Naples. As regards England, the conquest was the grand and final result of causes which had been at work at least since the death of Eadgar. The Danish invasions, and the Norman tendencies of Eadward, each, in different ways, both suggested the enterprise of William, and made that enterprise easier to be effected.’ ”

Before proceeding to the next work under notice, we may mention, that Mr. Freeman obtained a high class in *Literis Humanioribus* at Oxford, about twenty years ago. He was subsequently elected a Fellow of Trinity College in that University. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Gothic Architecture, and frequently read papers at the meetings of the Oxford Architectural Society. By some people he was considered “crotchety,” as he had the hardihood to maintain, in opposition to the generally received opinion, that the Perpendicular style, and not the Decorated, was the culminating point of Mediæval Constructive Art. Some years ago, when it was a matter of debate, in Parliament and elsewhere, whether the new Foreign Office should be built after Gothic or after Italian models, a long letter appeared in the “Times” in favour of the first-mentioned style, with the signature “E. A. F.” That letter, which, doubtless, proceeded from Mr. Freeman, was characterized by Mr. Ruskin, who wrote to the “Times” a few days later, and who was ignorant of its authorship, as an able and exhaustive letter. There is no doubt that Mr. Freeman has devoted himself, with far more than the ordinary zeal of an amateur, to the study of Mediæval Architecture ; and it is probable that, by an easy transition, he has thus been led to a close examination of the repertories of mediæval history. To the general merits of his work, as far as it has gone, the “Athenæum” bears high testimony in the following passage :—

“Few contributions to English history equal in value to this, which we now consign to the study and keeping of our readers and the public generally, have come within our knowledge for many bygone years.”

Mr. John Hill Burton, in the first four volumes of his “History of Scotland, from Agricola’s Invasion to the Revolution of 1688,” gives us a larger instalment than, in the present age of piecemeal publication, we are generally fortunate enough to have presented to us. These four volumes carry us down as far as the death of Bothwell, the third husband of the unfortunate Queen Mary, in the Castle of Draxholm. Mr. Burton’s name, even before the announcement of this, his most aspiring work, was not unknown to English readers.

“His former studies had well qualified him for the task. He had shown himself not merely possessing a taste for research, but patience in carrying it out, and a not common power ; and, so to speak, pleasantness in arranging his materials, turning them to account ; and in his so telling his story, that even the dullest, yet inevitable topic, should have a charm for the ear of the listener, and remain, by simple grace of narration, fixed in his memory.”

His present work, in the opinion of competent critics, is “an earnest record, written with uncommon grace and liveliness.” His views, as to Bothwell and Queen Mary, may be sufficiently gathered from the following summary :—

“Mary’s truculent consort left behind him a confession, which, says Mr. Burton, ‘is an example . . . of a phenomenon peculiar to the nature of criminals,

a propensity to confess things not charged against them, while denying those as to which guilt is beyond possible question. With unseemly details, the murderer of Darnley confesses to sins and vices which nobody heard of, and nobody cared about.' Among other things equally credible, he said he owed his influence over Queen Mary to 'philters and sweet waters.' In this last admission, however, there seems to us to be some evidence of that sort of gallantry which stoops to lie, in order to save a wicked woman's honour. If Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley was comprised solely in her marrying the man whom she knew to be the murderer of her former husband,—a fact which loads her with the guilt of the whole deed,—Bothwell, without referring to any special crime, leads posterity to believe that the acutest woman in the world was under the magic compulsion of a love-potion! Mr. Burton's view of the question is very fairly stated, and it ends in a compromise. The case is as black as it can be against Mary. It rests, however, so much on documents, the authenticity of which is not contested, but which, being no longer in existence, cannot be produced to support testimony, favourable or adverse, that Mr. Burton thinks both sides may now be content with a verdict of 'not proven,' and therewith leave the poor creature at peace henceforth and for ever."

The works compiled by the aid of our National Records continue to be issued with great rapidity. We need not now enlarge on the importance which such compilations may probably assume by verifying or correcting our ideas of history, since we expressed ourselves sufficiently on that point in our "Retrospect" for 1866. It might, perhaps, be more satisfactory if the investigations in Her Majesty's Record Office could be carried on, and the results exhibited to the world, in more strictly chronological order; but, at the same time, it is possible that there may be insuperable obstacles to such a course. Some periods may be more easy to investigate than others, or the labourers in one field may take an extraordinary interest in their work, and complete it more rapidly in consequence of the importance that it assumes in their eyes. This is only conjecture; but, assuming the supposition to be correct, it is certainly better that the public should have access to these sources of information as soon as they are ready, instead of waiting to peruse them in chronological order. The "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., 1636, 1637," presents, in many respects, an extraordinary and almost incredible picture of the state of London little more than two hundred years ago. It will be enough, in these pages, to make one quotation:—

"The King and Council, having 'conceived offence at the promiscuous use of coaches,' forbade the use of hackney carriages in and about London! Thereupon, 'His Majesty's poor subjects, the hackney coachmen,' point out that they are but a hundred, yet help to support many hundreds, and to serve more thousands of the citizens, even His Majesty himself, 'on removes and entertainments of ambassadors.' The proprietary coachmen ask to be made a corporation, and promise to confine themselves to a hundred coaches and two hundred horses. They let us see how profitable their calling had been, by offering in return to 'pay into the Exchequer 500*l.* per annum, and maintain fifty able horses and men well armed, to be exercised under the command of whom the king shall appoint.'"

This series of papers is edited by Mr. John Bruce, who has prefixed to it, as a contemporary remarks,

"One of those lucid, comprehensive, and interesting prefaces (explaining and

illustrating the contents, and the subjects with which they are connected), in the writing of which Mr. Bruce is not often rivalled and is never excelled."

Among the volumes of the Foreign Series, we have Mr. Joseph Stevenson's "Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1561-62." Of this volume, we find scarcely so favourable an account as of that which we mentioned last. But the reason is obvious: Mr. Stevenson, instead of confining himself to editing, has dealt very largely in comment; and his private opinions are not exactly in accordance with those of his critics. It would, perhaps, have been better if he had restrained himself within the natural limits of an antiquarian investigator.

"With regard to the calendaring itself, Mr. Stevenson has executed the office with care and industry. He generally gives a copious account of the contents of each document, sometimes with a few words of extract by way of illustration."

We refrain, as before, from giving a list of these useful books; but before quitting the subject of English History, we may mention, as akin to the subject, the "Calendar of State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain; preserved in the Archives of Simancas, and elsewhere," of which the second volume has now been published, edited by Mr. G. A. Bergenroth. This volume comprises the years 1509-25; and thus takes in an important part of the age when England and Spain (the latter, for the time being, identified with the German Empire under Charles V.) were much more closely allied, or, on the other hand, much more deeply at enmity with one another, than in later times. The intrigues of Henry VIII. for the empire, and of Wolsey for the papacy, are not unknown to us; and it is, of course, just possible that investigations in Spain may throw no new light on our history; but the reverse is much more probable, and at any rate the experiment is worth trying. The "Chronicle," while commenting freely on the introduction written by Mr. Bergenroth, gives the following high opinion of his general qualifications as an historian:—

"We have said more of the defects of the Introduction than of its merits, because, though the performance is astounding, the promise is greater still. It is but a specimen of what may be expected from a man with such opportunities and such powers. It is not one of the greatest works of our time, but it is the work of one who is capable of achieving the greatest. Mr. Bergenroth undertook an episode, and has reconstructed by the way the history of the Papacy and the Empire. His industry is prodigious. He has the coolness and sagacity of one who has seen the homes and habits of many sorts of men. He possesses absolute honesty of purpose, and has a high notion of the dignity and the civilizing utility of history."

A second volume has been issued of "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts, from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne," by Sir Henry James, R.E.

In General History, we have Vol. III. of Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher's "History of the American War." Some years hence, the title of this work may be considered indefinite and ambiguous. The mere words, "The American War," will not always convey any very distinct meaning. In England, until within the last few years, those words would have been held to signify, either the War of Independence in the British Colonies in North America, or the subsequent conflict, early in the present century, between the same people, under the name of the United States of America, and the European nation from whom they had been severed. At the present moment, however, the title of Colonel Fletcher's work is not likely to be misunderstood, for it is published while the events of the Civil

War in the United States are still fresh in the memory of all who speak the English tongue. This is the war of which Colonel Fletcher treats; and the present volume of his work comprises the third and fourth years of that terrible conflict. These years include the most instructive part of the history of the civil war; for the plain narrative of events shows how the numbers and perseverance of the Northern combatants prevailed, in the end, over the enthusiastic feeling which animated the South. There can be little doubt that the Southern States considered the struggle on their part to be one of patriotism, analogous to all that is most highly poetic in the annals of ancient and modern nations. Whether their view on this point was a correct one, or whether they were actuated by a mistaken notion of their rights and position, it is not for us to discuss in this place. The fact, however, remains, that the steady pressure of the main body of the Federal Army from the north, under General Grant, and the extraordinary march of General Sherman through the heart of a hostile country from another quarter, completely upset the calculations of the Confederates, and left them, in spite of their chivalrous valour and the admitted skill of General Lee, entirely at the mercy of the enemy whom they had once almost despised. Colonel Fletcher gives a simple and truthful narrative, without rhetorical artifice or straining at effect; and he is pronounced by a critic who has clearly no undue bias in his favour to be "accurate, painstaking, and impartial." This is no mean praise, in an age where many who profess to write history are in reality merely anxious to display their own mastery of language, or to support, at all hazards, the views of some particular party.

The "History of France under the Bourbons," by Mr. Charles Duke Yonge, was alluded to in our "Retrospect" of last year. The third and fourth volumes of that work have now been published, extending from the accession of Louis XV., when a child of six years old, in 1715, to the execution of Louis XVI. in 1793. Of Mr. Yonge's industry there can be no doubt. The portion of the history of France to which he has devoted his attention would be most instructive, if nations and their rulers would accept instruction from history; but, unfortunately, it rarely happens that they do. But as, according to the old myth, Cassandra prophesied, although no one believed her, so will conscientious historians write truthful works, even though their labours may excite less attention than those of the writer of fiction. It is only by the exertions of such men, however they may be undervalued for a time, that any chance exists of the well of history being saved from utter pollution.

"The Seven Weeks' War," by H. M. Hozier, sets forth the views of an eye-witness (the Special Correspondent of the "Times,") on that momentous struggle in which the two Great German Powers once more came into collision, and the supremacy of Prussia was, perhaps for ever, established. The events of that war are too recent for final judgment; but it is due to Mr. Hozier to say, without either endorsing or contradicting his conclusions, that he forms independent opinions, and supports them fairly, with such facts as have come within his cognizance. The general idea of the Austro-Prussian War has long been, that quickness of fire and quickness of movement alone gained the day for the Prussians. Mr. Mr. Hozier is of a different opinion. He alleges boldly, that needle-guns and rifled artillery did not drive the enemy from the field of battle; but that superior bone and muscle won the day, as they have ever been wont to do, under any thing like equal conditions. If this view be correct, it must be considered that the triumph of the Prussians was simply that which history has rendered familiar to

Europe ever since the Goths, Vandals, and Huns overran the Italian Peninsula. Prussia, peopled by a muscular northern race, maintained herself, even when an infant state, against the time-honoured prestige of the Southern Power; as a powerful kingdom, she has held the decaying Empire of Austria at her mercy. This is a natural picture; and, if it be a correct one, the maxims of war need not be altered so much as many people have supposed.

In M. Guizot's "Last Days of Louis Philippe," of which the concluding volume has now been published, we have what is very rarely attainable; a minute record of recent historical events by one who can truly say *pars magna fui*, and whose veracity as to matters of fact would scarcely be doubted even by his political opponents. The many who now condemn the once popular administration of Louis Philippe have little further to say against M. Guizot than that he differs from them in opinion and consistently maintains his own views. It is well remembered that the timid monarch (timid, no doubt, because that decay had commenced, under which his reason sank only a few years afterwards), sought to save his popularity by dismissing a resolute ministry and calling in a popular favourite. A few hours later, the King was a fugitive, the so-called "Provisional Government" had usurped the royal functions, and M. Thiers, who was to have saved the kingdom, had no more influence than the merest parliamentary novice. Probably, M. Guizot may believe that the catastrophe which immediately followed the dismissal of the ministry might not have happened if it had been retained. Most ex-statesmen, under similar circumstances, would thus interpret cause and effect, and they would certainly have what lawyers call a *prima facie* case in their favour. The English of the present day, for the most part, take an opposite view; and the following observations of a contemporary may be fairly taken to express the public opinion, or at least the opinion of the majority of writers:—

"He sometimes makes mistakes while he slowly dissects, and he confounds causes with effects. He cuts deeply, but calmly, as a man might into a dead body, the autopsy of which could inflict little pain on any one. Nothing moves him out of a sublime complacency. He is not less cool when talking of trifles than when he is dealing with the culminating catastrophe. There is no one in history to match him. He is less put out than the Osmanlee, who, feeling that all things are ordained, cries under calamity that 'God is great.' As we read M. Guizot, we think of the lady who was 'mistress of herself, though China fall.'"

Dr. Motley's "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609," is progressing, the third and fourth volumes having been published. These two volumes embrace only a very short period of history, as far as the world in general is concerned, since they only carry us from 1590 to 1609. In the story of the Netherlands, however, a country which was winning its way from possible extinction to ultimate freedom and power, such a period is most important; and the author has ably laboured in the field which he made his own by his previous work on the "Dutch Republic."

"Dr. Motley may rest assured that volumes like these which he has just concluded, have not been written in vain. The story he has told would attract attention at any time; just now, it should stir the universal heart to be more than ever ready for every assault against freedom, civil or religious."

Two works on the Ancient History of India have been commenced. Each of these books has the disadvantage of being published in single volumes; and it is

difficult to say what the authors will appear to have produced when their labours are complete. These works may be watched as they go on. They are entitled, "The History of India, from the Earliest Ages," by J. Talboys Wheeler; and, "The History of India, as told by its own Historians; Mahommedan Period," edited from Posthumous Papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., by Professor John Dowson. There is much in the study of our Eastern Empire that is interesting; much, perhaps, that may prove instructive. Hitherto, however, Indian history and manners, and even Indian law, have been, to a great extent, treated by English writers as mere toys to play with. We are bound by various Charters and Acts to administer native law (as to certain branches, as marriage, inheritance, &c.) in our Courts in India. Yet in those Courts, and even in the Appeal Court of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the native laws are imperfectly studied and imperfectly administered. We have gone on a right principle; that of securing to the Mahommedans and Hindoos respectively the use of their ancient laws; but unless we take more pains to carry the principle into practice, we cannot expect to secure the complete confidence of our Indian fellow-subjects. It would seem, at the present time, that the interest in India is gradually, if not rapidly, increasing; and it is certain that several natives of India have been able to come over to the dominant country, and, without the prestige of rank or wealth, to take a respectable position as barristers, professors, and the like, by the side of their English compatriots. It may be hoped that the fusion will continue, and that the Queen's Indian subjects will ultimately be looked upon, not as a conquered race, but as the friends and brothers of a people who have civilized them and ennobled them by conquest. Nothing can more surely conduce to this result than the publication of such works as those to which we have just alluded, if these works are designed and carried out in a conscientious spirit. Such works will gradually bring home to the English mind the knowledge that Indian civilization was superior to ours, in many respects, in the middle ages, and that, so far from despising those who have not had the opportunity of advancing with the immense progress of Europe during the last three hundred years, we should take a pride and pleasure in helping them to come up to our European standard.

"Forty Years of the Moghul Empire," by Mr. Henry George Keene, of the Bengal Civil Service, is an interesting work, which carries the reader through one of the most exciting and extraordinary periods of Indian History. Mr. Keene begins at the death of the great Aurungzebe, and shows how the aggressive power of the Mahratta conquerors had virtually extinguished the old Mahommedan empire, when it was itself obscured and almost crushed by the more powerful aggression of the English. Mr. Keene comes to his task with enthusiasm, and his vivid writing shows him to be equal to the grandeur of the subject. The "London Review" forms a high estimate of his powers:—

"Of the flight of Gholam and his punishment; of the return of Sindeea to power; of the evil fortunes that now befell the Mussulmans of the empire; of the blind old emperor's attempt to exact tribute of the British; of the firm, but pacific policy of Lord Cornwallis 'in the diplomatic valley that occurred between Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley;' of Holkar and his designs, and of the French and theirs; of the final fall of the Mahratta power; of the reward of British ambition, and of the real significance of the possession of Delhi—no better account is extant than Mr. Keene's. So fluent and interesting a pen ought not to be idle. Mr. Keene often evinces pregnant thoughtfulness, even in little points, as where he speaks of a faith becoming 'weak and eclectic'—a combina-

tion full of truth and suggestion. If he will avoid an occasional inaccurate construction, and such phrases as 'silken minions' and 'the dagger and the bowl,' he will be on the rails of literary success, and it will be for himself to choose his terminus."

While on the subject of India, a country whose history is far too little known to those who now own her almost from north to south, we may devote a few lines to Mr. John Clark Marshman's "History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration," of which Vols. I. and II. have been published. Unfortunately, Mr. Marshman's book scarcely accords in its execution with the comprehensive nature of its title. Whether sufficient information is at hand for the compilation of a History of India "from the earliest period," a history which shall give us at least some brief particulars of the various changes of its once mighty empires, we do not undertake to say; but it is quite certain that, although Mr. Marshman's book has a value of its own, it cannot properly be characterized as a history of India from the beginning of known records.

"In these two volumes Mr. Marshman brings down his history to the close of Lord Amherst's government. His narrative throughout is necessarily very succinct, though it expands considerably after the appearance of the English on the stage. Two hundred pages are all he gives to the worthies who flourished before the Company. Akbar's reign, therefore, of fifty years, about which folios might be written, is compressed into twenty-three small pages."

The last work on General History that we need notice is one which, perhaps, might be considered to belong more properly to English History. Upon the whole, however, we have thought it best to put it in this place, since it concerns the history of three other European nations quite as much as our own. This is "Turkey and the Crimean War," by Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus Slade, K.C.B., who is known in the Turkish Navy by the name of Mushaver Pacha. His qualifications for writing such a book are great, since he was to a great extent an eye-witness of the war and its incidents; while his high and commanding position naturally enabled him to obtain, in some respects, a broader view than an inferior officer or an ordinary traveller could have commanded. From a careful criticism of this book in the "London Review," we extract the following remarks:—

"The gallant author of this work is well known as a distinguished officer in the Turkish service, from which, however, we believe he has now retired. His opinions on all subjects connected with that country are, therefore, well entitled to attention; while this contribution of his to the history of the Crimean War, in which he took an active part, must necessarily be of considerable value. The expectations with which we opened the book have not been disappointed. Although Sir Adolphus Slade is evidently favourably disposed towards a race amongst whom he has passed a considerable portion of his life, he is a keen and unsparing critic of the faults of the Government, and does not shrink from laying bare the sources of weakness and decay which are inherent in Ottoman society, and in the existing system of administration."

There is little of importance in the branch of Historical Biography. Perhaps, however, we may reckon under that head, the "Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket." This work is partly written and partly compiled by the Hon. David Plunket, a grandson of the once famous politician. It derives an additional interest from having an introductory preface by the veteran author, lawyer, and orator, Lord Brougham. The "Chronicle" gives the following clear and useful summary of the principal events of Lord Plunket's life:—

"Lord Plunket was one of the great Irishmen of the age of Burke and Grattan and the Duke of Wellington. He was contemporary with them all. He was born in 1764, and lived nearly a century, dying in 1854. The son of a Unitarian minister, famed for his wit and intelligence, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he figured in one of those academical debating societies which make our Universities so good a school for parliamentary life. He was afterwards called to the bar. His political career began in the Irish Parliament, in 1798, and he soon rose to be the leader of the opposition to the legislative union. After that measure was carried, his political future seemed a blank to him, and he devoted himself for seven years to his profession. Then he was sent to Westminster as Member for Dublin University, and he soon made himself the acknowledged champion of Catholic Emancipation. He pleaded for that cause in 1807, and, from 1813 to 1825, in the House of Commons, and in 1828 and 1829 in the House of Lords. The triumph of the measure seemed to complete his career; but he spoke in favour of Parliamentary Reform in 1831, and for the Commutation of Irish Tithes in 1832, when he finally retired, to devote himself to his duties as Irish Chancellor. In 1841, in consequence of a scandalous intrigue, in which Lord Campbell was the chief mover, he resigned his post and retired into private life."

From the above extract it will be seen that the period of Plunket's Parliamentary career embraced some of the most important of our modern political struggles. In the same periodical, we find a brief, but graphic portraiture of Plunket's political views, or perhaps we should rather say, of his political characteristics:—

"Plunket's support of Reform was based on the same constitutional principles as his support of Emancipation. Here he was not tempted to repeat his former mistakes. He looked at Reform, not as a felon to be resisted, but as a creditor whose debt he admitted, and only disputed on the instalments by which it should be paid. Hence his Reform speeches are wiser than his Emancipation speeches. He saw his way to carry out the principle, if not thoroughly, at least honestly, without marring it with artificial checks. He held that every subject had a right, not only to the protection of the law, but to a share in making or upholding the law that gave him protection; and the only cause he allowed to intervene and stay this right was the expediency of the State."

As to the merits of the book now produced:—

"The youthful speeches before the Historical Society in the Appendix are curious, because they indicate that the orator first formed his style on French models, from which, however, he quite emancipated himself in later life. Besides this mass of new and important matter, the two volumes contain excellent judgments upon Plunket's judicial qualities—for he was a great lawyer—and upon his style of oratory and methods of argument. The tone and temper of the work is very creditable, and when the youth of the writer is considered, its general literary excellence is remarkable."

The "Life of Abd-el-Kader" may, perhaps, be classed among the works of Historical Biography. It is written by Colonel Churchill, who professes to have derived much of his information from the bold and resolute man who once disputed with France the sovereignty of Algeria. As to this work we may quote the opinion of the "Chronicle":—

"Colonel Churchill's book contains a great deal of valuable, though undigested matter, and his narrative is full of interest. He exhibits the reverse of the medal,

of which the French writers have hitherto shown only one side. But his enthusiasm incapacitates him for forming a sound judgment on the occurrences he relates; and the history of Abd-el-Kader, in the true sense of the word, has still to be written."

In General Biography, we have a remarkable contribution, in the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by Robert C. Winthrop, published in Boston, U.S., and also in London. Winthrop was one of those who left England in the troubled times of the seventeenth century, and sought a home in the forests and wastes of the unknown land beyond the Atlantic. In such a man, as one of the founders of the English communities in America, the citizens of the United States must doubtless take the deepest and warmest interest. To us, however, the life of such a man is instructive, as it helps to show by what sports and accidents the Anglo-Saxon race has been spread, and with what resolute vigour our countrymen have sought for freedom of thought, even at the risk of every hardship and danger.

"It was in the spring of 1629-30 that John Winthrop went on board the 'Arbella;' and, accompanied by three other vessels, the 'Talbot,' the 'Ambrose,' and the 'Jewel,' sailed for Massachusetts, where some three hundred persons were bravely endeavouring to effect a permanent settlement, in the face of adverse seasons and disease. Other ships laden with emigrants followed in the wake of the 'Arbella,' so that the entire number of Winthrop's associates—including the seven or eight hundred members of his immediate expedition, the two or three hundred persons who arrived in America almost simultaneously with the Suffolk squire (though they did not make the passage in the Massachusetts Company's ships), and the second thousand of devout adventurers who followed at a brief interval—may be computed at two thousand souls. Considering the comparative fewness of the population of the mother country in the seventeenth century, this was a grand secession; and when it is also borne in mind that the host was principally drawn from one district, there is no occasion for wonder that the exodus was not soon forgotten by the people of the eastern counties. For the most part, the emigrants were yeomen, mechanics, and farm labourers, with their women and children; but, together with these people of inferior quality, there went some few persons of ancient lineage and blue blood. Himself a man of gentle descent, John Winthrop was by no means the best born of the emigrants. As fellow-passengers in the 'Arbella' he had Isaac Johnson, the largest subscriber to the Massachusetts Company; his wife, Lady Arbella Johnson, the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln; Sir Richard Saltonshall, with three sons and three daughters; William Coddington (afterwards Governor of Rhode Island), Thomas Dudley and his family, and George Phillips the minister."

Winthrop was bold, frugal, and self-denying. He became Governor of Massachusetts, and is naturally looked upon as the father of the modern State that goes by that name. He emigrated in 1630, and died nineteen years afterwards, leaving little or no fortune, in spite of the high position that he had occupied in the colony. Considering the state of the nascent community at that time, placed on a strange shore, and having but little intercourse with the rest of the world, it may perhaps be a matter of astonishment that John Winthrop left so much as one hundred pounds behind him.

A "Memoir of William Hazlitt" has recently been written by his grandson, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt. The deceased W. Hazlitt is a fair type of the literary man,

pure et simple, of the early part of the present century. He left no books which are likely to make his name known to posterity; yet, in literary circles, no name is more frequently mentioned. There can be no doubt that he was a man of talent and versatility; and it is a satisfactory thing that his life should have been written; for he was one of many literary men who have done good work in their time, without happening to strike, in the course of their career, on any point of enduring interest.

The Memoir of Professor William Edmondstone Aytoun, author of "*Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*," and many other works of some reputation, demands a momentary notice. It is written by Mr. Theodore Martin, who has the credit of having been associated with the late Professor in some of his most successful literary efforts. The following is a brief but expressive opinion of the biography and its subject:—

"The memoir of Professor Aytoun, by Mr. Theodore Martin, exhibits in a high degree one of the most valuable powers a biographer can have—the power of putting his readers completely at home with the subject of his biography. Aytoun was not by any means a profound thinker, nor had he any great energy in action: but his letters, and the little anecdotes which are told of him, overflow with kindly and genuine humour. This, indeed, was his strong point. To any thing higher he never rose, though he often made the attempt. "Bothwell," the most ambitious of all his works, was perhaps the greatest failure of all. The feeling throughout is forced and stilted, and there is a painful sense of conscious unreality about the whole poem; it was in playful burlesque, or as a squib writer, that he was in his proper line; and here he had very few equals, either in prose or verse."

A new life of Sir Philip Francis would scarcely be worthy of notice, but for the fact that the author of the celebrated letters of "*Junius*" has never been discovered, and that this memoir of the man to whom these letters are most commonly attributed is written by so eminent a person as Mr. Herman Merivale. In these volumes the old question of the authorship of the letters is once more discussed, and once more left unsettled, as it will probably remain for ever. Possibly, if the truth could be known, it would turn out that they were not all composed by the same person, any more than the leaders in the "*Times*," which are now believed by many elderly ladies to be written by some clever literary man of their acquaintance. As a mere life of a rather unimportant person, Mr. Merivale's book could have little value; but it is interesting as a record of a time which, though so near our own in date, was so very different in manners.

Last in the order of arrangement in our list of books of General Biography, but first in honour, we shall place the work entitled "*The Early Years of H.R.H. the Prince Consort*," compiled under the direction of Her Majesty, by Lieut.-General the Hon. C. Grey. This book is an affectionate tribute of our Queen to the memory of her deceased husband; and it serves to throw much light on the inner life of a man to whom England had much reason to be grateful, since he never used his high position for any party purposes, but was content, although the first subject in the kingdom, to be politically ignored, in compliance with the spirit of the English constitution. One of the most remarkable features of this book is, that it contains a good deal of matter furnished by the Sovereign herself.

"No homage which the Queen has paid to her husband's memory is more expressive than the humility and simple confidence with which in '*The Early*

Years of H.R.H. the Prince Consort,' she has trusted to the world particulars relating to herself. The candour with which she has published the events that led to their engagement, and their feelings and impressions, is not more striking than the assiduous self-denial which causes the interest always to centre in the Prince. The Queen is kept out of sight whenever her presence is not required to illustrate his life; but the details which can contribute to that object have been taken from her diaries, memoranda, and correspondence with a devoted fearlessness. Although the first book was circulated among relatives and friends only, what it gives us is not merely the privilege of overhearing the tale of love and grief, whispered by a mother to her children, but a great argument of history, a resolute attempt to make the nation understand the most illustrious character the royal family has possessed since the accession of the dynasty. To accomplish this high purpose, the Queen has not shrunk from sacrifices which men seldom make, and monarchs never."

We add a brief summary of the Prince's character, including two important quotations from the book which we have mentioned.

"Of the beauty of the Prince's character, we find in this volume many illustrations. In lines which bear traces of the Queen's own hand, we have a brief record of the rules of conduct which he adopted in his high and difficult position. 'From the moment of his establishment in the English palace,' we read, 'as the husband of the Queen, his first object was to maintain, and, if possible, even raise the character of the Court. With this view, he knew that it was not enough that his own conduct should be in truth free from reproach; no shadow of a shade of suspicion should, by possibility, attach to it. He knew that, in his position, every action would be scanned,—not always, possibly, in a friendly spirit; that his goings-out and his comings-in would be watched; and that in every society, however little disposed to be censorious, there would always be some prone, were an opening afforded, to exaggerate, and even to invent stories against him, and to put an uncharitable construction on the most innocent acts. He therefore, from the first, laid down strict, not to say severe, rules for his own guidance. He imposed a degree of restraint and self-denial upon his own movements which could not but have been irksome, had he not been sustained by a sense of the advantage which the throne would derive from it. He denied himself the pleasure—which, to one so fond as he was of personally watching and inspecting every improvement that was in progress, would have been very great—of walking at will about the town. Wherever he went, whether in a carriage or on horseback, he was accompanied by his equerry. He paid no visits in general society. His visits were to the studio of the artist, in museums of art or science, to institutions for good and benevolent purposes. Wherever a visit from him, or his presence, could tend to advance the real good of the people, there his horses might be seen waiting; never at the door of mere fashion. Scandal itself could take no liberty with his name.'"

"With what strictness of self-denial the Prince carried out these admirable rules of conduct, society is well aware. Perhaps he would have gained in fleeting favour, at least with certain classes, had he been less devoted and conscientious. He was a model gentleman; and there are certain people who think that a man of irreproachable conduct must necessarily be a bore. We can hardly be wrong in thinking that this pregnant passage is from the Queen's own hand:—'There were some, undoubtedly, who would gladly have seen his conduct the reverse of all this, with whom he would have been more popular, had he shared habitually

and indiscriminately in the gaieties of the fashionable world; had he been a regular attendant at the racecourse; had he, in short, imitated the free lives, and even, it must be said, the vices of former generations of the royal family. But the country generally know how to estimate and admire the beauty of domestic life, beyond reproach or the possibility of reproach, of which the Queen and he set so noble an example. It is this which has been the glory and the strength of the throne in our day, and which has won for the English Court the love and veneration of the British people, and the respect of the world. Above all, he has set an example for his children, from which they may be sure they can never deviate without falling in public estimation, and running the risk of undoing the work which he has been so instrumental in accomplishing.' Words, whoever penned them, full of weight and wisdom. The English people are a virtuous and domestic people, who have been proud to see the domestic virtues flourishing in the highest household in the land, and glad to trace this noble state of things to the pure lives and bright examples of the Queen and Prince."

The works of Artistic Biography are very few. Two accounts, however, of Holbein and his times have been published: one by Mr. Ralph Nicholson Wornum, the other by Dr. Alfred Woltmann. Each of these books is very important in its own way; and the world has the additional advantage of having presented to it, at the same time, and with the same opportunities of investigation, two independent works; one by a native of the country which gave birth to Holbein, the other by a native of that in which he was so long honoured, and composed so many of his works. It appears (at least the critics are coming to this conclusion), that the actually existing works of Holbein are very rare, and that the vast majority of paintings usually attributed to him were actually executed by other hands. In short, it would almost seem that our old families (careless, too often, about their pictures, except so far as their material preservation is concerned) had got into the habit of calling every thing a "Holbein" which was sufficiently old and sufficiently dignified in appearance. Recent discoveries, among others that of Holbein's will by Mr. Black, have dislodged a good many of these usurping pictures from their temporary thrones. Mr. Wornum and Dr. Woltmann are both well versed in Holbein lore:—

"With regard to Mr. Wornum's excellent contribution to our Art literature, let us say that it is all the more valuable, because the writer has added to the results of his own critical analyses and inquiries that which accrues from the latest researches, Dr. Woltmann's included; so that this book perfectly represents the present state of our knowledge.

"In addition to what has been said above about Dr. Woltmann's elaborate and learned work, let it be known that it carries us so far in Holbein's life as his coming to this country permitted, and has special reference to the master's pictures now remaining in his own city. The author revises Passavant's account of the first alleged Holbein, and reprints those portions of the tax-papers of Augsburg, 1454–1522, which refer to the settlement of the Holbeins in that city. He discovered that the document which Dr. Waagen and Passavant innocently promulgated, to satisfy us that the famous 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian' (now in the Pinacothek, Munich), once ascribed to Holbein the father, but since, in part, to his son, was the gift of Magdalena Imhoff and certain lay-sisters of the Katherinen Kloster, and described as 'the work of the Art-wealthy painter Holbein, in 1515,' had been wonderfully enlarged from a single statement, that those persons gave money to add a (probably wooden) figure of St. Sebastian to

the rood of their church, so that the anticipated verification of artistic convictions as to the authorship of this picture was naught—the date of its execution nowhere.”

Another noteworthy book in this branch of biography is that of Dr. Henry Lonsdale, “*The Life and Works of Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson, Sculptor.*” A weekly contemporary thus begins its notice of this book:—

“‘Ah, sir! I have been preaching for years to the people that they had a great man amongst them: they will find it out now he has gone. Poor Watson!’ These were Rogers’s words, of one of the ablest of modern sculptors, upon whose shoulders the mantle of Flaxman had worthily fallen, to whom is due the honour of having once approached Flaxman himself.”

Like many able artists, Watson can scarcely be considered to have attained the zenith of his fame during his lifetime. It is sad to reflect upon this; but the circumstance is to be accounted for mainly by the fact that he lived during the time of several already eminent sculptors, and that he died in his forty-fourth year. Had he lived a few years longer, he might have reaped in peace and contentment the harvest which he had abundantly sown. His biographer and critics seem to attribute his comparative want of material success, in some measure, to eccentric habits and peculiarities of temperament. It is not, however, necessary to seek such an explanation; nor, in fact, would such an explanation suffice. Eccentric men have attained the highest fame, ere now, in all professions, and perhaps in artistic pursuits more than in any other. The following remarks of the “*Chronicle*” are much to the point, and give a fair idea both of the sculptor and of Dr. Lonsdale’s biography:—

“There can be no doubt that Musgrave Lewthwaite Watson deserved some such record as Dr. Lonsdale’s biography. In the meagre annals of British sculpture, since Flaxman, he stands out prominently as a man of sound knowledge and attainment, superior capacity, genuine and reasonably-aimed enthusiasm, and, above all, of some actual performance of a solid and permanent, if not brilliant reputation. Had he lived longer, and worked under more favourable conditions, he might probably have done much: even as it is, he did enough for eminence, according to the circumstances of his time and country. His best works show right artistic sense and personal superiority, two qualities which demand well-trained executive powers to make themselves fully felt in the difficult art of sculpture, but which, when thus enforced, avail to separate the sculptural work by a wide interval from that of ordinary practitioners. His friend and admirer, Dr. Lonsdale, has produced, in the present volume, a characteristic piece of biography, marked, indeed, by some peculiarities, both of style and personal opinion, but well adapted to fulfil its direct purpose, and more than ordinarily readable.”

In *Collective Biography*, we have a fifth volume of “*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*,” by Walter Farquhar Hook, Dean of Chichester. This volume comprises the “*Middle Age Period*,” and gives the lives of Chichely, Stafford, Kemp, Bouchier, Norton, and Deane. A contemporary aptly remarks that the reader may find profit in comparing Dean Hook’s work with the late Lord Campbell’s “*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*,” since, in many instances, the Archbishops and the Chancellors were identical. Works of this kind, if honestly written, cannot be amusing throughout; for, in any given series of dignitaries, many must have had uneventful lives. The present volume of Dr. Hook’s work comprises a stormy period, in which the sword was seldom sheathed, and the lives of warriors were more prominent than those of prelates. Accordingly, we

are told by a contemporary, that this volume, though worthy of its predecessors, is not the most interesting of the series to which it belongs. Future volumes, as our contemporary reminds us, will include the period of Warham, Cranmer, Pole, and Parker, a period in which the history of the Church is almost literally the history of the nation.

The "Lives of Indian Officers," by John William Kaye, is the work of a man who is thoroughly equal to his task, as he has shown by his previous undertakings. Nevertheless, it would be well that Mr. Kaye, whose time, it must be presumed, is at least partially occupied by the duties of his permanent post at the India Office, should not undertake too much at once. His "History of the Indian Mutiny," of which a portion was published in 1864 (see *Ann. Reg.*, 1864, p. 296), is not yet finished. There may, however, be reasons, with which we are unacquainted, which lead him to publish a fresh work before concluding one which is of so great importance that it might well be supposed to have claims upon all his available time. Concerning the value of the present work, there can be no doubt, whether we consider the importance of the subject or the literary skill with which the design is carried out. Too little is known at home of India, and of the brave and able Englishmen who have obtained distinction there. With few exceptions, arising generally from some soul-stirring event (such, for instance, as the Mutiny), which for a moment has arrested the attention of the civilized world, the heroes of our Eastern battle-fields are merely looked upon as "old Indians" when they come home. We know that they have done something, but we scarcely think of inquiring what that something is; and if they were to tell us the scene of their exploits, we should be obliged to refer to a map before we could accurately appreciate even the geographical position of the battles which they have won. When we consider how important a training school our Indian empire has been, we cannot but echo the desire expressed by Mr. Kaye, that many, contemplating the heroic examples of the men he has described, will endeavour to do likewise. We extract the following remarks from a contemporary :—

"We say at once, that more admirably written and interesting narratives are scarcely to be found in any literature. We do not envy the man who could read without deep emotion the lives here given of Arthur Conolly, Henry Lawrence, and John Nicholson; and we doubt whether the whole range of history can show more perfect characters. Nobler subjects of biography could not have been chosen, and higher praise it is impossible to bestow on a writer, than to say, as we do of this author, that he is fully equal to such a theme."

A very interesting contribution to this class of literature is Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer's work entitled "Historical Characters." Sir Henry is well known to the world as a veteran diplomatist. He will now be known as a writer, to whom has occurred the happy idea of grouping, in a single series of volumes, the instructive careers of men who have moved the world in their time. This is a very different task from the ordinary one of a servile biographer. The splendid works which usually issue from the press on the death of eminent men are, for the most part, mere works of panegyric. To such a prostitution of talent the collective biographer has no temptation. He may, indeed, like any other writer, fall into prejudice or error; but he has no immediate inducement to become a mere advocate. With regard to Sir H. L. Bulwer's work we read :—

"Each of Sir Henry Bulwer's heroes thus accomplished some great work, all tending to the extension of liberty and the blessings which come in its train.

In some cases this tendency has been checked by the passions, prejudices, and selfishness of men. Not less honour is due to the heroes. They could not have had a more impartial or a more brilliant expositor and commentator than Sir Henry Bulwer. We congratulate him that his complete leisure, after much diplomatic service, created in him the wish for some employment, and that he could gratify his own wish and the public taste by producing two such preliminary volumes as these. Sir Robert Peel and some of his contemporaries are to succeed."

The works which we have to notice in Theology and Biblical Literature are of some importance, though not very numerous. We always wish it to be remembered that this "Retrospect" is strictly secular, and that we only mention such works on Theology as would be considered as works of history, criticism, or the like, to possess some literary importance, even if they were written on any other subject. We have first to mention "The Apocryphal Gospels and other documents relating to the History of Christ." This is a translation from originals in Greek, Latin, Syriac, &c., with notes, scriptural references, and prolegomena, by B. W. Cowper. It may not be uninteresting to compare the Canonical books of Scripture with the numerous works which a contemporary lucidly defines as those "which indicate a design on the part of their authors that they should be regarded as canonical, but to which the Church refused a place in the canon, on the ground of their doubtful origin and legendary contents." We may thus perceive that the early Church had no sinecure position, and learn to be thankful that so much ground was cleared for us, instead of imagining, as we are too often inclined to do, that all accuracy of criticism has sprung up, for the first time, within the last few years.

"Mr. Cowper is a worthy successor of Jones, making a more important contribution to pseudonymous literature, and in a great measure superseding the labour of that able scholar. The Introduction is not what it should be; but all have not the sagacity of Thilo or Ewald to set forth the genesis, the date, and the composition of the curious documents so well edited by Tischendorf. Mr. Cowper has performed the function of a translator with accuracy, leaving it to a future critic to enter into the anatomy of the spurious Gospels which the Church justly excluded from the Canon. We shall rejoice if he succeeds in awakening an interest in such literature in England."

The "Commentary on the Old Testament," with a new translation, by Dr. M. M. Kalisch, of which a portion was published nine years ago, and a small fragment now appears, is the work, we are told, of a man of great reading and study. It consists, to a great extent, of essays on the Hebrew Priesthood, and dissertations on sacrifices of the Hebrews and other nations. When we mention that in the present instalment we have twenty-five dissertations and five essays, while only ten chapters of the Bible are included in the translation and commentary, it will be at once seen that Dr. Kalisch's work is intended rather for the antiquary than for the theologian.

Of a totally different character is Archbishop Trench's work entitled "Studies in the Gospels." Dr. Trench starts, as it were, from within, and not from without. He is an agreeable writer, and his essays will be read with some advantage even by those who do not agree with him on all points.

A second portion (Part II.) of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," edited by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, has been published. With respect to this book we may quote the following passage from the "London Review":—

"This second and concluding volume of Mr. Blunt's great work on the English Liturgy is fully entitled to the commendations we passed upon its predecessor, as a production of a high historical and theological value. The candid Romanist will find in these volumes an ample and historical refutation of the common charge made against the Church of England, that her Liturgy was not the growth of the primitive Catholic Church, but the mere creature of the Reformation. The sound Churchman will find there abundant grounds for increasing attachment to that Church which has so well preserved Catholic truth and primitive discipline, and freed them from the corruptions and complications of Popery. Here, too, the advocate for a moderate and safe revision of our Prayer Book cannot fail to strengthen his position by historical arguments, equally weighty and illustrative; for nothing can be clearer, from the work before us, than the fact that our present Liturgy is but a revision of long-existing services."

Lastly, in this branch of our subject, we have to mention Mr. J. Craigie Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," of which the third volume has appeared. This volume comprises the period from 1122 to 1303 A.D. The study of the history of this period shows how hard a struggle the Church had to maintain against sectaries of various kinds, some of whom developed social tenets of a most extraordinary and noxious character. These are matters of which the ordinary English reader of the present day knows very little; but the traditional feeling of the Romish Church was probably affected by them; and the recollection of such things may have had a considerable influence in causing the severe measures which were taken against the Albigenes, Waldenses, and Lollards, in the Middle Ages.

"The difficult task which Mr. Robertson has undertaken is here pursued with skill and effect. The author has his subject so well in hand, that, although difficulties in the way of accomplishment necessarily exist, they do not appear to the reader. The latter, however, will at once comprehend them, if he notes the wide extent over which the author's mind ranges, the variety of questions he has to discuss, the disagreements he has to reconcile, and the amount of evidence he has had to examine, before he could come to a conclusion or render a judgment. When these things are considered, the grace, clearness, and charm of the work will appear great."

In the department of English Literature we have a second instalment of Mr. Henry Morley's work, "English Writers;" a work which seems likely, at its present rate of progress, to go over a long series of years before it attains its full dimensions. If it should be so, the only circumstance to be regretted would be that, by some unforeseen circumstance, Mr. Morley might be prevented from finishing his task. This would be a misfortune to English readers, if we may trust the critics, who speak well of Mr. Morley's powers and of the way in which his work has been executed up to the present time. The first portion of his book treated, as far as we can remember, of English literature before Chaucer; the portion recently published (Vol. II., Part 1) takes us only from Chaucer to the time of the Scottish poet Dunbar. The "Athenæum" bears strong testimony to Mr. Morley's powers:—

"We close this volume, which is complete in itself, as a history of Chaucer and of Gower, of their works and of their times, with the remark that all readers of those two noble fathers in the courts of English poetry will find many a difficulty relieved and many a pleasure heightened by consulting Professor Morley's

volume; and that no student of our poetry who is about to address himself to a patient perusal of the two poets we have just named should commence his task till he has gone through a previous process—in which he will find no less pleasure than profit—that of making himself familiar with the contents of this elaborate and well-executed work.”

In *Travels and Geography* a good many works have been issued, but few of lasting importance. The discoverer of lake Albert Nyanza (Sir Samuel Baker), has published a work called “*The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*,” of which the “*Chronicle*” says:—“Sir Samuel Baker’s examination of the Nile tributaries of Abyssinia is, however, so nearly thorough and complete, as to leave very little to be desired.” Many other books have been published about Abyssinia, but most of them are merely called forth by the momentary popularity of the subject, and have no real value. Some are full of falsehood; most of them display the grossest ignorance; in fact, they afford a melancholy instance of the excess to which the mechanical art of “book-making” is now carried. On the other hand, the Hakluyt Society has done good service by collecting mediæval notices of China, edited and furnished with a preliminary essay by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B. “*The Open Polar Sea*,” by J. J. Hayes, is a most interesting book, describing the exploits of the American traveller, who (as mentioned in another part of our “*Retrospect*”) has been rewarded by an English Society for his services in Arctic exploration. Three more works, of great but partial interest, may be mentioned; “*Madagascar Revisited*,” by the Rev. W. Ellis; “*The Turks, the Greeks, and the Slavons*,” by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby; and “*A Journey in Ashango Land*,” by P. B. Du Chaillu. Of these, the first-mentioned is perhaps the most important.

“During Mr. Ellis’s visit the number of Christians in the capital and villages increased from 7000 to 18,000, and the work of conversion is still going on. This account of what he saw during the four years of his stay in Madagascar, forms a most interesting narrative, and opens to us a state of society which, whether as regards the native Christians or the heathen, is well worthy of attention.”

In that branch of Philology which comprises translations from Ancient Writers, one most important work is the “*Peace*” of Aristophanes, metrically translated by Mr. Benjamin Bickley Rogers, a gentleman who obtained a first-class in *literis humanioribus* at Oxford, and who published anonymously, about fourteen years ago, a translation of the “*Clouds*.”

“Altogether, if the comedies of Aristophanes are to be naturalized in English, it would not be easy to find a translator more suited in every way for the task than Mr. Rogers has shown himself to be.”

“The work now before us seems to have all the merits which distinguished Mr. Rogers’s former performance as a translation, while, as a piece of critical editing, it is decidedly superior to it.”

Two other metrical translations are well spoken of, namely, that of the “*Crowned Hippolytus*” of Euripides, by M. P. Fitz-Gerald, and that of the “*Prometheus Bound*” of Æschylus, by C. B. Cayley. We may hope, perhaps, in time, to have the ancient writers fairly represented, for the benefit of those who cannot read their works in the original.

Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood’s work, entitled a “*Dictionary of English Etymology*,” is considered by a contemporary to represent “the most advanced state of English scholarship.”

"The Early English Text Society," says a contemporary, "are rendering service to English people who desire to know of what stuff, strength, sound, and sinew the fine old mother-tongue is made. The Society has existed little more than three years. In that time it has about quadrupled its annual income, and tripled its number of members and its issue of volumes. These volumes are now competed for as prizes in English, Irish, and Scottish universities."

Among the remarkable volumes issued by the Society during the last twelve-month are, "Don Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt," in the Kentish dialect (fourteenth century), edited by Richard Morris: and "The Stacions of Rome," and "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, the Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems" (fifteenth century), edited by F. J. Furnivall.

In Antiquities and Archæology, the most remarkable works of the year are those which treat of the rudely-carved inscriptions or figures which are to be found on stones scattered here and there in the British islands and in the Scandinavian countries:—the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," by John Stuart; and "Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, &c., upon Stones or Rocks in England, Scotland, and other Countries," by Sir J. Y. Simpson. Although antiquarian students have arrived at some conclusions respecting these ancient memorials, yet, upon the whole, the question of the meaning and object of these monuments seems to be involved in a good deal of mystery. The work of Professor George Stephens, who occupies the chair of Anglo-Saxon Literature in the University of Copenhagen, surpasses, in the grandeur of its plan, every other work on the subject. It is entitled, "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." We hope that Professor Stephens will be enabled to bring his design to a conclusion. At present only Part I. is published.

In the world of Fiction, a good deal has been done, but nothing which will mark the year as the date of any extraordinary production. Mr. Anthony Trollope has concluded his "Last Chronicles of Barset," a novel of the regular Anthony Trollope type, with many of the old characters revived. Mr. T. Adolphus Trollope, Mr. Henry Kingsley, Mr. Edmund Yates, Mr. Mark Lemon, and the author who uses the *nom de plume* of Holme Lee, are among the authors of established name who have added to the lists of their works. As a general rule, the novels of this year seem to have been above the average, and several authors who were little known before, have improved their position. Among the most promising of the works that have done this service for their writers are, "Anne Judge, Spinster," by Mr. F. W. Robinson; "The Pretty Widow," a very bright and humorous story, by Charles H. Ross; and "Mabel's Progress," a novel of a more serious and aspiring kind, by the anonymous author of "Aunt Margaret's Trouble." Of the last mentioned author the "Athenæum" says:—"Aunt Margaret's Trouble" was a novel which showed that the author's powers were considerable; but 'Mabel's Progress' at once places her in the first rank of living English novelists."

In Poetry, three well-known authors, Algernon Charles Swinburne, Robert Buchanan, and Jean Ingelow, have left their mark on the year. Mr. Swinburne's reputation, already well established, can scarcely be said to have been increased by his "Song of Italy," a rhapsody having Mazzini, Garibaldi, and other unquiet spirits for its burden. Mr. Buchanan's "North Coast, and other Poems," a collection of poems on various subjects, partly new and partly reprinted, was brought out in a very handsome form, and is described as a genuine addition to our store of poetic wealth. In "A Story of Doom, and other Poems,"

Miss Ingelow has given a fair example of her style, which is deeper and more powerful than we are generally accustomed to expect in female writers. The Hon. Robert Lytton, well known previously by the *nom de plume* of Owen Meredith, has published a work of promise under the title of "Chronicles and Characters." Mr. William Morris, who wrote "Defence of Guinevere, and other Poems" some years ago, has again appeared before the public as author of "The Life and Death of Jason." Mr. Morris, we read, "has displayed poetic qualities rare in themselves, and especially rare in these days, when poets, amongst others, have too much conformed to the public impatience of high art." There is a good deal in this reflection; there is no doubt that most young poets, following the example of one or two successful men, are apt to think that the art of writing poetry consists in putting the language of every-day life into metre.

Under the head of Essays, we have Vol. III. of Mr. John Stuart Mill's "Dissertations and Discussions;" and Archbishop Manning's "Essays on Religion and Literature," by various writers. Of these collections, each remarkable in its way, we need only observe here that they are both very ably written, but that they are the work of advocates of two schools of speculation which are utterly antagonistic to one another. A different work altogether is Mr. Cyrus Redding's "Personal Reminiscences of Eminent Men," which contains interesting sketches of many remarkable men who caused the world to talk half a century ago, but who might easily be forgotten if such books as Mr. Redding's were not written.

It is seldom that among the books which, in order to avoid too many divisions in our small space, we are obliged to call "Miscellaneous," we have to mention so important a work as Mr. William Hepworth Dixon's "New America." This work rapidly passed through seven editions, and was, beyond all doubt, the great literary success of the year. By the study of many years, Mr. Dixon has laboured to understand the strange movements which have been going on independently in various parts of the world in favour of remodelling the law of marriage; or, rather, of abolishing that law, and substituting for it some tie of a less solemn and less delicate character. Mr. Dixon has put the key-stone to his work, by his visit to the Mormons, the Community of Oneida Creek, and various other American sects; and he has been able to place before his readers the clear and graphic account of an eye-witness, where darkness, or, at best, a kind of confused half-knowledge, prevailed before. The following estimate of the high value of Mr. Dixon's labours is found in the pages of the "London Review:"—

"Mr. Dixon has written a very interesting and amusing book. . . . The Mormons are the centre of attraction, and certainly Mr. Dixon has not failed, either in courage or in diligence, in putting an exhaustive and candid record of his experiences of these strange fanatics before us. He virtually is the first writer who has done so. All other accounts which we have seen failed, either through bigotry or through ignorance, in disclosing the real condition of affairs. Here, however, we get a distinct and trustworthy narrative from an observer, who speaks with a candour and a discretion which does him considerable credit, considering the difficulty of mentioning ugly things without rendering them more revolting by a mistaken prudery. Mr. Dixon is not more facetious than he can help, for it is quite impossible for any man to keep his countenance altogether under control while being instructed in the mysteries of the Mormon persuasion. He is not inhospitable enough to abuse people who appear, whatever may be their Biblical faults, to possess one at least of the Biblical virtues; and,

while showing the curious and springing influences which are developing out of this strange community, while contrasting its growth and history with that of other sects, he does not attempt to overwhelm us with a theory or a prophecy such as a Rationalistic writer could never resist the temptation of composing."

"Curious Myths of the Middle Ages" (Second Series), by Mr. S. Baring-Gould, is a very remarkable and very amusing book, in which the author is not contented with exposing the fallacy of numerous old legends, but does his utmost, and often with singular success, to prove, or at least to conjecture plausibly, the origin of the various tales. We make the following extract from the "Athenæum":—

"Interesting as was Mr. Gould's first series of Curious Myths, the second surpasses its predecessor, both in general interest and ability of treatment. . . . If we do not always acquiesce in his descriptions or arguments, we seldom differ from him without hesitation.

"In such a work as Mr. Gould has furnished in the first and second series, we are not merely in the Old World; the author leads us from that into the New; and, taking the myth from the beginning, makes it the companion of the common way, and shows how it has changed with time and circumstance, and how the ideas, which were shaped in the prolific and ancient East, have grown, blossomed, flowered, fructified, and become as cherished realities now daily about and around us."

"Nooks and Corners of English Life, Past and Present," by Mr. John Timbs, is a pleasant and useful book by a well-known writer. The title is sufficient to explain the nature of the work. We may add, that on many points (as for instance, that of the curfew) the author has made careful investigations, and has placed himself in a higher position than that of a mere compiler.

"Mr. Timbs is one of the most useful and entertaining of book-makers, and in none of his volumes has he brought together a mass of facts more likely to instruct as well as to amuse, than in the one before us."

One of the weekly literary periodicals, "The Reader," became extinct nearly at the commencement of the year. The "Athenæum," "London Review," "Saturday Review," and "Spectator," continue to flourish. To the "Athenæum" and "London Review" we are indebted for much assistance in making our "Retrospect;" and we have, on the present occasion, to express our obligations to the "Chronicle" also. This is a weekly publication, in the form of the "Saturday Review," but written in a more serious tone. Into its pages a joke, or any thing resembling a joke, is seldom admitted. It resembles the "Saturday" and the "London" Reviews, in being devoted in part to the discussion of political and general topics, the "Athenæum" and the "London Review" in going over the whole field of literature, instead of confining itself to a small selection of works. Its religious views are said to be those of Rome, its politics those popularly known as of the advanced Liberal school. General opinion pronounces it to be very well written. Among daily papers, the "Glowworm," while still retaining the peculiar feature which we mentioned in our "Retrospect" for a former year, has so far altered its character in other respects, that it may be considered almost a new periodical. It still makes theatrical and sporting matters to some extent a feature; but, with a new editor of liberal education and well-known ability, and an able staff of political and literary writers, it now possesses all the essentials of a first-class evening paper. Its line in politics is described as "Constitutionalism," which, in these days, when parties are mixed

and landmarks are indistinct, we take to mean the principle of opposing the inroads of democracy and maintaining our institutions in their integrity.

Several additions have been made to the number of comic weekly periodicals. Of these "The Tomahawk" appears to be the most successful, being illustrated with much artistic care, though without the irresistible humour sometimes displayed by the older periodicals.

The death of Sir Archibald Alison, on the 23rd of May, deprived our country of a historian whose services, in the present days of historical essay writing, are justly appreciated only by a few. It is the fashion now to write on one side, that which is vaguely called the liberal side, but which, with singular inconsistency, counts among its fundamental rules the systematic depreciation of England's efforts in the cause of European liberty. Sir Archibald Alison took the opposite view, and his "History of Europe" contains a laborious record of the unequal struggle, long doubtful, but at last successful, of a small constitutional kingdom against the gigantic forces of an unscrupulous autocrat. In the cause of justice and truth against aggression and treachery Sir Archibald was a fearless advocate; and if his style lacked the popular graces of some contemporary writers, his honourable motive must earn for him a more sincere and lasting respect.

Another familiar name, that of Mrs. Sarah Taylor Austin, marks the year's obituary. Mrs. Austin was best known to the public as a translator; but a contemporary reminds us that she has also worked, as it were, behind the scenes of literature, and sent numerous contributions to the "Athenæum" and other literary journals. Perhaps her translation of Ranke's "History of the Popes" may be considered her most famous work. She died on the 8th of August, having survived her husband, a barrister distinguished for his labours in the field of jurisprudence, a great many years.

Mr. John Rutter Chorley, well known in literary circles, perhaps still more in musical circles, as a contributor to the "Athenæum," died on the 30th of June. It is not too much to say, that, in the musical profession, the praise of the "Athenæum" has long been looked for as the most solid test of merit. Although few musicians agreed entirely with Mr. Chorley (but when did any two men agree entirely on musical matters?), yet they all desired his favourable judgment, and knew that he wielded a powerful influence. The "Athenæum," whose conductors should know more than any body else about him, assures us that in Spanish literary history he was without a rival, and that his studies in French, German, and Italian *belles lettres* went beyond the average efforts even of scholars. Mr. Chorley is a type of the particular class created by (and, in another sense, creating) the periodical literature of modern times; men who labour constantly and earnestly, without the excitement or the temptation of popularity, and whose utterings are not, perhaps, the less decided or the less influential because the speakers are unseen.

ART.

THE second Exhibition of National Portraits took place this year at Kensington. It may be remembered that the first National Portrait Exhibition, in the year 1866, included portraits of historical and genealogical interest, from the earliest possible period down to the year 1700. To persons of antiquarian research, such a collection was most interesting; and in an artistic point of view the scheme was of much value, since it not only assembled the works of Memlinc, Holbein, and numerous painters of eminence, but it also afforded to genuine connoisseurs an opportunity of detecting, by comparison, the false pretensions of many paintings by unknown hands which had long been described as the works of eminent masters. A fair idea of the second Exhibition may be gathered from the observations with which the "Athenæum" prefaces its series of careful notices:—

"The second annual collection of National Portraits consists of 866 works, which include about 180 pictures by Reynolds and Gainsborough. The western galleries at South Kensington, which were found before to be so inconveniently placed, are not used again; but several rooms at the east end of the building and a gallery on the north have been appropriated in their stead. The period illustrated by this gathering is that which extends between the termination of the former collection and the commencement of the present century. Although far inferior in interest to the period which the last display embraced, with its Memlinc, Holbein, and those many anonymous masters whose fame he eclipsed,—Mark Gerard, Houthorst, Jansen, Lely, More, Mytens, Vandyck, Van Somer, and Walker, the present mass is very instructive in its earlier portions, and rich in the productions of Kneller, Richardson, Riley, and Laguerre. In the middle period we notice Hogarth's *Duchess of Bolton* (240); Allan Ramsay's '*The beautiful Molly Lepel*' (*Lady Hervey*, 258); Reynolds's *Lord Cathcart*, with the patch over the wound he got at Fontenoy, and was so proud of (295); *Marquis of Granby* (323), the bust-portrait, original of countless sign-boards; Goldsmith, seated, writing (374), by Hogarth; ladies, gentlemen, rascals, and demireps, by Reynolds and Gainsborough, too numerous to mention; and a large number of pictures by Wright of Derby, Northcote, Romney, Hoppner, Opie, Beechey, A. Kauffman, Raeburn, and Lawrence. Among Reynolds's female portraits may be additionally named the *Duchess of Manchester*, well known by V. Green's print (865), *Countess of Ilchester* (847), *Duchess of Devonshire and her Daughter* (773), *Lord H. and Lady C. Spencer* (713), *Countess of Powis* (697), *Lady Dashwood and Son* (696), *Mrs. Sheridan* (665), and *Duchess of Gloucester* (461). We remain of opinion that the collection is excessive in numbers, and that, at most, 500 pictures should have been the limit."

The same publication concludes its final notice with a just tribute of praise to those who have assisted in forming the temporary collection:—

"We must conclude here, with hearty thanks to the gentlemen whose taste and energy have brought before the public this magnificent collection of portraits—a gathering which is only inferior to that which made last year memorable in the history of English Art-criticism. These thanks, besides what is due to the

committee of management, must be given to Messrs. S. Redgrave, Soden Smith, and R. Sketchley, the immediately executive officers of the work."

The British Institution (modern paintings) seems to have been of moderate merit merely. Still, from a very large number of paintings having no extraordinary characteristics, it would not be difficult to select many that were worth purchasing. To be worthy of special mention in an Annual Summary of Art would be a different thing altogether.

The Exhibition of Paintings by Old Masters, at the British Institution, commenced earlier than usual, but was not of unusual merit. Under any circumstances, however, an Exhibition of this kind cannot fail to be interesting and important. By comparison we may consider this year's or next year's Exhibition a failure: but the weakest exhibitions of the kind contain gems gathered from various sources; and a contemporary rightly characterizes the "Ancient" as the more valuable of the annual Exhibitions of this Institution. Among the most remarkable pictures on this occasion were, a Diptych by Memlinc, the "Gate of Calais," and a sketch for part of "The Harlot's Progress," by Hogarth, and several paintings by Vandyke, Gainsborough, and Reynolds. Besides these, however, many other painters of note were represented, the list including Rembrandt, Velasquez, Rubens, Poussin, the two Boths, Guercino, Greuze, G. Morland, &c.

The Exhibition of the Society of British Artists is not well spoken of. After describing one of the pictures as "expressing an idea of character and sense of the requirements of Art, which are marred by the flimsiness of its execution," a contemporary goes on to remark:—

"The same might be written of nearly all the pictures in this place that are not utterly insufficient, and show ability in their authors; incompetence, ignorance, impatience of study, pretence, shallowness, and, more than all, dulness that does not even see its own shortcomings, characterize the gallery."

The Architectural Exhibition was opened in April, with an address by Mr. Beresford Hope, the president. Such a speaker as Mr. Hope could scarcely fail to make any subject entertaining. Many of the rejected designs for the new National Gallery were exhibited in Conduit-street.

The Exhibitions at the French Gallery contained examples of many of the artists who have earned public favour on preceding occasions. Among these were Gérôme, P. E. Frère, Leys, H. Stevens, Meissonier, and Rosa Bonheur. "Mademoiselle Rosa Bonheur's 'Fontainebleau' is a really deliciously painted gathering of startled fawns, with a lady's 'machine-made' background of grey sky and misty accessories." Several of Baron Leys's school promise to emulate their master's fame; among others, M. Alma-Tadema and R. J. D. Vriendt. The following passage from a contemporary gives a compendious opinion of the general merits of this Exhibition, and a more detailed account of one of the most remarkable pictures:—

"With fewer important new pictures than usual, and none that can be described as great enough to give special character to the collection, the Exhibition presents many works of interest. Among those that lack only novelty to attract the student is a repetition or duplicate (it is hard to give the right name) of M. Gérôme's 'Louis XIV. and Molière' (No 82), a work well enough known by the engraving, and representing the practical rebuke of the king to those of his courtiers who had treated the dramatist with contempt. The great monarch was then in the best period of his life, before flattery and self-indulgence had

spoilt him. The dramatist was but three years older, and in the pride of his genius. Louis bade Molière dine with him, took his turn to help the viands, and afforded an edifying spectacle to those of his court who looked on, as shown in the picture before us. One of the best points of the design is the expression of uncomfortableness in the mind of the poet, as rendered by his seat on the edge of his chair, and his stiffly-set backbone. There is much variety of incident in this work; which, however, in some of the figures, recalls the conventionalities of the stage rather than the freedom and wealthy invention of a great designer such as M. Gérôme often proves to be."

It is gratifying to be able to give a cheerful account of improved prospects, especially when the account relates to a large class who have struggled against obvious disadvantages. Under these circumstances, we insert, with agreeable feelings, the following passage:—

"This eleventh Exhibition by the Society of Female Artists opens in the Conduit-street Gallery, and with improved claims on public attention. There are unmistakable evidences of increased earnestness and longer practice in studies on the part of the contributors, proofs of 'work' performed by many among them which go far to redeem the whole from the former besetting triviality of conception, inadequacy of thought, foolish ambition, and incompetence. We have noted an improvement in these respects within the last two years, and are glad to say, that, although the mass before us now is any thing but satisfactory, it is leavened in the manner to be desired, and to a far greater extent than before."

This general account is encouraging, more especially as, at times, this meritorious Society has appeared to be deficient in ability, and has given grave cause of anxiety to its best friends. We cannot allude to particular paintings in this Exhibition without entering more into detail than our space will admit. Where there are salient and striking points, the critic's work is easy; but prevalent grace and general improvement are described more readily in general words than in such a brief analysis as, at the utmost, our space would allow.

The Society of Painters in Water Colours produced an Exhibition of average merit, in the opinion of some critics; of merit somewhat above the average, in that of others. The "London Review," in passing this Exhibition under review, is led to make some natural reflections as to the uncertain state of contemporary English art:—

"In what direction is modern English art now drifting? Shall we ever have a school of painters whose aim will be recognized hereafter by characteristics as strongly marked as those which distinguish the work of men whom we now call 'old masters'? Will posterity be able to discriminate between the naturalist and ideal painters of our own day—between the general and specific styles of the nineteenth century—between eclecticism and the portraiture of every-day life? Those ancient landmarks, by which our present art historians are enabled to classify the productions of a bygone age, are fast disappearing. The various groups to which we have been accustomed to refer this or that choice of subjects and method of execution, are lost or merged in the modern studio. Even national peculiarities are yielding to the influence of travel and cosmopolitan study. The future Waagen or Cavalcaselle, who may endeavour to analyze and reduce to a system the conflicting impulses to which, in England at least, pictorial art has been subject during the present century, will engage in a hopeless task."

These questions as to the present, as we have said, are natural; but the answer of future years, though uncertain, may be conjectured to be far from unsatisfactory. It must be remembered that, in the art of painting, England has never had those groups of great artists following a leading mind, which, in speaking of Italy and Flanders, we are accustomed to describe as "schools." English schools have yet to be formed; and, though the liberality of patrons is not wanting, a more cultivated taste on the part of connoisseurs and the general public is the thing most to be desired. To this the efforts of living artists should be directed; and the foundation cannot be better laid than by a comprehensive study of all that is great in art by those who have already mastered the details of their pursuit. Among the most eminent contributors to the Exhibition which called forth our contemporary's reflections, are, Mr. E. B. Jones, Mr. F. W. Burton, Mr. J. D. Watson, Mr. A. D. Fripp, Mr. F. F. Shields, Mr. E. K. Johnson, and Mr. F. Walker.

The Institute of Painters in Water Colours (formerly the "New" Water Colour Society) continues to flourish, and its last exhibition was fairly successful. "This body," says a contemporary, "has strengthened its position by choosing several well-known foreign painters as honorary members, and, in our opinion, still more wisely by electing some accomplished young Englishmen. The former class comprises Madame H. Browne and Mademoiselle Rosa Bonheur, Messrs. L. Gallait and M. Madou; the latter consist of Messrs. R. Beavis, E. Hargitt, J. D. Linton, J. Sherrin, and L. J. Wood." Among the contributors to the Exhibition were Mr. E. G. Warren, Mr. C. Cattermole, Mr. G. Shalders. Mr. W. Lucas, and Mr. H. G. Hine. Of the last-mentioned artist, a contemporary says:—

"One of the really admirable artists of whom this Society can boast is Mr. H. G. Hine. One of his best pictures is "On the Downs at Eastbourne" (40), a noble representation of those lordly chalk ranges which, sweeping in gracious curves of water-worn surfaces, gratify the eye as much by their lovely contours as by the breadth and wealth of colour in one tint which they display. This is a work that is noble in something like monumental simplicity, beautifully modelled, and treated every where with a consummate sense of art. "Cliffs at Holywell, Sussex" (59), shows broken walls of chalk, half in shadow, half in sunlight, with a long stretch of wet and reflecting sand at their feet; a beautiful little picture. "Amberley Castle, Sussex, from the Marshes" (141), is a fine study in low tones and colour."

The last Exhibition of this class that we can afford space to mention is the "General Exhibition of Water-Colour Drawings." It must be gratifying to the promoters of this comparatively new scheme to have earned so favourable, though not indiscriminating, a verdict as the following:—

"This is the brightest and richest water-colour exhibition we have seen. The impression it makes upon the eye of the visitor is one of pleasure. The student feels that, with many general defects, the mass of paintings is marked by a peculiar *artistic* character, which is due to the unusual freedom from conventionality, and, above all, to something which is youthful and original in the prominent works. The general defects are careless drawing, affected expression, and disregard of composition."

The "Athenæum," from which the above extract is taken, accords the highest meed of praise to Mr. F. M. Brown's painting, "Cordelia's Portion," one of a series of pictures to illustrate "King Lear." There were also noteworthy works

by Mr. J. D. Linton, Mr. S. Solomon, Mr. E. J. Poynter, Mr. J. C. Moore, and other artists, "*quos nunc perscribere longum est.*"

The Exhibition of the Royal Academy was remarkable on this occasion for the unusually large number of Academicians who were represented, and for the general interest and importance of the pictures exhibited.

"The Ninety-ninth Exhibition of the Royal Academy consists of 988 pictures and etchings, with 207 pieces of sculpture. It is beyond the average in attractiveness and value. Most of the Academicians are well represented; even Mr. Maclise, so often absent of late years, sends two examples. A melancholy interest attaches to the three specimens of Mr. Phillip's work. Among other noticeable works, of which detailed criticism must be postponed, are some admirable portraits by Sir Francis Grant, Mr. J. Prescott Knight, and Mr. Watts; 'A Skirmish off Heligoland,' by Mr. G. Stanfield; 'Home after Victory,' by Mr. Calderon; 'Jephtha,' by Mr. Millais; 'Willow, Willow,' by Mr. G. D. Leslie; 'Israel in Egypt,' by Mr. Poynter; and glorious landscapes by Mr. Hook and Mr. Linnell."

Among the pictures which attracted most attention must be numbered that of Mr. Frith, "King Charles the Second's Last Sunday:"—

"The scene is that memorable one described by Evelyn, by way of moral, at the close of his account of Charles the Second, when the pious diarist breaks out: 'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of; the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c., a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l.* in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust!' This is the picture and the moral put before the spectator's eyes by Mr. Frith. The canvas is full of figures; the king, the three mistresses, a crowd of ladies and their gallants, a brood of spaniels, the little singing page, the grave and courtly Evelyn,—all the glittering tag-rag of that abominable court. Many persons will doubtless think that such a subject might have been very well left alone, and we are inclined to that opinion ourselves; but, considering what the story is, we are surprised to see with what subtle art and craft Mr. Frith has contrived to hide its grossness. The women are very lovely, after their sensuous kind; but the fine note of the picture is the use made of Evelyn, who stands before the spectator, visible, courtly and austere, in the midst of all this riot, like one of those prophets of old who rebuked wicked kings. This work will add to Mr. Frith's great reputation."

Mr. Faed's picture, "The Poor, the Poor Man's Friend," is also worthy of special notice:—

"A work which, except his 'From the Cradle to the Grave,' of a few years since, is the best exponent of the artist's powers the world has yet seen. In some qualities of execution the present picture surpasses that which we have named; in no respect is it inferior to its forerunner, unless, indeed, it can be said that its subject offers fewer dramatic and impressive elements. On the other hand, this is certainly preferable to that, on account of its genial and exemplary theme. Of course a representation of almsgiving is pleasanter to see than a picture of parting in death. Almsgiving being the motive of this work, we have the exterior of a sea-side fisherman's cottage; the bronzed old man, its owner,

seated at his work of mending a net,—a length of which goes across his knee,—is about to bestow aid on a blind beggar, who stands behind, and is presented to the charitable by a little girl, his 'leader,' who, holding the edge of her dress at her lips, stands bashfully expectant. A sturdy urchin, of the true salt breed, is by the old man; just within the house the mother of the family, a strapping, handsome woman of her kind, is, with a careful gesture, stooping to a child. The garden is one of those slovenly wildernesses which seem constant in Scotland, and rife wherever fishermen dwell. This enclosure, if such it may be called, belies the thrifty inside of the house; this is of the woman's keeping, that of the man's. Hence, wreckage of all sorts abounds,—withered and broken vegetables, the spoil of poultry, stones, knobs of earth, and unheeded beds. The effect of this painting is that of rainy sunlight, in which Mr. Faed so much delights, and which is admirably rendered here, chequering the curving lines of the shore as it recedes into the picture, and shining brightly on the figures in the foreground. The capital part of the work is the expression of the old man, in his careful manner, and rough but rich kindness that goes beyond his means to give. Face, figure, and action here are equally admirable. There is a great deal of excellent colour in this vigorous picture, to which the large mass of black in the woman's dress conduces not a little, as black always does when learnedly employed, and richly varied in tints. The action of the waiting child is full of meaning; the face of the beggar is a study in its kind. Apart from the characteristically powerful execution of the artist, we may say, that if the design has a fault, it is that of not distinctly showing the interest of the woman in what is going on."

Another well-known painter of large works, Mr. Ward, has again come before the world in the full exercise of his powers.

"Mr. Ward will much more than support his reputation by the capital representation he gives us of 'Juliet in Friar Lawrence's Cell' ('Romeo and Juliet') (80). As we have already described this picture, it will not now be needful to do so again at length. Suffice it that, after Juliet drew her dagger, or 'knife,' as the text has it, Mr. Ward imagines that she sat on the resting-place of the ghostly father, and eagerly listened to the advice he gave her of a way for a double release from the plagues and terrors that darkened her fate. Here she hangs on his words, leans upon her armed hand with the point of the weapon uppermost, and turns her face towards the priest. He stands sideways towards us, and holds the phial of mystic virtue, while he says,—

'Take thou this phial, being then to bed,
And this distilled liquor drink thou off;'

and with it shuffle off the impending misery. This monk wears the large brown hood and robe of his order. With this costume Mr. Ward has done well, by concentrating upon it much of the richness in tone his picture possesses, and relying upon it for that effect of colour which so great a mass of brown was sure to produce when introduced on a grey ground, such as the wall of the cell furnishes behind the figure of the friar. With his customary skill, Mr. Ward has treated the draperies of Juliet; having chosen a richly-flowered brocade for the material of the skirt, he has cast it about her body with rare dexterity, and will please most painters in respect to the way in which its texture, sheeny surface, and dashes of broken colour are given. The face of Juliet, as Mr. Ward renders it, will receive the admiration of many; its pallor is given with great success, as the subject required. The action of the heroine is the happiest portion

of a picture which will certainly not have fewer admirers than Mr. Ward generally attracts."

Though it is pleasing to be called upon to notice a few great works of enduring reputation (and it is a pleasure that the annual exhibition cannot always afford us), yet our general space is thereby curtailed. But the very fact, before alluded to, that so many eminent men have contributed, would in itself show the impossibility, in one short summary, of entering much into detail. Perhaps we could say nothing much more encouraging with regard to the prospects of Art, than that the rooms of the Royal Academy were so well filled with good paintings, and the objects of special notice were so exceptionally prominent, that we are unable to attempt any thing like a selection from the general mass.

It is not often that the sculpture of the Royal Academy receives much praise from those who hold the reins of criticism. On the present occasion, however, several votaries of a somewhat thankless art have succeeded in eliciting sincere commendation. Mr. Woolner's bust of Dr. Newman is placed far above any other exhibited work, both by the "Athenæum" and the "Chronicle." From the latter, we shall extract a short summary of the works of this class which its contributor on this subject deems most worthy of notice:—

"The completest and most distinguished work here is a bust, that of 'the Rev. John Henry Newman,' by Mr. Woolner. For the sculpture which is content, in default of beauty, to concern itself with character, a more fortunate opportunity could scarcely have been found than the having to deal with Father Newman. In his head the sculptor has to treat great depth of character, united to great subtlety and spirituality—introspection along with an outer relation of the most expansive and most finely-based sympathy. Mr. Woolner was the man to treat this head; bringing to the undertaking highly tentative, disciplined, uncompromising, and unrelaxing powers of work. We regard the bust as a triumph, certainly not surpassed by any of the other very excellent productions of the same order by Mr. Woolner. This artist sends also his recent alto-relief medallion of Tennyson, known by the engraving; and 'Heavenly Welcome,' a model for a monument to be placed in Wrexham Church. The latter represents a mother who rejoins in heaven her infant son; an angel holds him to give her the first rapturous welcome to the everlasting mansion. This work stands apart, *longo intervallo*, from the typical sepulchral monuments of our time; it is remarkable for effectiveness and a spirit of buoyant aspiring life, tending almost to the florid rather than to the barrenly castigated. Of course, in any such work the necessities of portraiture have to be observed. We suppose they have dictated the general quality of form and character in the figure of the mother, which might, perhaps, were we at liberty to judge of it only ideally, be deemed too slight and sisterly-looking. Another fine 'Memorial Effigy of a Lady, to be placed in Warriston Cemetery, Edinburgh,' is contributed by Mr. Leifchild. This is a figure lying in death, and treated with corresponding reserve and purity: the known type of such effigies is adhered to, but with the feeling and capacity of an artist, lifting the whole thing above an ordinary level. The slight turn given to the head is, to some extent, a departure from the funereal severity, and we hesitate to pronounce it an advantage: some additional delicacy of finish might also benefit the features. The name of Mr. G. M'Culloch is new to us. He sends, besides a small picture of cognate aim, an interesting bas-relief, illustrating Shelley's 'Ode to the Skylark.' We are not quite sure of the exact intention of the design; but understand it to symbolize the spirit of joy or ecstasy up to which the

skylark is imagined to be soaring. It has, at any rate, no inconsiderable share of beauty and dignity; and (such is the low estate of our current sculpture) it almost startles one, as being a work of ideal purpose, not utterly threadbare or ludicrously inadequate. We shall look out for Mr. McCulloch expectingly another year. Mr. Böhm's 'Wilhelm and Lenore, design for a bronze group,' was sure to be eminent for picturesque spirit and skill; and it is so, though we think it open to the charge of being too anti-sculpturally 'cut up.' With this work we quit the Academy, only further naming the same Mr. Böhm, and and Messrs. Weekes, Junck, Munro, Fuller, J. Adams, Ingram, Burnard, and J. L. Tupper, as among the contributors of busts or medallions attractive or interesting,—now on one ground, now on another."

Of the "Winter Exhibition" the "Athenæum" says: "This is a much more interesting gathering than its immediate predecessor. The most interesting, if not the most valuable picture it contains is by Mrs. J. E. Benham Hay. Mrs. Hay's picture is called 'A Florentine Procession;' and represents the 'burning of certain artistic vanities, in consequence of Savonarola's objurgations, in 1497.'" Other good paintings, too numerous to mention, were there. Among the most meritorious were—"As Hungry as a Hunter," by Mr. P. Soyer; "Youthful Vanity," by Mr. J. Maris; and "Choosing a Weapon," by Mr. Orchardson. Mr. Poynter's "Adoration of Ra," and Mr. Solomon's "Rosa Mystica," were also much admired; and, among the landscapes, Mr. C. E. Holloway's "On the Thames" (a view near Chelsea Hospital), Mr. Eaton's "Winter," and many other contributions, were esteemed to have more than average merit.

In the month of June a large collection of pictures, drawings, studies, and sketches, forming the remains of the artistic property of the late Mr. John Phillip, was sold by auction. A considerable number of the minor works obtained prices ranging from ten to twenty-five guineas, and some pictures of character were sold for about fifty guineas each. The entire collection realized the large sum of 14,750*l*. When we see the sums realized by the sale of works of deceased artists, sums often equivalent to a moderate fortune, we are tempted to ask whether there is not something spurious about the feeling which actuates dealers and connoisseurs on these occasions. It would surely have been better for the artist to have gained 10,000*l*. for himself than 14,000*l*. for his executors. Yet all this mass of work, so valuable after his death, remained on his hands till it was certain that he could paint no more. We do not deny that the death of an artist must necessarily tend, in some degree, to enhance the value of his works; but, at the same time, we cannot help thinking that, in the present state of feeling, the enhancement may be somewhat exaggerated and unnatural.

Mr. Cope's paintings for the Commons' Corridor of the Houses of Parliament are now completed. Both of the pictures are remarkable in their way, and are pronounced to be very satisfactory productions. It may be doubted whether the subjects are in good taste; for they serve to illustrate a period when two of the estates of the realm were in antagonism. One is entitled, "The Setting out of the Train Bands of London to raise the Siege of Gloucester;" the other represents "Speaker Lenthall resisting his Sovereign." We do not enter into the question whether the king was constitutionally right in going to the House of Commons and ordering five members to be arrested; but we cannot but think that, even if Charles I. was legally wrong, it is an unfortunate sign of the times that the Houses of Parliament should be decorated with pictures intended to illustrate conflicts which ought never to be renewed. Mr. Ward completed, about the middle

of the year, the last but one of his series of pictures. It represents King William III. and Queen Mary receiving the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall. Mr. Ward's last design, entitled "Monk declaring for a Free Parliament," has since been completed, and is considered to be a work of great merit.

The Gold Medals of the Royal Academy were awarded to Miss Louisa Starr (historical painting), Mr. Henry Wills (sculpture), Mr. J. H. Shenston (architectural design), and Mr. F. F. Goodall (landscape painting).

Mr. Armitage and Mr. G. T. Watts were elected Associates of the Royal Academy early in the year. In June, Mr. Thomas Sydney Cooper, Mr. Philip Calderon, and Mr. John Henry Robinson, were elected Royal Academicians. In December, Mr. G. T. Watts was elected full Member of the Royal Academy.

In the "Supplementary Estimates" in Parliament, the large sum of 45,721*l.* was voted for the purchase of the celebrated Blacas collection. The sum paid for this collection (now added to the British Museum) was 48,000*l.*; but a reduction was caused by the sale of various articles of which the Museum already possessed specimens.

The sales of pictures during the year were so numerous that we can only mention some of the most remarkable. At one of these, comprising, among other pictures, the collection of J. Swainson, Esq., of Liverpool, a painting by Mademoiselle Rosa Bonheur, "Sheep in a Landscape," was sold for 683*l.*; "Dawn to Sunset," by Mr. T. Faed, went for 1785*l.*; and a picture entitled "View of Cromer," for 1071*l.*

At the sale of the engravings of the Rev. Edward Goddard, the rare works of Marc Antonio Raimondi sold for high prices. The largest sums realized were—132*l.* for "Adam and Eve in Paradise," 170*l.* for "Mount Parnassus," 130*l.* for "Dance of Cupids," and 151*l.* for "Mars, Venus, and Cupid." On the same occasion, the "Turner" collection was dispersed; and, in contrast to the above high prices, we may mention that Raphael Morghen's "Aurora" fetched only 38*l.* 10*s.*, and Müller's "Sistine Madonna" only 37*l.*

At the sale of the pictures of F. Somes, Esq., several well-known works were disposed of. Among these were—"Brodrick Castle," by Stanfield, sold for 845*l.* "The Silken Gown," "Train up a Child," and "Lucy's Flitting," by T. Faed, 777*l.*, 903*l.*, and 866*l.*, respectively; "Landing Salmon," by Hook, 787*l.*; "Uncle Tom and his Wife for Sale," by Sir E. Landseer, 1060*l.*; and "Art and Liberty," by L. Gallait, 1260*l.*

At another great dispersion of valuable paintings, in the month of November, some of Turner's most popular pictures were sold for the following astonishing prices:—"Modern Italy," 3405*l.*; "The Wreck Buoy," 1575*l.*; a "River Scene with female figures bathing," 1333*l.*; and "Cicero at his Villa at Tusculum," 1543*l.*

The National Gallery has added several important pictures by Old Masters to its catalogue. Among the names are Domenico Veneziano, A. Vivarini, Fra Carnevale, Giovanni Oriolo, Pisano (otherwise Vittore Pisanello), Bono Ferrarese, Hugo Vander Goes, Rembrandt, Cosimo Tura, and, we regret to say, Haydon. We cannot understand what has prompted the authorities to purchase or accept the unfortunate painting of the "Raising of Lazarus," so long placed on a staircase at the Pantheon in Oxford-street, we presume, because nobody wanted it any where else. As regards the foreign acquisitions, critics have no fault to find; for, although some of the names do not stand in the very highest rank,

many of them are new to the National Gallery; and the acquisition of these paintings is a satisfactory step towards the completion of our increasing collection of specimens of the various schools.

The Arundel Society has published a large collection of photographs from the original paintings in the National Portrait Exhibition.

We believe that the results of the two great architectural competitions for the new National Gallery, and for the Law Courts, are not yet actually settled. It is supposed that Mr. G. Street and Mr. E. M. Barry will, in some form, be engaged in the construction of the Law Courts, one of these gentlemen being considered to have sent in the best design, architecturally speaking; the other, the best as to arrangement. We are not aware, however, that the matter is definitively settled. Among the architectural signs of the times we may mention the completion of the new India Office building, and that of the great Railway Hotel in Cannon-street; both remarkable works. The most important architectural fact, however, that we have to record, is the actual commencement of the restoration of the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey.

A notable artistic book is that by Mrs. C. Heaton, entitled "The Great Works of Sir David Wilkie," illustrated by twenty-six photographs of the great low-comedy painter's works. We read that Mrs. Heaton's share in the publication "has been performed with tact and care." Of a somewhat similar character (as showing the increased application of photographs to art study) is the work entitled "Masterpieces of Italian Art," with memoirs of the painters (from Cimabue to Guido), by an anonymous author. It is unnecessary, however, to remark how imperfect a summary this must be, since all the schools comprised are represented by twenty-six illustrations. The "Terra-Cotta Architecture of North Italy (Twelfth and Fifteenth Centuries)" is a brilliant book, and will be useful to the rising generation of English architects, who enter much more into the study of decoration by colours and choice of materials than their predecessors half a century ago.

Two distinguished artists have disappeared from among us. John Phillip, R.A., died on the 26th of February, and Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., on the 18th of May. We have also lost a distinguished sculptor, Edward Hodges Baily, R.A., whose last work was a bust of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, carved as a present for his godson, Harold Baily Dixon. If we refrain from giving any account of the works of these three men, it is because to give so slight an account as our space will allow of artists who have done so much would seem almost like an intentional injustice. Their achievements will be better recorded elsewhere. It is not often that we have to record the decease, in the same year, of three men so highly gifted.

A new feature in Music is the appearance of sundry periodical publications of which the contents consist of new pieces. Whether this will tend to improve English music we cannot say. It may afford opportunities to young composers; but, on the other hand, it may also crush genius, by establishing editorial superintendence where all was freedom before. The suggestive but inelegant names of "Hanover Square" and "Bond Street" have been applied to two of these magazines. Among books on musical subjects we may mention Lady Wallace's "Letters of Distinguished Musicians," and Herr C. F. Pohl's "Mozart and Haydn in London;" both of which are interesting and instructive in a high degree.

The *début* of Miss Kellogg, an operatic singer new to London, was one of the

most unalloyed successes of this kind that we have witnessed for many years. A respected contemporary speaks warmly of her voice, method, and general musical and dramatic accomplishments.

A serious interruption to Music has occurred in the destruction by fire of Her Majesty's Theatre. This occurred, however, long after the close of the regular operatic season. The season at Her Majesty's was marked by the appearance of Mademoiselle Christine Nilsson, a young Swedish singer, in whose favour there was really a repetition of the well-remembered "Jenny Lind mania" on a small scale. This was the great event, and, it may be added, the only really important event of the regular operatic period at Her Majesty's; for Miss Kellogg did not appear till a kind of second season was inaugurated later in the year. It is true that Mr. Mapleson, as usual, attempted one or two revivals; but either from want of interest in the operas, or from defective performance, they met with less success than might have been hoped. At the "Royal Italian Opera" (Covent Garden), Verdi's "Don Carlos" and Gounod's "Romeo" were produced with great success. Earlier in the season, Gounod's "Faust" was performed, with M. Petit and Signor Cotogni in the parts of Mephistopheles and Valentine. These singers, both new to the English public, seem likely to retain their hold; as also Mademoiselle Leonora Nau, a light soprano, and Signor Marino, a good tenor, who are also strangers amongst us. Mr. Gye, the manager, may therefore be considered to have kept up the reputation of this establishment, which has generally aimed rather at continuous excellence in all its arrangements, than at the meretricious glare of a sudden *furor*.

Madame Vilda, whom we had to mention as a new "Norma" in our last Retrospect, sang but little during the season of 1867, and we fear that she was not so much appreciated as her *débüt* in the preceding season had led us to hope.

The English Lyric Drama is represented only by the little Chamber Operas which are brought out from time to time by Mr. and Mrs. German Reed at the Gallery of Illustration. There has, it is true, been some attempt to establish English Opera, under the same management, at St. George's Hall, in Langham-place, but nothing of any importance has yet come of it.

At one of the Philharmonic Concerts, in June, was produced a new overture to "Marmion," by the English composer, Mr. A. S. Sullivan, which was considered fully calculated to sustain that promising young composer's reputation. The "Woman of Samaria," by Professor Sterndale Bennett, and the "Ancient Mariner," by Mr. J. F. Barnett (new compositions performed at the Birmingham Festival), attest the diligence of our native composers in the Cantata school of music, which, it need hardly be said, is a very different thing from Opera.

The death of Sir George Smart (February 23) and of Mr. Alfred Mellon (March 27) will be lamented by their countrymen. If not great musicians, they were great promoters of music, being men more calculated to lead others than to do great things themselves. Madame Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani, once the most celebrated of Opera singers in the florid style, which has since fallen into disuse, died early in the year, after a long retirement, which was occasioned by the failure of her voice. Pacini, the composer of more than eighty operas, died later in the year. His works were once much performed; but the more powerful genius of Rossini, and the lighter strains of Donizetti and Bellini, cast him into the shade, and his name is now almost historical. About the same time the musical world lost Madame Nantier-Didiée, so long esteemed as a careful and

elegant second *donna* at the Royal Italian Opera. She died at Madrid, after a long illness.

The most important (perhaps we should rather say the least unimportant dramatic event is the appearance of a lady who, with average powers and the inheritance of a great name, aspires to fill the highest parts. Mrs. Scott Siddons first appeared as Rosalind, in "As You Like It," at the Haymarket. In the almost total absence of female talent of a high class, she will probably succeed; but another season will enable the public to form a better idea of her capabilities.

Two new Metropolitan Theatres have been opened—namely, the Holborn Amphitheatre, for horsemanship, gymnastics, &c., and the New Queen's Theatre, for regular drama. The latter, which is in fact the building formerly called St. Martin's Hall, is under the management of one of our most accomplished actors, Mr. Alfred Wigan.

Miss Kate Terry retired from the stage at the end of the summer season; Mr. Charles Kean later in the year.

With regard to Entertainments, we have nothing of any great importance to record. The Music Halls imitate the Theatres as closely as they dare; while the Theatres, in self-defence, descend very frequently to the inanity and vulgarity of the Music Halls. We speak here, not of the "Operatic Selections" given at the last-mentioned places of entertainment, which are helping to educate the people, but of the so-called comic songs and grotesque performances of various kinds which come between. At the Theatres, if a manager attempts any piece of a more aspiring kind than usual, he depends for its success, not on merits of dialogue or action, but on brilliant scenery, sudden surprises, or the presence of some popular favourite. So long as this state of things shall continue, we need hardly say that the record of theatrical entertainments can occupy but a very small space in our annual "Retrospect."

SCIENCE.

THE "Catalogue of Scientific Papers," which has so long been expected and so often alluded to, has now been actually completed up to a certain point. At the Anniversary Meeting, the President, General Sabine, pointed with pride to the first volume, extending, according to the alphabetical arrangement of the authors' names, from "A" to "Clu." In the opening of his address, the President alluded to the serious loss sustained by the Society in the decease of three of their most distinguished Fellows, the Earl of Rosse, Lord Wrottesley, and Mr. Faraday,—two of whom had preceded him in the post of President of the Society.

The President then gave an account of the Society's proceedings and prospects. The first topic was that of the reorganization of the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade. The measures suggested, as mentioned in the President's address of the former year, had been so far carried out, that five observatories,—namely, Falmouth, Kew, Stonyhurst, Armagh, and Glasgow, would commence operations at the beginning of the year 1868, while Valentia and Aberdeen would probably be added shortly after.

"All these observatories are to be supplied with self-recording instruments, all constructed on the same plan, whereby the essential condition, 'a full, accurate, and *continuous* record of meteorological phenomena at certain selected stations,' will be satisfied; and, as is thought, the most effectual means will be taken for 'supplying a secure and adequate basis for the discussion of the variations of the weather in the British Islands.' The observations to be made will comprise the temperature, pressure, electric and hygrometric state of the atmosphere, and the direction and force of wind; and the records thereof will be regularly forwarded to the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade, where they will be reduced and combined, and applied to the general study of the phenomena.

"By desire of the Government, a Committee of eight Fellows of the Royal Society, who give their services gratuitously, superintend generally the work of the Department. Assuming that the requisite supplies for continuing the work will be voted by Parliament, they will continue their services, and proceed, as General Sabine shows, to trace the variations of the weather, as presented in the records, from the extreme west of Ireland to the east of Scotland, and from Aberdeen in the north to Falmouth in the south, and as connected with telegrams from different parts, and with information received from abroad. By this means such a knowledge of the laws of the variations may be acquired as will enable meteorologists gradually, and as far as may be possible, to place the practice of forecasting the weather on a sound and trustworthy basis. Meanwhile, the Committee will endeavour to make the daily information they receive as to the state of weather on different parts of the coast available for the benefit of mariners."

The President then proceeded to give some details of the minute examination by which it has been arranged that telegraphic information of storms and atmospheric phenomena is to be transmitted. Information as to the progress of the great telescope for Melbourne (alluded to in our previous "Retrospect") was next communicated:—

"Astronomers will be glad to hear, on the President's authority, that the four-feet reflecting telescope, constructed by Grubb, of Dublin, for the observatory at Melbourne, is so nearly completed, that it will be ready for shipment to the antipodes early in the coming year. A paper by the Rev. Dr. Robinson, of Armagh, descriptive of this magnificent instrument, was read at the opening meeting of the Royal Society's Session, from which we gather that its performance is all that could be desired; and that Mr. Le Sueur, who has been appointed Observer, has so thoroughly mastered all its details, that we may expect in good time a rich harvest of observations from the southern hemisphere."

The President next alluded to the expected eclipse of the sun, a total eclipse of almost the longest possible duration. For the observations of this eclipse, which will occur in the year 1868, very careful preparations have been made.

"The President and Council of the Royal Society, taking advantage of so rare an opportunity for observation of the physical phenomena of an eclipse, have had constructed and sent out to India suitable instruments for the purpose, including spectroscopes, prisms, and actinometers. The observations, under sanction of Colonel Walker, Director of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, will be made by officers employed on the Survey—principally Mr. Hennessey, first assistant, and Lieutenant Herschel (son of Sir J. Herschel), both of whom are well qualified for their delicate task. As the place of observation will be

Mussoorie, in the clear atmosphere of the hills, 7000 feet above the sea, the prospect of a satisfactory result may be regarded as very hopeful."

A new magnetical observatory, to be constructed in Mauritius, will be provided with the newest instruments, which have been practised with at Kew by Dr. Meldrum, the proposed Director of the new Observatory.

In concluding his address, the President alluded to several of the immediate scientific topics of the day, and principally to Mr. Abel's researches on gun-cotton.

One of the Royal Medals was presented in a manner differing a little, we believe, from the ordinary practice. This Medal was, in fact, presented to two gentlemen, Mr. J. B. Lawes and Dr. Gilbert jointly, for their researches in agricultural chemistry. "These researches," we read in the "*Athenæum*," "are well known to chemists and cultivators, having been published in the '*Philosophical Transactions*' and other scientific works, where they supply valuable *data* on some of the most important questions relating to agriculture, fertilization of soils, improvement of crops, and fattening of cattle." The other Royal Medal was presented to Sir W. E. Logan, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, in testimony of the high sense entertained of the value of his scientific efforts in that capacity. The Copley Medal was awarded to Karl Ernst von Baer, a veteran member of the St. Petersburg Academy, and a Foreign Member of the Society, for his discoveries in embryology and comparative anatomy, and his contributions to the philosophy of zoology."

The principal officers of the Royal Society elected for the ensuing year were—Lieut.-General E. Sabine, President; Dr. W. A. Miller, Treasurer; Dr. W. Sharpey and G. G. Stokes, Esq., Secretaries; Professor W. H. Miller, Foreign Secretary; and, among the other members of the Council, Professor A. Cayley, T. A. Abel, Esq., Captain D. Galton, J. P. Gassiot, Esq., W. Huggins, Esq., Sir Rowland Hill, and Professor T. H. Huxley.

The Royal Astronomical Society, at its Annual Meeting, elected its officers and transacted other business. The Rev. C. Pritchard was re-elected President, and Mr. Huggins was elected to succeed Mr. Hodgson as Secretary. The Gold Medal was awarded to Mr. Miller and Mr. Huggins jointly, for their well-known services to science in the observation and investigation of the spectra of stars, comets, and nebulae. In his address, the President alluded to these services; and he also alluded to a subject widely different, but no less important to those who study the heavens, namely, the vast strides made within the last few years in the manufacture of telescopes. On this point the President said:—

"It is well known that less than fifty years ago, when the elder Struve commenced his illustrious career at Dorpat, the largest telescope available for his use was one constructed by our countryman, Dollond, of which the aperture was less than four inches. At the present day, admirably furnished instruments, exceeding the double of that aperture, are, as we are all aware, in the hands of many private observers in comparative abundance. Nay, further than this, an English artist, and a member of your own Council, has nearly completed an object-glass of the unparalleled aperture of twenty-five inches."

The Royal Geographical Society held its Anniversary Meeting, Sir R. I. Murchison, the President, in the chair. The President gave the details of the Society's financial position, which proved to be very satisfactory, the Society having so large an excess of income over expenditure as to be enabled to add 1000*l.* to its funded property. A sum of 200*l.* had been devoted to the Leichardt

Search Fund; a further sum to the search for M. G. Rohlfs, last heard of at Lake Tchad. A medal was awarded to Admiral Boutakoff, a Russian officer who, by launching a steamer on the Sea of Aral, had facilitated the communication between Russia and China. Another medal was awarded to the same distinguished officer, and was received on his behalf by his friend, Captain Crown, also of the Russian Navy. The Victoria Medal was awarded to Mr. J. J. Hayes, an American traveller, who was considered to have penetrated farther than any previous traveller towards the North on the open Polar Sea. The Medal was received, in the absence of Mr. Hayes, by Mr. Adams, the American Minister, who remarked on the general utility of investigation, even though it may not lead to the expected result; and reminded his hearers of Columbus, who, in endeavouring to find a new way from Europe to Asia, did in fact discover a vast new continent lying between the two. The list of officers for the ensuing year included, among other names, those of Sir R. I. Murchison, President; Vice-Admiral Sir G. Bach, Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Lord Houghton, C. A. Rackham, Esq., Sir S. W. Baker, Lord Dufferin, Herman Merivale, Esq., &c.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science met at Dundee. It has rarely had a meeting so distant from the Metropolis; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, the Association had a very successful meeting. It is quite possible that the idea of a trip to Scotland, and a visit to a town surrounded by so many historical reminiscences, may have tended to fill up the gaps which the distance would naturally cause in the ranks of the regular attendants.

The Presidents of Sections were:—

A. Mathematical and Physical Science	Prof. Sir. W. Thomson.
B. Chemical Science	Prof. T. Anderson.
C. Geology	Archibald Geikie.
D. Biology	Prof. Sharpey.
Department of Zoology and Botany	George Busk.
Department of Anatomy and Physiology	The President of the Section.
E. Geography and Ethnology	Sir S. Baker.
F. Economics and Statistics	M. E. Grant Duff.
G. Mechanical Science	Prof. W. J. Macquorn-Rankine.

At the opening meeting on Wednesday, September 4th, the Report of the Council was first read. This Report was chiefly of an introductory character, pointing out to the Association the matters which their attention would be directed by the Treasurer, the Parliamentary Committee, and the Kew Committee, in their several Annual Reports which were to be read afterwards. An important announcement, however, was made by the General Committee in the discharge of its own duties. It appears that, at the last meeting of the General Committee at Nottingham, in the year 1866, a Resolution was adopted—

“That the Kew Committee be authorized to discuss and make the necessary arrangements with the Board of Trade, should any proposal be made respecting the superintendence, reduction, and publication of meteorological observations, in accordance with the recommendations of the Report of the Committee appointed to consider questions relating to the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade.”

Acting on this Resolution, the General Committee informed the members of

the Association that they had made arrangements by virtue of the power thus granted, which arrangements would be described in detail in the Report of the Kew Committee.

The General Committee also announced that, in pursuance of instructions given to the General Officers of the Association, the question of having lectures delivered to the operative classes in large towns where the Society should meet had been considered; and that, the officers having reported favourably, the Council had requested Professor Tyndall to deliver such a lecture in the town of Dundee on the following Thursday.

The Report of the Treasurer, W. Spottiswoode, Esq. (Queen's Printer), was then read. It showed a balance in the hands of the Treasurer and in the London and Westminster Bank, of 314*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*

The Report of the Kew Committee next occupied the attention of the Association. The balance in hand was 10*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* The total receipts were 786*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, out of which sum (as in the former year) 600*l.* had been contributed by the British Association through their General Treasurer. The labours of the Kew Committee during the year were then detailed, under two heads, namely, work done by the Kew Observatory, under the direction of the British Association; and work done at Kew as the Central Observatory of the Meteorological Committee. The work of this Committee is of the most advanced scientific kind; treading ever on the verge of the unknown. It would be useless, therefore, here to enter into minute details respecting it. As an instance, we may mention that, by means of the Photo-heliograph, "Pictures of the Pagoda in Kew Gardens are regularly taken, in the hope that by this means the angular diameter of the sun may be satisfactorily determined." The abstract nature of its labours is the only reason for our refraining from entering more fully into details respecting the work of this unobtrusive and useful institution.

The Parliamentary Committee reported with regret that it had not as yet succeeded in prevailing upon the Government to accept its views with regard to scientific teaching in schools, and amendment of the law respecting the adjustment of compasses in iron-built merchant ships.

The Address of the President, the Duke of Buccleugh, was delivered in Kinnaird's Hall, in the presence of a large audience. The noble speaker alluded in a feeling manner to the lamented decease of Professor Faraday since the last meeting of the Association; and he proceeded to point out the great importance of culminating science in its various branches, and of making its study a more prominent feature in our educational establishments. No doubt there will be difference of opinion on this point among our readers, but a portion of the President's Address is worthy of notice, on account of the sincere tone and practical arguments which characterize it.

"Since the last meeting of the Association, and within a very short time, one most distinguished member of it has been gathered to his fathers—I mean Professor Faraday—one of the most distinguished men in his own branch of science; one who having great intellectual power, and great personal will, was determined to rise above that position in life in which he happened to be born. Happily for him he took a line, and sought a friend in one who was well able to forward his views; and I believe that in his own department of science no man was more prominent than Professor Faraday lived to become. In him we have to mourn one that is lost; but when we mourn one that is lost, is it not an incentive to many others who may have been born in the same

position as himself, or may, perhaps, have been born in other positions, in higher and better positions, to seize every opportunity of cultivating science, and instructing themselves in every way? Is it not an incentive to every man who may feel himself possessed of the power to push himself forward quietly, notwithstanding, but at the same time, not for the personal pride of position, but for the more generous ambition of being a great benefactor to his country? I may be wrong—many may agree with me, or some may disagree with me—but I hold that the acquirements of science, and that the diffusion of science, are, and ought to be, closely connected with true religion. If there is any thing that has often struck me, it is this, that the involuntary admission and confession of the ignorance of man is in no way more strongly manifested than it is in the great desire to acquire knowledge—that the inquisitiveness of man indicates previous ignorance of that which he inquires into. Now, what do men of science do? They search the heavens. They cannot make the stars—they know not when, nor where, nor how they were made. But from their experiments and theories they deduce certain results; and we are satisfied that they may be right. I am here talking of faith. Surely in no instance is faith more tried than when we are called upon to believe in what science teaches us. Those of us who are uninitiated, who have not studied it, cannot understand this or that thing, which a man who has studied that particular branch of science looks upon as a thing as common and as natural as that the child should learn its alphabet; and we trust in them—we believe in what they state. But what is it they do? They do not create these things. Their great object, as I can perceive, is this—they try to interpret the great Maker's works—to make them patent to all—to let all understand and reverence the Creator, they only attempting to be the interpreters. Some men may say I put too low an estimate upon their position. I trust I do not—it is not my intention to do so; but, at the same time, I cannot put discoverers of that which exists in a higher position than the Author of that which is discovered. We heard to-day, at this preliminary meeting, a report made upon an important matter—namely, that of having Science taught at our public schools—that it should form a portion of the curriculum of study in every school. I quite agree with it; but I think you must not undertake, at all events in the first instance, to attempt to push it too far. If you do, you will frighten people, and the thing will stop. They will say you want to make the boys all juvenile philosophers. Now, you may attempt that, but I defy you to succeed. I think it of great importance, however, to teach the elements of science in our schools. Give youths a taste for it, and when they have acquired this taste, those who have an aptitude will each be very much inclined to follow a particular science for himself. You can no more drive science into a boy than you can teach mathematics to a horse. If he has not a turn for it, he will say it is a greater bore than Latin or Greek; but to teach him the elements of science is of great importance. What do we see every day? This is an age of progression. In every relation of life the discoveries of science are becoming more and more necessary. I need not go further for an illustration than the town in which we are assembled. Where would the prosperity of this town have been had it not been for science? You will say we have got a certain amount of manufactures of flax, hemp, jute, and things of that sort; there is not much science in that. Well, go to the cultivation of those plants—go on to the preparation of those plants after they are cultivated, and the means of bringing them to this country. Do we not require science to build those ships, and to navigate them? And when

these vessels come to ports, do we not require science to produce the docks and harbours in which these vessels are to lie? Then, again, when you come to the manufacture of the raw material, do we not require science in chemistry and in mechanics? In mechanics we require mathematics to begin with, with all those inventive faculties which are necessary to produce the machinery by which all these raw materials are to be made into useful articles of commerce. Is it not also the case when we come to cultivate the soil? What do people do now? Is it the rule of thumb process—the old story, that you must put lime here on one farm, and manure there on another? And when you ask, why? the answer is, it stands to reason—because the soil requires that. Standing to reason is a very good answer; but the man who gives it goes by the rule of thumb. We want the man of science, of chemistry, to tell us why we do these things—why we apply one description of manure to one soil, and another to another; and why, if we apply this description of manure to one place and not to another, we apply it wrongly.”

On the following day, Thursday, the 12th of September, the various sections began their important work.

In Section A, the President, in his opening address, paid a natural tribute to the memory of Professor Faraday, confining himself to some truthful and touching observations on his private character, and not delaying the business of the Section by enlarging on his scientific merits, so well known to all present. The Address concluded as follows—

“It is very unnecessary that I should speak of what he has done for science. All *that* lives for us still, and parts of it we shall meet at every turn through our work in this Section. I wish I could put into words something of the image which the name of Faraday always suggests to my mind. Kindliness and unselfishness of disposition; clearness and singleness of purpose; brevity, simplicity, and directness; sympathy with his audience or his friend; perfect natural tact and good taste; thorough cultivation;—all these he had, each to a rare degree; and their influence pervaded his language and manner, whether in conversation or lecture. But all these combined made only a part of Faraday's charm. He had an indescribable quality of quickness and life. Something of the light of his genius irradiated all with a certain bright intelligence, and gave a singular charm to his manner, which was felt by every one surely, from the deepest philosopher to the simplest child who ever had the privilege of seeing him in his home—the Royal Institution. That light is now gone from us. While thankful for having seen and felt it, we cannot but mourn our loss, and feel that whatever good things, whatever brightness may be yet in store for us, that light we can never see again.”

The Report of the Lunar Committee was then presented by Mr. J. Glaisher. Numerous papers were read, some on physical subjects, others on pure mathematics. A curious “Real Image Stereoscope” was described by Mr. J. C. Maxwell, by means of which the spectator would view the image through a single lens instead of applying the eyes to two glasses, as in the ordinary stereoscope. Under the title of “Meteorological Observations at Sea,” Mr. F. W. Moffat detailed some curious investigations as to the appearance and disappearance of ozone according to the state of the wind. The “Report on Observations of Luminous Meteors” was presented by Mr. J. Glaisher. This Report was full of marvellous details, and seemed, as might be expected, more like a paper on fireworks than any thing else. A Report on a subject which, if carefully treated,

may prove to be one of much practical importance, was that drawn up by the Rainfall Committee, and presented by Mr. G. J. Symons. Another practical subject was treated by Mr. C. Meldrum, who read a paper "On the Hurricanes of the Indian Ocean." Papers on various branches of physical science were also read by other men of eminence, Sir David Brewster among the number. In pure mathematics the subjects treated were not so numerous as usual; among them were a new "Cyclical Symbol," by the Rev. Professor F. Harley; the "Binomial Theorem" (apparently a new proof), from the papers of the late Mr. J. Lindsay.

In Section B, the President observed that even as far back as the commencement of the present century the Daltonian Atomic Theory had been found to be no longer adequate to the requirements of advanced science. "The science of chemistry as it stood then," he said, "might be termed the chemistry of oxygen; the science of the present day might be called the chemistry of carbon." He further said that it was necessary that the theory of Dalton should be abandoned: but he disapproved of Sir Benjamin Brodie's views as to the comparison of substances with one another according to their weight in a gaseous state, a system dealing largely in hypothesis; and considered that it would be necessary to adopt some kind of molecular hypothesis. Finally, he suggested the appointment of a Committee to consider how far a uniform system of chemical symbols might be brought into use.

Most of the papers read (as generally happens in this section) were of so special or so advanced a character as to have little public interest. Mr. J. Spiller's paper, however, "On the Decay of Stone," naturally arrests the attention of those who know how the purse of the nation must suffer from the improper choice of a material for the Palace at Westminster. Mr. Spiller has made careful investigations as to the hardening of stone by chemical applications, and it may perhaps be hoped that such investigations may not prove useless. Mr. J. A. Wanklyn's paper "On the Existence of Putrescible Matter in River and Lake Waters" deals with a most important subject, and we trust that the national health may profit by such investigations. Another momentous national subject was treated by Mr. J. L. Bell, in his paper "On the Present State of the Manufacture of Iron in Britain, and its Position as compared with that of other Countries." The only other paper, out of a very large number, that we have space to mention, is that on the "Composition of Wheat grown for twenty years in succession on the same land," by Mr. J. B. Lawes and Mr. J. H. Gilbert, who, as we have before recorded, obtained one of the Medals of the Royal Society for their researches in this branch of science.

The President of Section C, in a very interesting address, described the traces of volcanic action in past times in Scotland, entering into a careful comparison between the igneous stones of North Britain and those of England, Wales, and Ireland. In concluding, he expressed his regret that, with respect to some branches of geological research, confusion was arising from want of proper co-operation between the geologists of different countries and between geologists and chemists. The President's own words will best express his meaning:—

"As a result of this neglect, the nomenclature of this portion of British geology has been virtually at a stand for about half a century. While so much has been done in this respect by chemists and geologists abroad, we are but little further forward than when the great outlines of the subject were sketched long ago by the early leaders in the science. The same vague names, the same

confused and defective arrangement, the same absence of careful chemical and mineralogical analyses, so excusable in the infancy of the science, still disfigure our geological writings and even the best of our geological collections. Field geologists must be content to bear their share of the blame; yet it is not from their hands that the needed reform is mainly to be looked for. They can do but little till chemistry comes to their aid with information respecting the composition of the rocks which they investigate, and the extent to which the nomenclature adopted in other countries can be applied to their own."

The papers in this Section, as a rule, were highly technical, as they treated for the most part of special formations or of geological phenomena in particular districts. Mr. J. Wyatt's paper "On the Gradual Alteration of the Coast Line in Norfolk" described the war between sea and land in a certain portion of the county of Norfolk. Mr. Wyatt's conclusion is, that in West Norfolk the sea is not encroaching on the land; but, on the contrary, the area of the land is increasing. It may be doubted whether this is a geological subject in the ordinary sense of the word; but we mention it because it is really a subject of general interest. The prevalent carelessness about our coast-line is indefensible, and we are glad to find that—

"A secondary object of this paper was to enforce the necessity of accurate records of the changes of coast-lines; and the author suggested that this should not be left to individual observation, but should be undertaken by a responsible department of the Government, who should combine the two systems adopted by the Ordnance and Admiralty surveyors, and so secure, by periodical surveys, accurate maps of the changing line of the coasts, the fluctuation of the levels of the sea-bottoms, and the nature of the deposits within a given distance of the shore."

In Section D, the President, in the exordium of his address, briefly described the object of the labours of the Association in this particular branch; which, though doubtless well known already by his audience, may not be sufficiently obvious to all who take an interest in the general progress of knowledge. He said:—

"I need scarcely remind you that Biology, or the science of the living economy, in its widest sense, comprehends whatever relates to the organization, functions, and mode of life of living beings, whether plants or animals, as well as their natural history; that is, their distinctive characters, mutual affinities, systematic classification, and distribution."

The Section is divided into departments of "Anatomy and Physiology," and "Zoology and Botany." In the former there were many papers read on forms of animal and vegetable life which are little thought of generally; such as "Thysanura," by Sir J. Lubbock, Bart.; "Lichen Growth," by Dr. L. Lindsay; and "Certain Simulations of Vegetable Growth," by Dr. Heaton. Papers of a more popular character were that "On the Claims of Arboriculture as a Science," by Mr. J. Brown; and "On the Preservation of Fishing Streams," by Sir J. E. Alexander. Doubtless the destruction of our forests and the neglect of our rivers as sources of food are two of the most glaring proofs of the fact that continued prosperity has made us careless, and that we are trusting, in some respects, rather to chance than to logic and forethought. It is well, therefore, that men of science should draw attention to these subjects; but we fear very much that the bulk of the nation will not listen to them till it is too late. In the other department of Section D, that of "Anatomy and Physiology," many

valuable papers were read, showing the great activity with which chemical and microscopic tests are being used for the minute investigation of animal tissues and the like. Sir Duncan Gibb read a curious paper on the influence of "Pendency of the Epiglottis" on the voice, as applied to musical purposes. Sir Duncan suggests a remedy for this formation, which, in his opinion, tends to destroy the upper register and to weaken the vocal power generally; but we do not know whether his investigations have been carried far enough to be of practical use to those who cultivate music as a means of livelihood.

In Section E., generally the most entertaining part of the programme of the Association, there was less matter of interest than is generally the case. The "Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund" was read by Captain C. W. Wilson, R.E., who accounted for the expenditure of a sum of 100*l.* contributed by the Association. Sir John Lubbock read a paper "On the Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man," which was curious as a collection of anecdotes as to the state in which various savage races have been found. The paper was, as might be expected, characterized by the reader's well-known views.

"The author controverted the arguments of those writers who believed that man, at his origin, was in the possession of mental qualities not inferior to our own, and that savages are the degenerate descendants of far superior ancestors. He singled out more especially the opinions of the late Dr. Whately, which were thus enunciated,—'We have no reason to believe that any community ever did, or even can, emerge, unassisted by external helps, from a state of utter barbarism, into any thing that can be called civilization.'"

Sir J. Lubbock advocated the opposite view, and considered that man must, as a rule, have advanced and not degenerated. Dr. Whately's bold assertion would seem to be incapable of proof, for it is obvious that a nation emerging from utter barbarism could have no means of recording its progress. But, for the same reason, it would also seem impossible to prove Sir J. Lubbock's case. The invention of the boomerang by the Australians is a most unfortunate argument, for nobody could possibly maintain that the natives of Australia were aware of the scientific properties of the parabola. It can only be supposed that by some accident a native, perhaps some centuries ago, picked up a stick which had by nature a parabolic shape, and that the form has been imitated ever since.

In Section F, the President diverged a little into the region of politics, and expressed his regret that some of the nations of Europe thought it necessary to keep up large armaments. Professor Rogers brought forward a motion (which was seconded by Sir J. Bowring and unanimously adopted), to the effect that endeavours should be made to introduce a knowledge of the metric system, by Government authority, into all schools receiving Government aid. Sir J. Bowring and Mr. J. Oldham read papers, under different titles, on the same subject, viz., the profitable employment of persons undergoing sentences of imprisonment. Professor Leone Levi, a most indefatigable collector of statistics, read a paper in which he compared the position and progress of Scotland, in relation to England and Ireland. The comparison was in every way in favour of Scotland, which, the Professor maintained, was superior in education, in industry, and in accumulation of wealth. Professor Rogers, in a paper "On the Funds available for Developing the Machinery of Education," vigorously attacked the University of Oxford, in which he was then Professor of Political Economy, contrasting the great aggregate wealth of the University and its several Colleges with the small number of

persons educated there (and those educated at their own expense); and saying that such a prodigious waste of power was never known. There is a great deal to be said for the views of Professor Rogers in this respect; but, as he frankly admitted, the money statistics are not known; the revenues of Oxford being variously estimated at from 200,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* per annum. It must be remembered that most of this income is enjoyed by persons who were not born to fortune, and who have worked up to their position by obtaining University Honours. But it must also be remembered that the *very* poor cannot live as undergraduates at Oxford; and that, consequently, the fellowships are frequently enjoyed by persons who could well afford to push their way without eleemosynary assistance. The question of "University Extension," which is closely connected with the subject of the Professor's paper, has occupied the minds of many thinking men at Oxford within the last few years, and it is probable that before long there will be some reform, though perhaps scarcely so complete a reform as Professor Rogers desires. The paper "On the Confectionery and Marmalade Trade of Dundee," read by Mr. C. C. Maxwell, is worthy of notice, as it gives some details of the wonderful success with which an almost fruitless country has laboured to establish an artificial source of wealth by importing and preserving the products of distant lands.

In Section G, the President gave a detailed account of scientific researches made by particular individuals at the request of the Mechanical Section since 1850. These reports were very numerous, and many of them were contributed by scientific men of high reputation, among whom were Dr. Fairbairn, Mr. Vignoles, the Astronomer Royal, Sir W. G. Armstrong. The Committee on Steam-ship performances then presented its Report, giving the results of the arrangement and condensation of materials accumulated by the Association in the course of many years. A very interesting paper was read by General Haupt, "On the Application of Machinery for Boring and Tunnelling," the chief object of which was to show, by explanations and diagrams, that steam power might be used with advantage in mining operations. Incidentally, the General alluded to the rapid construction of railway bridges during the American Civil War, and mentioned one instance in which a bridge 600 feet long and nearly 100 feet high had been constructed, chiefly by negroes, in four days and a half. It is needless to add, that the papers read in this Section were numerous and important. Most of them, however, were of a technical character, and it would be useless even to mention their titles here, since they would be unintelligible without the aid of longer explanations than our space will permit us to give.

Mr. C. Siemens has invented a remarkable apparatus, with the view of demonstrating the convertibility of dynamic into electrical force. This process consists in fusing metal by causing to rotate rapidly a bar of soft iron enveloped with copper wire.

In the course of a long series of experiments relating to engraving on flint glass, M. Kessler has discovered a species of ink, by means of which, with an ordinary pen, ineffaceable characters may be traced on glass. The ink (apart from thickening matter), is prepared with hydrofluat of ammonia and hydrochloric acid.

The graphotype process, of which the peculiar characteristic is that it reproduces the work of an artist without the intervention of the engraver's tools, is beginning to make way, and several very promising examples have been submitted to those who are interested in the mutual relations of Art and Science.

The application of electro-magnetism to the smelting of iron has been tried at one of the principal iron-foundries at Sheffield, it is said, with complete success. It is stated that this process expedites the melting, economizes fuel, and produces a purer article than that obtained by the methods usually employed.

A sea-bear and a walrus, which were great objects of attraction at the Zoological Gardens (being, it is believed, the first specimens of these species which ever lived to be exhibited there), have recently died. The sturgeon, which has been there for several years, is still living, and seems likely to attain a good old age.

Among the scientific works of importance we may mention "*Meteoric Astronomy, a Treatise on Shooting Stars, Fire-balls, and Aerolites*," by Daniel Kirkwood. It is not surprising that the extraordinary (though not unexpected) appearance of meteors in the year 1866 should have induced men of science to investigate existing theories, and to review, as far as possible, the whole subject. Dr. Kirkwood, who, we believe, is an American, but who has published his works simultaneously in Philadelphia and in London, has done all that can be done at present to place the history and theory of meteors clearly before the scientific and general reader.

In "*Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Fasciculus 3*," we have an instalment of a work of which we can only say at present that, if it is ever finished, it will form a very important link in the chain of geological investigation.

The death of our most distinguished English chemist, Michael Faraday, occurred on the 25th of August. He is lamented, not only as a man who contributed, more than any of his time, towards the advance of electro-magnetic science, but also as one whose unvarying good humour and kindness of heart caused him to be no less beloved than he was necessarily admired.

The Earl of Rosse, so well known for his efforts directed towards the construction and improvement of reflecting telescopes, died on the 31st of October. He was President of the Royal Society for some years, having succeeded the Marquis of Northampton in 1849.

Sir James South, formerly well known as an observer, and President of the Astronomical Society, died towards the end of the year, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

In concluding our Annual Retrospect we feel justified in observing that we have performed our task in a cheerful spirit. Although the year has not been distinguished by any thing very extraordinary, yet it has shown so many indications of consistent industry, that we can feel no anxiety at present as to the gradual but certain progress of Literature, Science, and Art in their varied and almost immeasurable ramifications.

CHRONICLE.

PART II.

CHRONICLE

OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN 1867.

JANUARY.

5. DESTRUCTION OF CROYDON CHURCH BY FIRE.—The ancient parish Church of St. John's, Croydon, was totally destroyed by fire. It was first discovered at half-past ten p.m. Owing to the bad state of the roads, occasioned by a heavy fall of snow, the London Engines were unable to come to the spot, and the local Fire Brigade was not powerful enough to cope with the flames. This calamity was deeply deplored by the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. Besides its great antiquity, the Church had peculiar historical associations, as containing monuments of no less than six, if not more, of the Archbishops of Canterbury, some of whom were among the most famous, and the memorials themselves were greatly cherished and respected as works of art. Hard by, what was once a palace occupied by high ecclesiastical dignitaries from time to time is still extant; and the Church itself was the burial-place of some of them, and not only of them, but of other personages of note. In a vault in one of the side aisles, were interred the remains of Mr. John Singleton Copley, himself famous as a painter and a Royal Academician, and as being also the father of the late Lord Lyndhurst. A plain slab in the floor of the Church bore a modest inscription, recording the name of the deceased, his rank as an artist, and his death in 1816. There were many mural monuments of eminent persons, some of them finely executed. The greater part of the fabric was erected in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but there were in and about it remains of work of an earlier date than that. It consisted of a massive square tower and belfry, with a nave, two aisles, and chancel; and a clock, with chimes, had proclaimed the flight of time for generations to the whole neighbourhood. The architecture was in the perpendicular

style of the Fifteenth Century. About seven years ago the whole interior of the Church was refitted with oak, finely carved, under the supervision of Mr. George Gilbert Scott, the eminent architect. The fire broke out in a part of the tower communicating with the roof, and is supposed to have been caused by the overheating of a flue used in warming the fabric. The roof of the side aisles was of old oak, as dry as tinder, and that of the nave of pitch pine, varnished; and when once materials so inflammable caught fire, they burnt with great rapidity, fanned as the flames were by a strong wind. The fire burnt, with more or less fury, during the whole succeeding night. On the fall of the roof in blazing masses, the fire was communicated to the interior woodwork, and eventually the destruction was complete. Of the fabric itself nothing was left, except the tower, which, however, was completely gutted, and the outside walls. Through the energy mainly of Mr. Whittaker, the parish clerk, the registers, dating from 1538 down to the present time, were saved, with the communion plate and an ancient lectern much prized. But, unfortunately, the organ, built by Avery in 1794, with subsequent improvements by Messrs. Hill, and one of the finest instruments of the kind, was completely destroyed. Connected with it was a very valuable library of music belonging to Mr. Rhodes, the organist, and containing many choice works of the old masters, all of which were consumed. The chancel, or rather the chantries, contained monuments of six archbishops, all more or less magnificent—namely, of Archbishop Grindall, who died in 1583; Archbishop Whitgift, who died in 1603; Archbishop Sheldon, 1677; Archbishop Wake, 1736; Archbishop Potter, 1747; and Archbishop Herring, 1774. The figures were mostly recumbent, and executed in marble and partly in alabaster—the monument of Archbishop Sheldon in particular, which was sadly defaced by the fire, being an elaborate piece of workmanship. The whole of the fine peal of bells, except one, was destroyed. The fabric was insured to the amount of 10,800*l.* in all.

7. FEARFUL STORM.—ACCIDENT TO THE MAIL TRAIN.—A tremendous storm of wind and snow prevailed over part of North Wales. It committed great havoc, and led to an accident on the Chester and Holyhead Railway, and the complete stoppage of the traffic for over twenty hours. Between Conway and Bangor the line runs almost continuously nearly on the edge of the sea, with high mountains towering over it. Notwithstanding the great fall of snow, there having been comparatively little drifting, the railway traffic was not much delayed. This evening, however, a violent storm of snow and sleet set in, accompanied by a terrific gale from the south-east. Snow drifted down from the mountains in blinding masses, and accumulated in the railway cuttings, blocking them up, so that, although the railway authorities had placed fifty or sixty men on the line in the exposed places to keep it clear, the work beat them, and the traffic was completely stopped at night. An

attempt, however, was made to get the mail train, which leaves Holyhead at 8.20 p.m., through the drift, and it was sent on from Bangor. The train had got half-way between Bangor and the next up-station (Aber), when, on passing along an embankment, the violence of the wind, which rushed down the valleys between the mountains as down a spout, was so great that, although the train was driven by two engines, in the hope of driving through the snow, it actually blew over the post-office van, and threw it on the side of the embankment. The engine couplings at the same moment snapped, and the engines ran on until they stuck in the snow (which was six or seven feet deep). The passengers' carriages also left the rails, but did not turn over. There were very few passengers, who escaped without serious injury. The post-office clerks also escaped miraculously, and when they could be got at it was found they had only sustained a shaking. The guard had to run back to Bangor; and, the telegraph communications being broken, it was impossible to stop down trains from coming on. The telegraph posts and wires were broken for two or three miles.

Mr. Lee, the engineer of the Bangor section of the line, and Mr. Binger of Cheshire, the district superintendent (who happened to be in the locality), were promptly on the spot, and every thing was done to clear the line; but, although the men worked through the bitter night, it was not until dusk the next day that one line of rails could be cleared.

15. FEARFUL ACCIDENT IN THE REGENT'S-PARK.—A fearful accident took place on that part of the Ornamental Water in the Regent's-park immediately opposite Sussex-terrace, by which a large number of persons lost their lives. On this part of the lake, which is the broadest, several thousand persons had been skating during the forenoon, without any accident taking place, although the ice was looked upon by the experienced icemen on duty as very unsafe, from its being principally snow ice. About half-past three o'clock in the afternoon there were near the same spot about 500 skaters, among whom were many ladies, there being at the same time on the banks from 2000 to 3000 spectators. Suddenly, and without any warning, the ice at the sides of the bank became loosened, and was drawn from the edge. Within a minute the whole sheet of the ice over the full width of the lake gave way, and split up into fragments of a few yards square. The consternation and alarm of the skaters and other persons on the ice may be well imagined, and a general rush was made for the banks. Unfortunately this broke up the soft ice into still smaller pieces. Numbers of persons fell through the crevices into the water, which is at least twelve feet deep, and several appeared at once to be sucked under the ice. At least 200 persons were struggling in the water, and screaming for help. A few, with great presence of mind, threw themselves flat upon the surface of the pieces of ice, and were thus not only instrumental in saving the lives of many of

those in the water, but preserved their own until assistance came to them. The screams of those struggling and sinking in the water, and the shouts of the people on the banks, added to the horror of the scene. The icemen, of whom the full number were on duty, did all that it was possible to do under the circumstances, and three of them narrowly escaped from drowning, having, when in the water helping the people out, been seized by others drowning, and pulled under the ice. Several of the park-keepers and spectators rendered all possible aid, and more than 100 persons, within a few minutes of the accident, were got on shore, the greater number of whom were so much exhausted that they had to be taken to the Humane Society's tent and placed under medical treatment. While this was going on, several persons who were in the water in the middle of the lake, and whom it was impossible for the icemen to reach, the ladders and boats being rendered almost useless owing to the state of the ice, were seen to sink back exhausted, evidently benumbed with cold, after vainly endeavouring to support themselves by clutching at the rotten ice, which crumbled away in their grasp. What made the scene the more dreadful was that the female relatives of many of those who fell into the water saw their struggles from the bank without the possibility of saving them. One lady saw her husband sink and lose his life, while two sisters were sending forth piercing screams and calling on the people to save their brother. He was drowned, and the two ladies were taken away in the most pitiable state, and sent to their home in a cab. Shortly after four o'clock a strong body of the D division of police, and an additional number of icemen from Hyde-park arrived, but too late to render any aid, except in getting out the bodies of those drowned, all the persons alive having by this time been rescued and taken to the tent. Some had suffered simply from the immersion and fright, but forty were lying more or less exhausted. Several of the medical men in the neighbourhood had hastened to the scene of the accident on hearing the news, and by unremitting attention on their part, under the direction of Dr. Obré, of Melcombe-place, Dorset-square, the surgeon of the district for the Humane Society, the sufferers had sufficiently recovered by five o'clock to be taken away in cabs, some to their own homes, some to the hospital, and others to the workhouse. The inhabitants of Sussex-terrace vied with each other in sending over to the tent all the necessaries required by the medical men. As soon as the ice was cleared, a body of icemen and labourers with great difficulty got out the boats to that portion of the water where it was known several persons had sunk. Before dusk seven bodies had been recovered, but it was known that there were many more under the ice. The bodies, as they were brought one by one to the shore, were taken to the tent, and their pockets searched for the means of identification, but in no case was this successful. One body was that of a gentleman aged thirty. The others were those of young men, apparently in the middle class of life, from eighteen

to twenty years of age. All the bodies when recovered had skates upon their feet. At seven o'clock the bodies were removed on stretchers to the Marylebone Workhouse for identification.

The work of breaking the ice, in order to search for the bodies of the numerous persons still buried under it was proceeded with the next day, and for several days following. This work was one of no small labour and difficulty. The ice was frozen hard and thick—so obstinate, in fact, was its resistance that fifteen, sometimes twenty minutes' hard work was requisite, with tools suitable for the purpose, before a narrow passage could be made allowing a boat to advance its own length. Seven boats, punts, or skiffs, were engaged at the portion of the lake where it was believed that the majority had fallen in; and it was as much as the men in them could do to make and keep sufficient openings clear for the purpose of using the drags. Along the edges of the lake, others co-operated by cutting and breaking pieces of ice as far out as they could reach, or by floating away fragments from the tracks and narrow canals left by the passage of the boats. By the evening of the 18th, no less than forty bodies had been recovered.

An inquest was held on the bodies of the deceased persons by Dr. Lankester, at the Marylebone Workhouse. Evidence of the identity of the bodies having been given, several witnesses who were present at the time of the catastrophe taking place described the circumstances which attended it.

George Frederick Caunt, one of the keepers in the Regent's-park, said he was present at the accident, but that he could not tell the cause of it. He had nothing to do with the cutting away of the ice; he only saw that it was cut away round the two islands, but not all round the edges of the lake. He was not aware that it was broken all along the north side, nor near the mound. The ladder which had been spoken of was placed in its position in consequence of the people making to a part of the lake where two or three persons had fallen in. The order of the constables was to prevent persons from breaking the ice, but there were many thousands of people on the ice, and there were only thirteen constables to watch all round and upon the lake. Witness never saw that the ice was broken on the terrace side.

William Archer, of 19, Henry-street, Portland-town, said he was a boat-builder in the employ of Mr. Searle. He had to attend at the park on the 15th; he was on the ice, and saw the accident, and he thought the cause of it was that the ice was not of sufficient thickness to bear the pressure. There was no ice at all on the previous Sunday. He could not give any opinion as to the effect of breaking the ice. Ever since he had attended the park the ice had always been cut round the islands, but nowhere else. It was done to keep persons from getting on the islands. The breaking of the ice would make it dangerous to a certain extent. Although the persons did rush to the ladder, there were other places where they might have got off the ice. The last man he recovered

walked with him on the ice to the land. The people got drowned by the ice closing over them. Those who got a footing were saved. If the man with his two children had not been a tall man, he and his two children must have been lost. He saved nine lives, but got ten persons out. If there had been more boats, more lives might have been saved. The icemen did their duty. He did not think that any other class of men would have done their duty better. The appliances of the Humane Society were quite sufficient, but they could not be got at owing to the general break-up of the ice.

Mr. Ernest Bunsen, of Abbey-lodge, Hanover-gate, Regent's-park, said he witnessed the accident. Three young men left his house to go on the ice about two o'clock on the 15th, and he followed them shortly after. They reached the ice about ten minutes before the accident. When he arrived he looked out for them, and, not seeing them, he sent his servant to find them. At that moment he saw three men engaged in breaking the ice round the South Island. He said to his servant that he did not like their cutting the ice. He said, "Why, they are doing it because the water has sunk." It would have been very rash at that time for any person to attempt to get on the island, as the ice was entirely broken up. Witness then left that end of the South Island, when, on turning round, he saw a skater fall into the water; he got out again, and the ice being strong enough to bear him he reached the land. On getting to the other end of the island he stopped, and almost instantly after the whole ice gave way. Witness then stated that he returned home to see whether the young gentlemen were there, but, not seeing their hats in the hall, he gave no alarm, but returned to the park, and ultimately he had the satisfaction of finding all three of the young men safe. Mr. Bunsen, then said that when crossing the suspension-bridge on the previous Sunday he observed that the ice was covered very thickly with pieces of ice, which had apparently been chopped off by boys or any body, and thrown on to the water.

Alfred Smith, of 8, Burton-crescent, deposed that he was on the ice on the 15th when the accident happened, and was immersed in the water. He tried to swim, but after a short time was taken into a basket-boat. If he had not been taken out, he must soon have died, for the water was so intensely cold that his limbs began to stiffen. He thought the cause of the accident was that the ice was completely worn out. It had been too much used. He was frequently cautioned by the icemen as to the insecurity of the ice; but he foolishly took no notice—nay, he rather laughed at them. He thought from what he saw that the icemen did all they could under the circumstances, and he was very grateful to the Royal Humane Society.

Mr. Thomas George Otley, who had lost a son by the accident, said that his boy was a good swimmer, and lost his life by assisting to save others. His body was found jammed between two pieces

of ice. He then propounded a theory by which he accounted for the accident. He considered that the earth beneath the lake contained a large quantity of latent heat, which operated upon the mud composed of vegetable and other decayed matter till it had generated gas, and that this converted the water of the lake into what he called a great bubble, and on the ice being broken the bubble burst, and the accident immediately followed.

Dr. John Randall, chief physician of the Marylebone Workhouse Infirmary, deposed that on the 15th fourteen persons were brought to the infirmary alive, and one on the 16th; and they all recovered except James Crawley. He was brought in in a dying condition; he lived for about three quarters of an hour; he did not breathe after the first five minutes, but the pulsation did not cease for fully half an hour after that. The other persons were not suffering severely. They appeared to suffer more from delirium and excitement. Dr. Silvester's plan for resuscitation was tried in the case of Crawley, but it did not produce respiration; they also tried Dr. Marshall Hall's plan, but without effect. Death in Crawley's case ensued from asphyxia, immersion, and cold. The marks on the body were produced by the remedies applied. None of the sufferers were severely cut by the ice. The process of Dr. Henry Silvester was simply the raising up and down of the arms. It was a very simple method, but he approved of it. The witness said that, as some reflection had been cast upon the men employed by the Royal Humane Society, he thought it due to them to state that two of those men were brought to the infirmary in a very precarious condition, and that many of them had risked their lives in trying to save those of others.

Charles Edwards, superintendent of the Regent's-park, said: The ice was dangerous on Monday (the 14th), and he ordered the park constables to keep off every body that they could. They, however, had merely power to prevent depredations. On the 15th, I gave directions to have it cut for the sake of the water fowl, and to prevent people going on the islands. Never had any complaint respecting it, or that there was any danger about it. The inhabitants do cut the ice, but I don't know whether they have any right to do so. I don't interfere with them. I have no doubt I could interfere with them if I thought it was proper. I believe the ice was cut towards the houses. It has been the practice for many years. They cut it to prevent people from injuring their gardens. My predecessor practised cutting away the ice. It had been done for several years. By the sewer it would take a month to empty the water. The lake covers eighteen acres. From six to eight acres of the ice were broken out of the eighteen. There is a sewer passing from South-villa under the water. It is about three feet two or three inches. I believe that would empty the whole lake. I do not know the depth of the sewer. I should say that it was sixteen feet or

seventeen feet under the bed of the water. A trench might be made in a day.

Mr. George Edward Douglas, the master of the Marylebone Workhouse, said he was not at the immediate scene of the accident, but he was about 100 yards from the broad part of the lake when it happened. It occurred to him that the appliances of the Humane Society were too limited to cope with so serious a calamity, and it was to him a wonder how their medical officer could assist so many sufferers. He met the police coming from special service from Marylebone Church, and he suggested to the inspector that it would be wasting time to take the persons from the lake to the tent, but that cabs should be hired, and take to the workhouse infirmary at once. He immediately went home and sent for their medical officer, and made arrangements for the reception of the sufferers. Referring to a list of the persons who had lost their lives by the catastrophe, Mr. Douglas said, to the best of his knowledge, it was a faithful record of the number of the dead. Thirty-nine bodies were brought to the house dead, and one person died after he was brought there. They had had numerous applications from the country, making inquiries for missing friends, but he did not think there was any probability of there being other bodies in the water. He thought that all those who had inquired for their relatives were satisfied that they were not in the lake. He had attended the lake from day to day, and he considered that it had been sufficiently dredged and examined; so that he thought they really knew the whole extent of the loss of life by the accident.

The Coroner then addressed the jury, and said he would not detain them long, as they had thoroughly attended to the evidence. He would just observe that, with regard to the deaths of thirty-nine persons out of the forty whose bodies had been brought to the Marylebone Workhouse, they would have to deliver the same verdict, because there could be no question that they had met their deaths by the same accident; but, with regard to the fortieth person, James Crawley, he having died after he had been rescued, they would have to deliver a separate verdict. After they had arrived at a conclusion as to the immediate cause of the deaths of these persons, it would then be their duty to inquire as to what was the cause of the accident itself which had led to so lamentable a loss of life. They would have to consider whether any person was criminally responsible for it, either by an act of commission or of omission, in having neglected to do that which he was legally bound to do. Now he was not prepared to say that there appeared by the evidence to have been any breach of duty on the part of any person officially employed in and about the park. On the contrary, there had been no interference whatever either by the police, the park constables, or the icemen. It was a place of public resort, and the people seemed to have taken the whole responsibility of

venturing on the ice upon themselves; therefore the jury could not throw the blame upon any of the persons who were there present in their various official capacities. If the law in this country were such as it was in others, by which it would be a trespass for a person to get on ice, or to allow others to get on ice which was not in a safe condition, then no doubt certain persons in this case might be made responsible; but in this country they had no such law; and he, therefore, thought, that although it was a case for a special verdict, no criminal verdict could be made to apply to it. At the same time, it was for them to consider whether any change might be introduced by legislative enactment, and that there should be both police laws and park laws which should prevent persons going on the ice when it was in a dangerous condition. It was not at all contrary to the genius of the British Constitution or to the law of the land that such regulations should be made. They could interfere to prevent persons from committing suicide. If a person were to be seen attempting to jump over a bridge, he might be dragged back by a policeman. Therefore, it was not at all contrary to the liberties of the people, or to the spirit and genius of our laws, that the proper authorities should have a right to prevent persons going on the ice to the danger of their lives. It seemed to him that the time had come when there should be some such legislative interference. It was well known to these people that there was danger; they were told that the ice was dangerous, and were warned off it by the icemen. They would, in their verdict, say generally what they considered might be the cause of the accident, and what steps they thought it advisable to adopt to prevent similar accidents in future. With regard to the cutting away of the ice at the edges, he thought there was this justification for the belief that the weakness of the ice led to the accident—namely, that by taking away the ice from the sides, the lateral pressure which was given by the earth was diminished on every side, and therefore it was taking away that support which might have saved all these lives. It had been stated that there was a practice of cutting away the ice at Paris and Berlin; but those cases and the present were not parallel, for in the two former cases the water was not of an unequal depth. There was, however, no doubt that the ice was unsafe at the time. There had not been two days' frosts acting upon it, and the ice ought to have been protected against the people going on it. There seemed to be no doubt that if the water had not been more than four or five feet deep no person would have been lost; and it would be competent for them to recommend to the Chief Commissioner of Works the desirableness of reducing the depth of the water. The assistance of the Royal Humane Society had been brought before them prominently, and they might like to allude to what had been done by that Society. There could be no doubt that the nineteen men on the spot had rendered great assistance, and they might feel disposed to incorporate that subject in their verdict.

The verdict of the jury was as follows:—

“We find that James Jukes, and thirty-eight others, named, met their deaths by immersion and drowning, in consequence of the breaking of the ice in the Regent’s-park water, on the 15th day of January.

“We find that James Crawley met with his death through immersion and exposure to cold.

“We find that the accident arose from the overcrowding of a large body of persons on the ice at the same time, while in a most dangerous state, caused by rottenness and partial thaw.

“Further, we would recommend the Legislature to consider the propriety of investing the police or other authority with power to prevent the public venturing upon the ice when in an unsound state, as the evidence adduced at this inquiry clearly shows that mere verbal warning is not heeded in such cases.

“We cannot too strongly urge upon the Government the necessity of reducing the depth of the water in the same manner as already adopted in St. James’s-park, so that a repetition of this terrible calamity should be rendered impossible for the future.

“We cannot separate without speaking a word of praise in favour of the icemen, park constables, police, parochial authorities, and others, for their efforts to save life on this occasion.

“We commend the Royal Humane Society to the public consideration.

“It now only remains for us to proffer our deepest sympathy to the unfortunate friends of the deceased—a sympathy that will, we are sure, be shared by the whole of the nation.”

The Coroner said that the first part of their verdict would be, in effect, that of accidental death,—that would be recorded; but the second part—namely, the resolutions—would not form a part of the verdict, but they would be recorded and communicated to the proper quarter.

The proceedings then terminated.

At a meeting of the Marylebone Vestry, a Resolution was passed in acknowledgment of the valuable services rendered on this sad occasion by Mr. Douglas, the Master of the Workhouse, and the official persons under him. The following letter from the President of the Poor-law Board to the master, Mr. G. E. Douglas, was read at the meeting:—

“January 17.

“Sir,—I have observed with great satisfaction the promptitude and energy with which you made arrangements for succouring the unfortunate victims of the late calamitous accident in the Regent’s-park, and I cannot refrain from expressing my warm approval of the measures taken by you, in conjunction with the medical and other officers of the Marylebone Workhouse, in this emergency.

“I remain, sir, yours faithfully,

“GATHORNE HARDY.

“Mr. Douglas, Marylebone Workhouse.”

A deputation from the Royal Humane Society waited on the Home Secretary, consisting of Mr. T. E. Baker, the treasurer; the Rev. Canon Nepean, the Rev. Mr. Hudson, and other gentlemen, and Mr. Lambton Young, the secretary. At this interview, the above gentlemen suggested that if an arrangement were made giving to the lake in Regent's-park a maximum depth of eight feet in summer and five feet in winter, clear of all mud, not only would fatal accidents in winter be prevented, but the ornamental waters would be more enjoyable and healthy in summer; whereas, at present, they were in the summer season very noxious to the public.

Mr. Walpole expressed his deep regret at the late accident, and his intention to give the suggestions of the deputation his careful and earnest consideration, with the view of determining on such measures as might, with the least possible interference with the free action and enjoyment of the public, tend to the preservation from danger, and from a recurrence of such a frightful accident as that which had just occurred.

22. THE AMERICAN YACHT "HENRIETTA."—The following correspondence, honourable to both parties, took place between H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh and Mr. James Gordon Bennett, jun., the owner of the yacht "Henrietta," which had recently proved the winner in the great American Yacht Race from New York to the Isle of Wight:—

"Off Cowes, 31st December, 1866.

"Your Royal Highness,—At Lord Lennox's dinner on Friday last, you were pleased to match your yacht the 'Viking' to sail the 'Henrietta' round the Isle of Wight next August, for a cup worth 100*l*. I would not say so then, because I was bound to make the match proposed; but, in fact, this arrangement will somewhat interfere with the disposition which I had determined to make of my yacht in case she should win the ocean race. I beg that you will accept as a New Year's gift to an English yachtsman the 'Henrietta,' as she now lies in perfect order off Cowes, and I have instructed Captain Samuels to hold her subject to your orders. The unbounded hospitality with which the American yachtsmen have been received by all classes in England will always be remembered in the United States with the warmest gratitude; and I sincerely hope that you will not deprive me of the opportunity of acknowledging this most cordial reception by presenting the winning yacht to the representative of English yachtsmen.

"I have the honour to remain, very respectfully yours,

"J. G. BENNETT, JUN."

"Clarence-house, 22nd January, 1867.

"Dear Mr. Bennett,—I find it difficult to express how gratefully I appreciate the kindly feeling which dictated your letter of the 31st ult., as well as the splendid present which you offer to my acceptance, but most of all the delicacy with which you seek to

diminish the personal obligation under which you would lay me by giving to your generous offer an international character. It is, indeed, this last consideration only which has led me to hesitate in replying to your letter, for personally it would have been impossible for me to accept so costly a present, but I felt bound fully to consider the question in the light in which you were good enough to place it; and if on full consideration I feel compelled to decline your generous offer, I trust that neither you nor your gallant competitors, nor your countrymen at large, will believe that the yachtsmen of England less appreciate, or less reciprocate, the feeling of good fellowship which prompted the offer. The 'Henrietta' is a vessel which any man may feel proud to possess, and I trust she may long continue in the hands in which she has accomplished so triumphant a success. We must try to find a rival to her, and do our best in common with all Englishmen. I sincerely hope that such friendly rivalry may be the only description of contest in which our respective countries may ever be engaged. It has given us great pleasure to offer a cordial reception to you and your companions in England, and I feel assured that if my professional duties in command of one of Her Majesty's ships should ever take me to your shore, I should there meet on the part of my brother seamen with a reception not less hearty than that which we have been happy to afford you here.

"Believe me yours sincerely,
"ALFRED."

24. RIOTS AT GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.—The suspension of ship-building and other works in the eastern suburbs of the metropolis having occasioned a great contraction of employment, a large number of workmen were reduced to severe distress, which was aggravated by the inclemency of the weather. Symptoms of a riot appeared in Greenwich and Deptford, large numbers of men patrolling the streets and making attacks upon some of the shops. During the afternoon a great number of tickets for bread were distributed from the relieving officer's house, and in the evening the premises were surrounded by some hundreds still seeking relief. It was then announced that no more tickets could be issued, as there was no more bread to be obtained. After waiting some time longer a simultaneous movement was made; but it then being the usual time for most of the tradesmen to close, the mob which had collected were, so far, baffled. One baker's shop they, however, completely plundered, and, proceeding along High-street, Deptford, they came to the shop of another baker, and were about to make a forcible entry, when the proprietor called upon them to desist from destroying his property, promising them that he would give them the whole of the bread he had remaining unsold. This had the desired effect, and loaves were thrown out at the door; and, seeing they had got all they could obtain, the crowd marched onwards, towards the Broadway, where an attack was made upon the shop

of another baker. The windows were broken, and a small quantity of bread which happened to be at hand was carried off. An additional police force had been on duty in the town during the evening, but they were wholly insufficient to prevent the mischief; and it was not until the arrival of the superintendent and a body of mounted police, and others on foot, that order was restored. Next morning, however, large numbers of men again assembled; and the tradesmen, apprehending a renewal of the previous night's riot, closed their places of business. The mob then proceeded towards Greenwich Workhouse, the guardians holding their usual weekly meeting at the time. The applicants, however, who attended to seek relief were not of the class who joined in the lawless proceedings, the latter being mere roughs and idlers. In all cases temporary relief was granted, and at night detachments of police from the several metropolitan divisions were on duty, and the most effective arrangements were made to cope with any disturbance that might arise.

The following morning the shopkeepers of Deptford and Greenwich had sufficient confidence in the strength of the police force to open their places of business as usual. There were no indications at any point of an attempt to renew the riots. In the forenoon there were not more than fifty persons, in groups of eight or ten each, at the top of High-street, in the Greenwich-road, where the unemployed are accustomed to congregate. There were not more than the usual number of straggling "roughs" idling in the principal streets of Deptford. The crowds of people which had filled the streets the evening before were gradually dispersed, and shortly after midnight all was as quiet as in ordinary times. There was a prevalent opinion in the neighbourhood that, but for the presence of a strong force of police which had been sent to aid the local constables, many acts of violence would have been committed and much property destroyed. The premises of the relieving officers were crowded with applicants. At Mr. Pattie's office, Deptford, five tons of bread, or 2800 quartern loaves, were given away. The conduct of people receiving the bread was most orderly, although the passage at Mary Ann's-buildings, High-street, leading to the bread depôt, was much crowded. At ten o'clock at night strong parties of the R division of police were patrolling the streets of Deptford and Greenwich. There was nothing to indicate that an attempt would be made to renew the disturbances. In all parts of the district there was perfect quiet, and the show of "roughs" in the streets was even less than on ordinary nights. There is no doubt that whatever was riotous in the previous proceedings was to be ascribed entirely to the "roughs," and not to the large class of unemployed working men. It is indeed greatly to the credit of these men that numbers of them applied to be sworn in as special constables.

31. **THE TALK O' THE HILL, HARTLEY, AND THE OAKS COLLIERY EXPLOSIONS.**—After repeated adjournments, the inquests on the

sufferers by these accidents, of which a full account was given in the last volume of the "Annual Register," were brought to a close; and the jury having met, for the thirteenth time, to hear the conclusion of the evidence, brought in the following verdicts:—viz. (in the first-named case)—"That the deaths had resulted from 'Accident;' that there was no positive evidence to show how the accident occurred; that there was an accumulation of gas in the lower workings, in consequence of the upsetting of a train in the doorway; that this gas was exploded by the unlawful exposure of a naked light by a collier; that if the rules made by the managers had been observed by their subordinates, the explosion might not have happened; that culpable neglect was shown by Rawson and Lawton in violating the rules which had been framed for the purpose of protecting life and property; that Nicholls should adopt some means whereby the observation of rules should be more strictly enforced, and that Government should appoint additional inspectors." In the second case—"That Richard Hunt and others were killed by an explosion of gas at the Oaks Colliery, but that there was no evidence to show how it ignited." The jury added that "they thought it was unnecessary to make special recommendations respecting the working of mines, as Government was collecting information with a view to a better protection of life; but they considered more strict inspection desirable."

FEBRUARY.

2. CONSECRATION OF COLONIAL BISHOPS.—Three Colonial Bishops were consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral—the Rev. R. Milman to the bishopric of Calcutta, the Rev. W. C. Sawyer to that of Grafton and Armidale, and the Rev. C. R. Alford to the see of Victoria (Hong Kong). The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, and was assisted by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of Dunedin, &c. There was a large assembly of the clergy, who were accommodated with seats on the altar steps. Most of the official dignitaries of the cathedral were also present, and took part in the ceremonial, which was witnessed by a very large congregation. The feast of the Purification was chosen for the ceremony. Matins were said at eight o'clock, and the ceremony of consecration commenced at half-past eleven. The procession entered the choir in the following order:—Bedsmen, choristers, lay clerks, followed by the canons of the cathedral, Dr. Twiss, the Bishops designate, the Bishops of Dunedin, Rochester, and Oxford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by the Dean and chaplains. The Archbishop was celebrant, the gospel being read

by the Bishop of Oxford, and the epistle by the Bishop of Rochester. The service commenced by the reading of the Communion Office, as far as the Creed. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, vicar of Islington (whose father, Dr. Daniel Wilson, was for twenty-six years Bishop of Calcutta), then ascended the pulpit, and preached an impressive sermon from Acts xx. 22, "And now, behold, I go bound in the Spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there." The organist then played an extempore voluntary as a prelude to Mendelssohn's "How lovely are the messengers of peace," which was given with excellent effect by the choir of the cathedral. The form of consecration was then proceeded with according to the rubric. The Bishops designate were severally presented to the Archbishop by the Bishops of Dunedin and Oxford. The Royal mandate of appointment in each case was then read, and the usual oaths were administered. The Litany, as far as the Lord's Prayer, was sung by the Rev. R. Hake, precentor of the cathedral, with the suffrages proper to the occasion; the remainder of the service being read by the Archbishop. After the usual questions had been put to the Bishops elect by the Archbishop and properly answered by them, the rest of the service was proceeded with according to the rubric; and the three candidates, after having robed, were formally consecrated by the imposition of hands in the usual manner. The *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, was chanted to appropriate music while the candidates knelt at the altar. The sacramental service was partly choral, and was most impressively rendered. After the act of consecration the offertory was collected, the Archbishop, Bishops, and clergy kneeling singly at the altar to make their offering. There was a large number of communicants, and the whole proceedings were conducted with the greatest order and decorum.

3. COMPLETION OF THE NELSON MONUMENT.—The long-expected Lions, the execution of which for the base of the Nelson Column, in Trafalgar Square, had been entrusted to Sir Edwin Landseer, were placed on their pedestals, and were an object of much attraction to the public. Some adverse criticism was, as usual, directed against the work; but, on the whole, the verdict of public opinion was pronounced, in decided terms, that Sir Edwin Landseer had in this added another to his many triumphs, in the representation of animal life. Photographic likenesses of the majestic beasts were taken in great numbers, and obtained an extensive sale.

5. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT BY THE QUEEN IN PERSON.—This day Her Majesty opened, in person, the second session of her seventh Parliament, and the thirtieth of her long and prosperous reign. The appearance of the Queen on this public occasion, after so long an interval of seclusion, made it a matter of great interest and satisfaction to the public, who manifested their loyal feelings by their attendance in large numbers along the line of route from Buckingham Palace to the House of Lords, although the weather was unfavourable. Both sides of Parliament-street were densely

packed; the windows of the houses, even those from which but an indifferent view could be obtained, were filled; and every site which was suitable, and many which were not, were made available for the erection of temporary stands and balconies. A battalion of the Grenadier Guards, headed by their band, was posted near the entrance to the Lords, and the Coldstreams opposite Palace-yard. Her Majesty occupied what is termed a "dress carriage," with eight cream-coloured horses. Though the down-pour of rain necessitated the closing of the windows of her carriage, so that few could catch a glimpse of the Queen, hats and handkerchiefs were tumultuously waved as Her Majesty passed along, and loud and enthusiastic cheers rose from the voices of tens of thousands.

The doors of the House of Lords were not opened till twelve o'clock; but long before that time a considerable number of ladies had collected, and the dim magnificence of the long corridors and chambers was enlivened by the presence of exquisite toilettes in the richest amplitude of the latest fashion. In a few minutes after the hour had struck, a considerable space of the Government benches was occupied; and from that time till after one o'clock the arrivals were incessant. The Opposition benches filled more slowly, for on these occasions this part of the Chamber is reserved for peeresses only, and the majority of these did not arrive till shortly before the great ceremony of the day began. No alteration was made in the interior of the House beyond those temporary lines of demarcation always used at Royal openings. The railings in front of the throne had been removed, and the throne itself, the only uncomfortable seat in all the House of Peers, was on this occasion almost entirely hidden by the Queen's robe of state. The gallery on the right of the throne devoted to ladies connected with the various diplomatic bodies was soon filled, and also that on the left of the Chamber. At the upper end of this, near the throne, sat a group of Indian Princes, the extraordinary magnificence of whose dresses and jewels made them for a long time the prominent features of attraction to the ladies present. Early after the opening, Prince Teck, wearing the handsome uniform of blue and silver of the Austrian Hussars, entered the House, and was conducted by Sir Edward Cust, Chief Master of the Ceremonies, to a seat just outside the body of the House, in which, as not being a peer, he of course could have no place. Towards one o'clock, the body of the House was almost filled with ladies. At about one o'clock the Bishops, in their robes of state (similar to those of Her Majesty's Judges, but without the wig), began to take their places on the Episcopal Bench. There was, however, not room for them all, and several had to sit with the Judges in front of the woolsack. At the same time, also, many peers in their robes took their seats. The part allotted to the Diplomatic Body had meanwhile been gradually filling, and the crowd of splendid uniforms covered with orders

and decorations, which is always to be seen there on these occasions, made it one of the most brilliant parts of the whole Chamber. The Ambassadors of Turkey, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia occupied the front seat, and behind these were the Ministers of Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Bavaria, while the background was filled up with Ministers from minor States and a crowd of Secretaries and Attachés.

At ten minutes past two the doors on the right of the throne, by which the Queen enters, were thrown open, and the whole of the illustrious assemblage in the Chamber rose with a great rustle, which was instantly succeeded by an intense silence, as every eye was fixed upon the door. Formerly, when the Queen used to open Parliament with the Prince Consort, her arrival was always proclaimed beforehand by brilliant flourishes of trumpets. On this occasion, however, as last year, the splendid procession entered amid solemn silence. First came the Heralds, bowing stiffly in their tabards as they passed the throne, then the chief officers of the Household, followed by Lord Derby, carrying the Sword of State, and accompanied by Lord Malmesbury. After these noblemen came Her Majesty, accompanied by the Princesses Helena and Louise, and Prince Arthur, and followed by the Duchess of Wellington, who stood behind the throne. The Queen, as she sat on the throne, had the Princesses, with Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury, on her left. On her right were the Lord Chancellor with the Speech, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Winchester, with the Cap of Maintenance, and the Duke of Richmond, bearing the Imperial Crown, while officers of the Household, the Chamberlain's Department, and the House of Lords closed in the background.

When the Queen had taken her place on the throne, the Lord Chancellor, by her command, requested their lordships to be seated, and the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod was despatched to summon the "faithful Commons." During the interval which always elapses before the knights and burgesses present themselves in almost tumultuous array below the bar, complete silence prevailed in the House of Peers, and every look was directed to the august occupant of the throne and those who stood around it. The Queen never stirred or looked to right or left. Her dress was a plain black silk, with the ribbon and star of the Garter. On her head was a Mary Stuart cap, surmounted by a demi-crown of brilliants, from the back of which depended a long white veil, and she wore the Koh-i-noor in a necklace. The Princess Helena wore a train of white satin, and the Princess Louise wore a shorter and more childlike dress of the same material. Both stood beside Her Majesty on the left of the throne, and were as motionless as the Queen herself. Prince Arthur wore the very plain uniform of a Cadet of the Royal Military Academy.

The "faithful Commons" came to the bar in a more orderly way than usual, though still not without an amount of

noise which provoked an almost general smile in the Chamber of Peers.

The Royal Speech, which was of rather unusual length, was read by the Lord Chancellor. It will be found together with the debates which arose upon it in another part of this volume.

The reading of the Royal Speech was listened to in silence, which deepened when the paragraph relating to Reform was read. At the end of the Speech there was a minute's pause, when the Queen bowed graciously from the Throne, and at once all rose at the signal. Her Majesty then descended the steps, and, turning towards the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, who were advancing to meet her, she came forward and kissed them both. Any thing more simple and affectionate than this greeting between the mother and her children cannot well be imagined. The Queen then presented her hand to the Duke of Cambridge and to Prince Teck, each of whom kissed it respectfully, and then again turning to the House she bowed, and left with the same ceremonial as she had entered, followed by her sons. In a few minutes the whole of the brilliant assemblage had broken up and left the House.

6.—THE JAMAICA INSURRECTION.—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST COLONEL NELSON AND LIEUTENANT BRAND.—Mr. Fitzjames Stephens made an application at the Bow-street Police Court, under the 24th and 25th Vic., c. 100, and the 11th and 12th Vic., c. 45, for warrants against Col. Nelson, late Brigadier-General in Jamaica, and Lieut. Brand, President of the Court-Martial at the trial of Mr. George William Gordon. Counsel said that both these persons were now within the jurisdiction of this court. This application was made in no vindictive spirit, but to obtain from the highest court in the land a decision on a question affecting the lives and liberties of the subjects of the British empire. Those who instructed counsel did not desire to shrink from their responsibility. Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P. for Westminster, and Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P. for Leicester, were the prosecutors. It had been at first intended to proceed under the 42nd Geo. III., by which crimes committed abroad by public authority were triable in England—under which Act General Picton was tried—but the judges had decided that that Act did not apply to charges of felony. Counsel then proceeded to state the facts of the case. The disturbance at Morant Bay, in the county of Surrey, Jamaica, occurred on the 7th of October, 1865, and martial law was proclaimed on the 13th of October throughout the said county of Surrey, and did not include Kingston. On the 17th of October, Gordon called at Governor Eyre's house in Kingston, and was arrested by Governor Eyre personally and Dr. Bowerbank, taken on board ship, conveyed to Morant Bay, and received in custody at Morant Bay on the 20th of October by Brigadier Nelson. On the 21st a form of trial was gone through by a court martial, and the decision in that court was recorded in Lieutenant Brand's handwriting as follows:—"The court having heard the prisoner's

defence, and also the witnesses called in his defence, consider the charges proved most fully, and do, therefore, adjudge the prisoner, George William Gordon, to be hung by the neck until he be dead, at what time and place the brigadier-general may appoint.—H. Brand, Lieut. R.N., President.—Morant Bay, October 21, 1865.” That document bears also an entry of approval in the handwriting of Brigadier Nelson, in these terms:—“Approved and confirmed. Moreover, I fully concur in the sentence awarded, such being fully borne out by the evidence. The prisoner to be hung on Monday next, the 23rd of October, 1865; to-morrow, the 22nd, being Sunday, and the state of this part of the country not rendering it necessary to inflict the punishment on the Sabbath Day.—A. A. Nelson, Brigadier-General Commanding Field Forces.—Morant Bay, October 21st, 1865.” The court-martial consisted of Lieutenant Brand, Lieutenant Errington, and Ensign Kelly. In the interval between the sentence and the execution, Mr. Eyre wrote a letter of approval to Brigadier Nelson, and Mr. Gordon was hanged on the Monday.—Dr. Alexander Fiddes, Mr. Gordon’s medical attendant, deposed to Mr. Gordon having been very unwell on the 26th of September, 1865. On the 17th of October, witness informed him that the Government had issued a warrant against him, and Mr. Gordon concurred in the propriety of calling upon Governor Eyre, who, when he called, took him into custody.—Mr. Andrew H. Lewis, a member of the Jamaica Council, and Justice of the Peace in three parishes, deposed that Kingston was excepted from the proclamation of martial-law. Witness saw Mr. Gordon tried by court-martial. Lieutenant Brand was president. Witness afterwards saw Mr. Gordon executed by sailors, under the orders of the provost-marshal; Mr. Gordon was not a soldier.—C. S. Roundell, secretary to the Jamaica Royal Commission, produced the documents laid before the Commission.—Mr. Beaumont, of Chancery Lane, shorthand-writer, stated that he took notes of the proceedings before the Royal Commission in Jamaica in 1866, and said the transcript thereof in the Blue-book was correct. It also included the whole of the evidence before the court-martial.—Mr. Stephens read from the Blue-book the evidence given by General Nelson before the Commission. The witnesses were cautioned by the Commissioners that their evidence might be used against them.—Mr. W. W. West, clerk to Messrs. Shaen and Co., solicitors, said from information received he believed that General Nelson could be found at the United Service Club, within the jurisdiction of this court.—Sir Thomas Henry did not think that sufficient evidence to show the person to be within the jurisdiction.—After some discussion, Mr. Stephens applied for an adjournment in order to produce a witness who had actually seen Brigadier Nelson going in and out of the United Service Club, and Lieutenant Brand in Regent-street.—Sir Thomas Henry consented to this course, and adjourned the proceedings.—On the 7th, Mr. F. Stephens applied for a summons for the attendance of the porter of the Senior Unit-

Service Club, to give evidence that Colonel Nelson was now in London.—Sir Thomas Henry granted the summons.—William Desborough then deposed that he had seen Lieutenant Brand within the last few days going in and out of Lane's Hotel, St. Alban's-place, Regent-street.—Mr. Stephens: I have now to apply for a warrant against Lieutenant Brand. Nothing can be further from the wish of all concerned in this proceeding than that any unnecessary personal indignity should be offered to these gentlemen, and the prosecutors would be happy to consent to any means devised to spare the defendants from imprisonment.—Sir T. Henry: You mean with respect to bail?—Mr. Stephens: With respect to bail or with respect to taking into custody on a warrant. I don't know whether such a course as this might be adopted—that the warrant officer should inform the accused that he had a warrant, but not to execute it if the accused gave his word to appear.—Sir T. Henry: We could hardly entrust that to a warrant officer.—Mr. Stephens: What we are doing is a severe measure, and there is no wish to add any unnecessary severity to what the law requires.—Sir T. Henry: At this stage I purposely abstain from expressing any opinion, except that you have opened a sufficient case for further inquiry, and I shall issue the warrants. It is competent for me to take bail. It is not usual in charges of murder, but this is an exceptional case, and I am prepared to deal exceptionally with it as regards bail.—The summons against James Laing, porter at the Senior United Service Club, was then issued.—In an hour afterwards James Laing attended, and said: I saw Colonel Nelson at the club on Saturday last. He calls there daily for his letters when in town. I do not know his private residence.—Both warrants were then issued.—On the 8th, Lieut. Herbert Charles Alexander Brand, R.N., was brought up in custody of Taylor, the warrant officer.—Mr. Shaen, solicitor for the prosecution, asked to have the evidence of Dr. Fiddes and Mr. Lewis read, and said he should then ask for a short remand. Sir Thomas Henry then informed Lieut. Brand of the nature of the charge, and told him that he was not at present called upon to reply to it.—The depositions were then read.—Sir Thomas Henry said as the prisoner had no professional adviser present, he had better postpone whatever he had to say to a future occasion. To the prisoner: Have you any friends to give bail for your future attendance?—Prisoner: Certainly not: I have no friends.—Sir T. Henry (to Mr. Shaen): He is a lieutenant in the Royal Navy. Have you any objection against taking his own recognizance?—Mr. Shaen: I do not feel justified in positively consenting to that course, but I shall not oppose it. I understand that there was some difficulty as to the serving of the warrant. I feel it to be my duty to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the court.—Sir Thomas Henry: Then I must bind the prisoner over in two sureties in 200*l.* each, and his own recognizance of 500*l.* to appear on Tuesday next.—In the course of the afternoon, Mr. F. W. Rousell, of 8, King's Bench-

walk, Temple, barrister, and Mr. Thomas Stilwell, 22, Arundel-street, Strand, navy agent, attended, and gave their recognizances in 200*l.* each. Mr. Rousell wished to make a statement on the merits of the case, but Mr. Vaughan said he could not hear it. The prisoner was bound in his own recognizance in 500*l.*, and he was liberated. — Mr. Green said he had reason to believe that Colonel Nelson and Governor Eyre would at the earliest convenient time surrender to answer the charge.

Eventually, after a good deal of evidence had been gone into at Bow-street, Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand were committed by Sir Thomas Henry to take their trial at the April sessions on the charge of murder.

11. THE REFORM LEAGUE DEMONSTRATION.—A procession of the members of this body took place according to a programme which had been previously issued by the leaders, which was punctually carried out. The weather was peculiarly favourable. Throughout the day crowds flocked towards Trafalgar-square, and before the hour fixed for the starting of the procession (two o'clock) an immense concourse of persons had assembled. Not since the entry of Garibaldi into London had Trafalgar-square worn such an aspect. Shortly before two o'clock the members of the council of the League came down the Strand in open carriages. They were received with great cheering by the assembled sections, who, in return, were exhorted by the members of the council to preserve strict good order and silence on their line of march, injunctions which it is but justice to say were followed to the very letter, and although some of the class called "roughs" fringed the outskirts of the crowd, evidently ready to avail themselves of any confusion, no chance was given to them in this respect, and at half-past two the sections moved to the square in the order laid down in the programme. The mounted farriers made a good opening for the procession, for they looked well, rode well, and were generally well mounted. The numbers collected in the procession were variously estimated at from 20,000 to a much higher figure, but the number of sympathizers who accompanied the procession, many of them wearing rosettes, &c., significant of their adherence to the cause of Reform, gave additional interest and importance to the demonstration. The procession was headed by a band, and the branches of the League—interspersed with trade societies—followed with their bands and flags. The banners were more numerous and more handsome than we had seen before. A request so strong as to be almost an order was made by the council to pass the Clubs in silence, and this rule was strictly complied with, the only exception being a slight cheer given at the Reform Club. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh occupied one of the upper windows of the United Service Club, and laughed heartily at the playful gambols of some of the troopers of the farriers who were accidentally halted at the end of Waterloo-place. At the Athenæum, opposite, the

Archbishop of York, one or two other prelates, and Mr. Charles Dickens were upon the balconies. In St. James's-street, some members of the House of Commons and several peers were at the windows of various houses with parties of ladies, the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Halifax, Earl Spencer, and Lord R. Grosvenor amongst them. The procession along Regent-street was very imposing. From King's-cross to the end of the journey the spectators were in full sympathy with the Reformers, cheering and greeting them with flags, &c., as they passed. The procession arrived at the Agricultural Hall at about a quarter to six, and entered the building in order. Colonel Dickson was the marshal, and Messrs. Langley and Bradlaugh deputy-marshals, of the entire procession, and each division had its sub-marshal. These gentlemen were on horseback. The Hall was speedily filled in all parts, and thousands of persons were unable to obtain admission.

At seven o'clock the President of the League (Mr. Beales) and his friends came upon the platform, and were enthusiastically cheered. He congratulated the meeting on the success of the demonstration. He read a letter from Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P., expressing his sympathy with the cause of Reform. The Reform Minstrels then sang the chorus which the Reform League has adopted as its rallying cry. Before the chorus had concluded, The O'Donoghue, M.P., and Mr. Potter, M.P., ascended the platform amidst loud cheering.

Professor Rogers moved the first resolution, "That this meeting consider it their duty to distinctly declare that no measure for the improvement of the representation of the people in Parliament will be satisfactory, which is not based upon the principle of the people themselves being directly and personally represented, instead of such representation being only virtual and sectional; and that such direct and real representation can only be effected by means of residential and registered manhood suffrage, protected in its free and honest exercise by the ballot."

The O'Donoghue seconded the resolution. He said he had just come from the House of Commons, and the impression made on his mind by the speech delivered that evening by Mr. Disraeli was that the Tory party intended, if they could, to smuggle a Reform Bill through the House of Commons without consulting the people [cries of "We shall turn them out"]. The Hon. gentleman, in a brief speech, inculcated the necessity for the people of England and Ireland uniting in their efforts for reform.

Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., supported the resolution.

Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., also supported it.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Ernest Jones, in proposing the second resolution, received quite an ovation. The resolution was as follows:—"That this meeting desires most earnestly to press upon the Liberal members of the House of Commons the absolute necessity, as they regard the peace and welfare of the country, of not consenting to any

measure of Reform designed to evade the full and just rights of the people to be directly represented in their own branch of the Legislature." He said that, as the people of England had long since seen the futility of trying the Tories, they now proposed to pass sentence upon them, and that sentence must be perpetual banishment from the councils of the nation.

Professor Beasley seconded, and Mr. Bradlaugh supported, the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Arthur O'Neill moved the third resolution, viz. "That in the opinion of this meeting the statements made in the House of Commons this evening, on the subject of reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, are eminently unsatisfactory, and complete the proof of the present Government being unworthy of the confidence of the country."

Mr. Councillor Bird, of the Glasgow Reform League, seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. Mr. Potter, of the Manchester Reform League, and like the others carried by acclamation.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and after several rounds of cheers had been given for Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and other popular Reformers, the assembly dispersed shortly before eleven o'clock.

13. FENIAN RISING IN THE COUNTY OF KERRY.—A party of Fenians, about 800 in number, assembled at Cahirciveen, in the county of Kerry. They sacked a coast-guard station at Kells, seized the arms, and shot a mounted policeman bearing dispatches, robbing him of his horse and arms. They then cut the telegraph wires, interrupting the messages by the Atlantic cable for about five hours, by which time they were restored. Troops were immediately sent from Cork to Killarney, and on the 14th the insurgents withdrew into the Toomes mountains by the Gap of Dunlo, whither they were pursued by a strong military force on the 15th. A large number of arrests were made in the next few days, at Dublin and elsewhere, of persons coming by sea, chiefly from the United States.

APPREHENSION OF A FENIAN ATTACK ON CHESTER CASTLE.—About noon it was observed that several hundred young men of from eighteen to twenty-five years old, and apparently of the labouring class, were gradually flocking into the city, and spreading themselves through the streets. A rumour quickly got abroad that the new comers, who had arrived about the same time from Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Halifax, and other neighbouring towns, were a body of Fenians, and that a premeditated movement of some kind was in view. The magistrates promptly held a meeting, which was presided over by the Mayor. Special Constables were sworn in and paraded the city, and the Volunteers and police were got in readiness for immediate action.

Mr. Binger, the superintendent of the station, at once made

arrangements to pull up the rails at points on the Birkenhead line if necessary.

The jewellers' and other shops were closed.

Information was of course communicated to the metropolis, and from nine o'clock p.m. a special train was kept in readiness at the Euston-square terminus of the London and North-Western Railway, by order of the Quartermaster-General; and at half-past two next morning, the 1st battalion of Scots Fusileers, under the command of Captain Phipps, left for Chester. The troops, 500 in number, were marched from St. George's Barracks, the special train conveying them consisting of twenty-seven carriages.

These vigorous measures frustrated any designs of insurrection which might have been entertained, but there was every reason to believe that the Castle at Chester was the intended object of attack by the Fenian detachment, with a view of seizing the arms stored there, and which, as it afterwards appeared, were very insufficiently protected by the guard of the Castle—a fact of which no doubt the intending assailants were well aware. The following is a summary of the information obtained by Mr. Fenwick, the Chief Constable of Chester, and of which subsequent discoveries afforded much confirmation.

The Fenians had recently organized in New York a band of fifty, whose special mission it was to proceed to England and Ireland, and endeavour to resuscitate the dying brotherhood. These men were understood to have arrived in England. Fifteen of them were stationed in the metropolis, and there formed a Directory. Eight of them were ex-officers of the American army. There were also similar Directories at Liverpool, at Manchester, at Leeds, at Glasgow, and at Birmingham. For some time past these Directories had been making arrangements to concentrate their forces upon some place which was to have been afterwards designated. This was not done, but a meeting was called for Sunday, the 10th, at Liverpool, and it was then resolved to attack Chester Castle the following day, seize the arms deposited there, cut the telegraph wires, tear up the rails, and make good their escape by rail to Holyhead, and trust to fortune to get across to Ireland. What arrangements were to be made for their reception in Ireland did not transpire. It was also understood that they would attack the banks and jewellers' shops. It was also given out freely at the meeting why Chester Castle was selected. Up to midnight on the Sunday, Chester was not protected by more than half-a-dozen soldiers, on guard at the Castle, and twice as many unarmed policemen in the city. Under their protection were no less than 9000 stand of arms (a few weeks before there were 30,000, but the bulk had been removed for conversion into breech-loaders), 4000 swords, and 900,000 rounds of ammunition, in addition to powder in bulk. There were also stored in another part of the Castle 900 stand of arms belonging to the Militia; and in a small building

in the city were 200 stand of arms belonging to the Volunteers. It was stated that the whole force stationed at the Castle was one company of the 54th Regiment, and that they were disaffected.

The first intimation received in Chester of the intended raid was at 12.30 a.m. on the 11th, by Mr. Fenwick, from Mr. Superintendent Ryde and Detective Inspector Carlisle of Liverpool, and was to the effect that an ex-officer of the American army, who produced his commission as an officer in the Fenian service, had revealed the whole plot to them. The Mayor of Chester lives at Broughton-hall in Flintshire, so Mr. Fenwick at once saw Mr. Maysmor Williams, the Deputy-Mayor, and from him went to the commandant of the detachment at the Castle. Prompt measures were taken, and the commandant telegraphed to the Assistant-Adjutant-General at Manchester for a reinforcement. They next went to the station, and gave instructions for the trains to be watched as they arrived. At 2.30 a batch of thirty fellows arrived from Liverpool, and were evidently under the command of an officer. They marched up and down the platform by twos and threes, and at length took possession of the first-class refreshment-room. They were soon followed by further detachments of from thirty to sixty, from Liverpool, and some from Manchester, all of similar appearance. These dispersed quietly into the town. Early in the morning the Volunteers were called out, but as there was some doubt whether they could act, except in case of invasion, a telegram was sent to Mr. Walpole—and his answer was that Volunteers ought not to be employed in their military capacity in quelling disturbances; but, in point of law, they would be justified in acting as individuals in aid of the civil power, and in a serious emergency they might use their arms if necessary. The Volunteers were thereupon sworn in as special constables. By the assistance of the police at Liverpool, and Manchester, the Chester police were kept apprised of the different departures of suspected bodies of men. At three o'clock it was ascertained that over 500 of these men had arrived. About the same time it was ascertained that a number of their officers had been in Chester over night. Early in the afternoon the strangers became much bolder, and assembled in threatening bodies. Fortunately at this time a company of the 54th Regiment arrived from Manchester. Affairs went very quietly up to four o'clock, when a train from Manchester and Stalybridge brought a reinforcement of 400 in one batch. Later on forty men arrived from Halifax, and seventy from Leeds. Shortly after five, it was ascertained that the Fenians numbered from 1400 to 1500. A number of men who were supposed to be their leaders collected at a house where the police had been informed they would meet for orders.

, Spies and scouts had been sent out among the Fenians early in the day, but found them extremely reticent, and could get no clue from them. At six p.m. these scouts brought information th

the men were forming in column on the Liverpool and other principal roads.

Captain Smith, the county chief constable, had draughted a body of the county constabulary into the Castle to assist the military. Telegrams were forwarded from time to time to the Secretary of State. A copy of the following anonymous letter sent to Major Greig, chief of the Liverpool Police, on the Monday morning, was received by Mr. Fenwick in the evening, and coincided singularly with the information already in his possession:—

“Dear Sir,—You could do your country much service, as at present there are 600 men in Chester, to be increased by night to 700, to take the arms and ammunition of the garrison; and, as the garrison is disaffected, it is supposed they will do it with little loss. They are to leave Birkenhead by every train from the first in the morning. All to be there by seven at the latest. They leave in numbers of from thirty to sixty in every train.”

At night, Mr. Johnson, the Mayor, convened a public meeting, which was most earnest; and over 500 citizens were sworn in as special constables, and paraded the town in large bodies throughout the night. The following magistrates:—The Mayor, Mr. Maysmor Williams, Major French, Mr. E. C. Walker, Mr. A. Potts, Mr. Frost, Mr. R. Frost, Mr. Rogers, and others, were in constant attendance for the purpose of swearing in special constables, and for advising on the action to be taken. It was deemed desirable to call out the yeomanry, and for that purpose the permission of Lord Grosvenor and Lord de Tabley was telegraphed for. Lord Grosvenor replied that he would come down by the night mail; and, accordingly, he and Lord Richard Grosvenor arrived in Chester at 12.48 on Tuesday morning, and remained with the magistrates through the night. Before leaving London Lord Grosvenor communicated with the Commander-in-Chief, who at once telegraphed that he had ordered a battalion of Guards by special train to Chester. During the night the Fenians evidently came to the conclusion that the preparations were too much for them; and, as the night advanced, parties of tens and twenties were seen leaving on foot for Warrington and other neighbouring towns.

Although all danger of any serious attempt had died away after the town's meeting, the police were kept on duty, as many suspicious characters were still to be seen in the streets. The next morning two haversacks with green bands and a quantity of ball cartridges of private make were discovered on a piece of vacant land close to the railway station. Shortly after this, three or four suspicious-looking fellows were arrested in the station-yard, and being unable to give any satisfactory account of themselves, were sent back to Manchester, whence they said they had come. After this, all was quiet again, except the assembly of a large crowd in the station yard, until a quarter to eleven o'clock, when special train, conveying the 1st battalion of the Scots Fusileer Guards, drew up; and as they formed on the platform, 500 strong, they were received

by the inhabitants with a cheer which showed how much their anxieties were removed by their arrival. They were divided into two detachments, one of which was accommodated at the refreshment-room of the Railway Hotel, and the other at the Assembly Rooms, until arrangements could be made for quartering them. All Chester turned out to welcome their defenders; and it was conceded on all hands that, with such material for defence, Chester need no longer fear a Fenian raid.

In the afternoon the city magistrates held a meeting at the Grosvenor Hotel, the Mayor presiding. Much satisfaction at the prompt arrival of the Scots Fusileer Guards was expressed, and it was thought that their presence afforded ample security without the necessity of swearing in more special constables.

Among the ammunition found in the morning were a number of revolver bullets.

On the morning of the 12th, in consequence of the telegraphic communications received by the Government, sixty-seven men were arrested at the North Wall, Dublin, on board the Holyhead and Liverpool steamer, as soon as she arrived. It was supposed that they threw their arms and ammunition overboard on seeing the police. Three were found concealed on deck. The prisoners were lodged in Richmond Bridewell. They were shabbily dressed, and looked reckless and desperate.

20. BIRTH OF A SON TO THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES.—This morning at half-past six o'clock, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a princess.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was present. The Secretary of State for the Home Department arrived at Marlborough House shortly after.

This happy event was made known by the firing of the Park and Tower guns.

It was also announced to the citizens of London in the subjoined official communication addressed to the Lord Mayor by the Secretary of State:—

“Whitehall, Feb. 20.

“My Lord,—I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a princess at half-past six o'clock this morning.

“The confinement, which was most favourable, was not in any way affected by the rheumatism from which the princess is suffering.

“Her royal highness and the infant princess are going on quite well.

“I have the honour to be, my lord,

“Your lordship's obedient servant,

“S. H. WALPOLE.

“The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.”

A copy of this communication, immediately on its receipt, was posted in front of the Mansion House.

The following bulletin was issued on the following day:—

“ Marlborough House, Feb. 21 (11 A.M.).

“ Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, though still suffering from rheumatism, is making satisfactory progress.

“ The infant princess continues well.

“ WILLIAM JENNER, M.D.

“ ARTHUR FARRE, M.D.

“ E. H. SIEVEKING, M.D.”

The subsequent bulletins were equally favourable, and her Royal Highness's recovery proceeded as well as could be desired.

26. DISASTER ON THE LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.—At twenty minutes past eleven o'clock p.m., a very serious accident happened at Clifton, near Penrith, on the London and North-Western Railway. It seems that as a luggage-train from the south was passing Clifton the axle of one of the waggons broke. After proceeding a short distance, the waggon ran off the rails, and then general confusion ensued; other waggons and some vans, including one which contained about four tons of gunpowder, ran off the metals, and the train was speedily brought to a standstill. The gunpowder van, along with another containing salt, was “slewed” upon the line running southwards, and thus the whole of the road was entirely blocked up. Not long after the accident happened, a goods-train for the south came up, and the confusion was so great that sufficient means were not taken to check it, and in a few minutes the engine came into collision with the gunpowder van. Either the concussion which ensued or the sparks emitted from the engines produced one of the most terrific disasters ever witnessed on a railway, for the moment after the engine struck the van all the powder it contained exploded with fearful force. The entire four tons of gunpowder blew up in one vast cloud of smoke and flame, the latter illumining the entire district, and the explosion seemed to shake it fairly to its centre. The earth quivered as if in the throes of an earthquake, and the shock terrified people for miles around. Waggons and goods of all sorts were whirled about in every direction, and a scene of destruction seldom, if ever, witnessed on a railway was presented. The driver and stoker of the engine which ran into the powder-van were instantly killed. Goods contained in both trains were set on fire, as were also some of the waggons, and they continued to burn for hours. The shock of the explosion was heard for sixteen or twenty miles, and the windows of houses three or four miles distant were shaken, and in some instances broken. About six hours and a half elapsed before both lines were cleared.

— EXTRAORDINARY BULLION ROBBERY.—This afternoon, between three and four o'clock, Messrs. Rothschild despatched a covered van from their banking establishment in St. Swithin's-lane, Cannon-street, City, with twenty-four cases of bullion for

shipment to Hamburg and Rotterdam. The van belonged to a carrier who had been many years employed by them. The custom of the house in forwarding or receiving bullion or specie from any part of the metropolis is to make a person in their employment accompany the vehicles. On the present occasion the twenty-four cases (weighing about 2 cwt. each) were to be shipped on board two steamers lying in the river. Twelve of the cases were for the Waterloo, Captain Stranack, bound to Rotterdam, and the other twelve for the John Bull steamer, bound to Hamburg—both belonged to the General Steam Navigation Company—the former then lying alongside the Harpy revenue cutter, off the Tower, and the John Bull off Horselydown. All the cases were marked and lettered, and the person sent with them was provided with two lists or tallies of the marks on the cases, in order that he might tick them off in shipping them, persons representing the steamer being furnished with a duplicate list to do the same as they received them. The van proceeded to Nicholson's Wharf, where the bullion was taken out and placed in a boat belonging to Mr. Gray, lighterman, in Water-lane, which was lying off the wharf, and then pulled off alongside the Waterloo. The steamer had been taking in cargo, and was in charge of the chief mate. The moment the bullion boat came up, he attended to the shipment of the cases. They were hauled up by the vessel's crane, two at a time, and immediately lowered into the fore hold of the vessel, the representative of Messrs. Rothschild ticking them off his list as they left his custody, and when the twelve had been put on board he received from the chief mate a receipt of their safe delivery on board, and left. The chief mate went into the hold with the boatswain and saw them securely stowed away, and as other goods came down these were placed round the bullion cases, so as to fill up the 'tween decks. The hatches were then put on and fastened with iron bars; these were secured with a padlock, locked by the chief mate, who kept possession of the key. There were on board at this time ten hands of the crew (Captain Stranack was not on board) and three Custom-house officers. The latter came on board the Waterloo at Gravesend on her last homeward trip, and in accordance with the Custom-house regulations, would remain on board till the steamer had cleared Gravesend on her outward trip. At night time they kept watch and watch the same as the crew did, and during the whole of the night and following morning there were always two persons on deck keeping watch; indeed, they never quitted the deck for a moment, and yet, by some unaccountable means, two of the cases of bullion were abstracted from the hold, and the thieves got clear off with them. The intention, no doubt, was to carry off the whole of the twelve cases, as the thieves had a lighter alongside the steamer to receive them, but they were disturbed and made off. The robbery was not discovered till six o'clock the next morning, when the chief mate unlocked the padlocks and removed the bars for the men to remove the

hatches. It was at once seen that the cargo had been disturbed during the night, and upon the mate examining the cases two were found to be gone, and, from appearances, it was quite evident that they had passed outward up the hatchway, and that the hatches had been removed. It was impossible for one man to have passed the cases up on to the deck on account of their weight—2 cwt. each—the distance being some 10 ft. or 12 ft.; and the conclusion arrived at was that the thieves must have hauled them up with a pulley-rope attached to the top of the steamer's crane, and by the same means lowered the cases into a lighter alongside, but how this could have been done with one of the crew and a Custom-house officer on deck on the look-out is the most extraordinary part of the affair. As soon as the discovery was made, the Thames police were called on board, and strict search was made by them among all the vessels lying near the Waterloo for the stolen cases, but without avail, and during the day the officials of the General Steam Navigation Company were engaged making a searching investigation into the whole facts of the robbery; but with the exception of showing that a lighter which was moored alongside the steamer the night previous had disappeared in the morning without the consent of its owner, nothing transpired. Notices were served by the officers having the case in hand on the numerous gold and silver refiners in London of the description of the stolen bullion, stating that a reward of 100% had been offered by the General Steam Navigation Company to any one giving such information as might lead to the apprehension of the thieves, with an addition of 10 per cent. on the value of any portion of the bullion recovered. The quantity of silver stolen was represented at 10,080 oz., valued at 2520%. Each bar weighed nearly 84 lb., bore Baron Rothschild's stamp, and was numbered. The lighter which was stolen from alongside the Waterloo steamer on the night or morning of the robbery, and was, no doubt, used by the thieves to carry off the bullion, was afterwards found abandoned athwart the piles of the works of the new bridge building at Blackfriars. The oars belonging to it were gone, and part of the combing of the hatch of the cabin newly broken off, evidently by something very heavy falling on it, as would have happened had one of the bullion cases dropped on it.

MARCH.

4. LAMENTABLE LOSS OF LIFE BY FIRE.—At Accrington, in Lancashire, a most disastrous fire occurred, by which a school-house was destroyed and several children were burnt to death.

The school where the disaster happened was situated in King-street, Accrington, just beneath one of the railway arches, and it formed the second story of a large brick building. The mistress was Miss Letitia Burscough; her tuition was mainly confined to young children, and her school numbered about 100. The first story or ground-floor of the building named was occupied by a heald-knitter named James Duckworth, who had within it five heald machines and three frames. A flight of wooden stairs ran up to the schoolroom, and under one part of the steps there was a small compartment, containing a stove, which was used by Duckworth for drying his healds after they had gone through the process of varnishing. On the day of the fire there were sixty or seventy sets of healds in this compartment, and they were being dried in the usual manner. In the schoolroom above there were probably about 100 children in attendance. All proceeded as usual, in both the heald-knitting room and the school up to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, but a few minutes after that hour two women employed in the former place by Mr. Duckworth, who was at that moment absent, observed some smoke, and then a flame of fire, burst out at the side of the stairs. The women hurried out, and saw Mr. Duckworth; and he, on being informed that the place was on fire, proceeded at once to tell Miss Burscough, the schoolmistress, in order that she and her scholars might make their escape. Miss Burscough had, however, previously perceived a strong smell, as if coming from something which was on fire, and when Mr. Duckworth got to the premises he met her coming down the stairs. He informed her that the building was actually on fire, and that no time must be lost in getting the children out. Miss Burscough then ran into the street for assistance. Some of the children, having heard what was the matter, followed her, while others, terrified and confused by the suddenness of the disaster, or unable to make any special effort, remained in the room, which was becoming rapidly filled with smoke and enveloped in fire. After Miss Burscough had given an alarm, she ran back to the schoolroom and got out several of the children. While continuing her courageous labours, the wooden staircase, having been burnt through in one part, fell, and the remaining children were for a time cut off from all assistance. An indescribable scene ensued. The imprisoned little children were uttering the most pitiable cries; some of them were huddled together near the desk

of the mistress ; several were screaming at the top of the broken staircase, which was being rapidly destroyed by the extending flames ; many of them were standing near the windows imploring help, and nearly all of them were crying for their fathers or mothers to come and save them. In the meantime, a large number of persons had been drawn around the premises, and all sorts of suggestions were made as to the rescue of the children. A policeman named Burton, who lives near the school, and who happened to be at home when the fire was announced, hearing some children shouting out, hurried out, broke open a door, and in a moment or two was in the schoolroom. The place was filled with smoke—indeed it was so choked up with smoke that he could see nothing at all. The screams, however, which came from the poor children told him that the room was not empty. He shouted out to ascertain where the children were, and on hearing some one shriek, he groped about and eventually met with a child, which he lifted into his arms and carried to the nearest window. Having dropped the child through the window into the arms of some of those people who had congregated in the street below, Burton resumed his search in the room, met with more children, and put four of them through the window in the same manner as the first one named. When he had got the fifth child his position became unbearable ; a dense stifling smoke filled the room, and the whole place seemed to be getting nearly as hot as a furnace, for during the whole of this time the flames were spreading, and the fate of the remaining children seemed to be sealed : nothing but death by either fire or suffocation was apparently left for them. Directly after Burton had seized the fifth child, a broad flame of fire burst into his face, but it either passed by him or went out in a moment, as if it had been a flash of lightning, and he was not much the worse, his hair, eyebrows, &c., being only a little singed by it. The danger he stood in if he remained any longer in the room was, however, clearly indicated by what took place ; and, therefore, after dropping the child he had with him into the arms of the bystanders, he got out of the building. What was next to be done now became the great question, for, however great the difficulties might be, the children still in the school could not be left without making some further effort. After Burton had got out of the building, a ladder was obtained and reared up against one of the windows. A blacksmith, named Robert Wilson, first got to the top of it, and with the assistance of other people near he succeeded in saving about half a dozen children who had crowded to the window. While Wilson was up the ladder, a number of people, naturally anxious for their children, whom they had reason to believe were still in the school, crowded round the foot of it, while some climbed partially up it. The consequence was that the ladder broke, and at the very time it fell there were some children crowded near the window and crying for assistance—which, alas ! could not be rendered them. On the opposite side of the school, steps

were being taken to rescue the children. Mr. E. Appleby, of the corn-mill adjoining, procured a ladder, and broke in some of the windows. Before this, some of the children imprisoned in the school had broken several squares of glass, by means of which a small supply of fresh air was obtained. Some of the children jumped out of the windows into the arms of persons below: between twenty and thirty were altogether taken out of the school-room on this side. Mr. Appleby entered the school after the children had jumped out, and saved three, while another man who climbed the same ladder rescued two. During the measures taken to rescue the children, a man named Henry Alison rescued several more. A man named Michael Malone also acted very bravely. He saved eleven children, and only ceased his labours when the smoke and flames became so dense and hot as to fairly drive him out of the room. Two men, named Thomas Wilson and Thomas Foster, likewise exerted themselves in a very praiseworthy manner. When Mr. Appleby and the other man who ascended the ladder had rescued the five children referred to, the interior of the school got so hot and so full of smoke that it was impossible to go into the place at any part. The fire-brigade, who had previously been summoned to the premises, now began to operate. A copious supply of water was obtained, and eventually the flames, which had shown themselves in different parts, were materially checked; indeed, the fire was so reduced as to induce the hope that in a short time another opportunity would be afforded to re-enter the schoolroom, and get out the children still confined there. This hope was presently realized; and Burton, the policeman, again mounted a ladder, got through one of the windows, and proceeded to search for the children in the school. He was not long before he reappeared at the window with the dead body of a child in his arms. Nine dead bodies were found in the schoolroom. The features of many of the children were so scorched and blackened as to only just admit of their identification. A few of the children who were rescued by being dropped out of the windows sustained injuries, but none of them were seriously hurt. The fire was extinguished about one o'clock in the afternoon, the brigade having worked very vigorously. How the fire originated is unknown. The natural inability of little children to look out for themselves, as those of maturer years would have done, the narrow and comparatively inconvenient means of egress, the confusion caused by the smoke, and the rapid progress of the flames, which were at their greatest height in about twenty minutes, account for the great loss of life. The precise cause of the death of the children is also a question; whether they were actually suffocated or fatally burnt. The heat of the room was no doubt very great. There was, to all appearance, sufficient smoke in the room to have suffocated nearly all the children, and the marvel is that they did not succumb to it. Police-constable Burton could see none of the children in the room whom he rescued; they seemed to be in the middle of

the floor, and he had to feel for them as he went along. The loss in property to Mr. Duckworth was considerable; and what is still worse, he had to mourn the loss of one of his children, who was taken out of the school with those scholars found dead.

An inquest was afterwards held on the bodies of the nine children who lost their lives. Several witnesses were examined, and many conjectures as to the cause of the fire were propounded. The most probable was that the healds which were drying in Mr. Duckworth's room under the school must have fallen off the hooks on which they were placed, upon the hot pipes connected with the stove. The number of children in the school when the fire broke out was about a hundred. No blame was attached to any one. Mr. Duckworth appeared to have had no idea of any danger, and Miss Burscough, the schoolmistress, was acknowledged to have fully done her duty. Several persons distinguished themselves by courageous acts mentioned during the inquest, and all the witnesses concurred in praising Police-constable Burton for the manner in which he rescued many of the children. The inquest lasted five hours and a half. The jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death."

7. ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.—A clear sky during the time at which this phenomenon took place afforded a favourable opportunity of observing the features by which it was accompanied. A dull morning following a fall of snow gave at first but little hope of seeing any thing at all; but a few minutes before eight o'clock a cleft in the clouds permitted a full view of the sun, which remained shining brightly during the whole progress of the eclipse, the disc being only occasionally covered with light clouds that softened the light without obscuring the view. The moment of first contact, observed with a telescope, was 8.17 a.m., and in about five minutes after this the indentation on the sun's limb was clearly visible to the eye protected by smoked glass. The dark shadow continued to increase and the light to diminish perceptibly till 9.32 a.m., when the moment of greatest observation was reached. At this time a most peculiar grayish yellow light was spread all around, and the snow-covered hills assumed a pearl gray tint. Fowls went to roost and the pigeons retreated to their cote, where they remained a considerable time. At this instant the serrated edge of the moon was very distinct, the points standing out against the bright disc of the sun, and a peculiar whirling movement was noticed in the clouds. The light soon increased in brilliancy, and in a few minutes the cocks began to crow and the sparrows to come out from under the eaves of the houses, chirping loudly; and at 10.51 the last shadow passed away from the sun's disc.

11. CALAMITOUS FIRE.—Early this morning, in the neighbourhood of Old Quebec-street, Oxford-street, a fire occurred, by which six persons lost their lives, and three others sustained serious injury. It broke out in a sort of double house situate at the corner of Bryanston-street and Old Quebec-street. On the ground-floor there were two shops, occupied by Mr. S. Munding, bootmaker, and

Miss Caley, milliner. The upper portion of the house contained about thirteen rooms, let out to different families: on the first floor, one room was occupied by an elderly man named Slater and his wife, the remaining rooms by Mr. Chanticleer, his wife, and daughter. On the second floor lived a man named Carter, his wife, and three children; and in another room Elizabeth Cornelius, formerly in the service of the Marquis of Londonderry. On the third floor lived Mr. and Mrs. Marcombe, and a Mrs. Search and an adopted child. Respecting the cause of the fire, very little information could be obtained. There is reason, however, to believe that it originated in the room occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Carter. They were the first to escape from the house, though very much burnt about the head and arms; and being almost stupefied, it is supposed they were unable to give an alarm to the other inmates of the house, who unfortunately were not sensible of their fearful position till the fire had reached their bedrooms. Two or three escaped by jumping from the window into the street, and several were rescued by one of the escapes belonging to the Royal Society, brought from the Edgware-road station. The brigade engines from Baker-street arrived early; but by that time the whole of the upper portion of the two houses was in flames. The firemen, hearing screams proceeding from the grating in the pavement over the kitchen, immediately tore up the iron bars, and succeeded in extricating two elderly women named Harcome and Seacome, who slept in the lower part of the house. There was no time lost in bringing together numerous other engines of the brigade, and most of them were made use of. The flames, however, destroyed the whole of the rooms in the house, with the roof, and only the shops escaped. As soon as the fire was sufficiently extinguished, and the ruins cooled, the brigade made a search for the persons missing, and before daylight the remains of six bodies were found, so burnt and disfigured that recognition was impossible. Their names were Mrs. Search, aged forty, and her adopted child James Weeks, ten years of age; Elizabeth Cornelius, aged forty; and three children belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Carter—namely, William Carter, aged five years; E. J. Carter, aged two years; and H. Carter, aged five months. The mother was saved by the fire-escape; she had her clothes on fire, and was much burnt. She was removed to St. Mary's Hospital. The father escaped uninjured. None of the families were insured.

18. STRIKE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—A novel strike—a strike among the agricultural labourers—occurred in the north-west portion of Buckinghamshire. During the past winter the labourers had been in receipt of wages amounting to only 9s. and 10s. per week, which, with bread at 8d. per 4lb. loaf, coals 1s. 1d. per cwt., and other necessities of life proportionately high, they considered to be very insufficient. The fact that the farm labourers at Brackley had just received an advance of 1s., and in some cases of 2s. per week, increased the discontent of their brethren in Buck-

inghamshire, and accordingly a movement was instituted, the initiative being taken at the village of Gawcott, near Buckingham, and a formal demand was made for an advance of 2s. per week, and of 1s. for Sunday in all cases where their services were required on that day. The farmers generally refused to give this rate of wages, and in one or two cases the labourers were summarily dismissed. In that village alone twenty-eight labourers "struck," refusing to return to their work for less than the above-mentioned sum. The movement appeared to have taken an organized form, for a strike committee was formed, and a fund opened, from which assistance was rendered to the men who were dismissed, and a secretary and treasurer appointed. The committee published a manifesto explaining the circumstances; and the treasurer, Mr. Thomas Baker, jun., of Bridge-street, Buckingham, appealed to the public for subscriptions to keep on the movement, "so that the men might not starve while endeavouring to obtain the modest sum of 2s. a day for their labour."

One of the Gawcott labourers, on their behalf, issued an address to the public, in which occur the following passages:—"We are poor men, and wish to have facts fairly stated, as the only thing that can give us a standing in the sight of the public. For a long time we have complained, and stated our position to our employers. In some cases we have been laughed at and had indefinite promises. We have worked all the winter at 9s. and 10s. per week; we are willing to take the sum of 12s. per week. To show that the former price was not enough, J. C. has a wife and eight children (one boy earns 3s. per week); W. M. has a wife and five children; E. E. has a wife and four children; W. S. has a wife and three children. This is an example of some of the families who have lived, or rather breathed, on 9s. and 10s. per week. What is a man to spend when he has paid—rent 1s. 6d.; firing, 1s.; bread 7½d. per loaf, &c.? We have nothing left for the clothier, draper, butcher, shoemaker, &c. Where are we labourers with our industry? Why, on the verge of pauperism. We ask that we may live—not as paupers, but by our own industry. We are willing to work, that our families may live. All we now ask is 12s. per week, and for those who work on Sundays 1s. more. For this application some of us had a part of our week's wages put into our hands, and were dismissed there and then. Will the advance of wages bring ruin on our employers? We know it will not, but it will enable us to have more to eat, in order for us to do our work to their satisfaction." It is noteworthy that the men off work were represented as conducting themselves peaceably and respectfully towards their previous employers, and refraining from processions and other things calculated to annoy the farmers.

22. THE RECTORSHIP OF ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY.—The installation of Mr. Grant Duff, M.P., as Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen, took place in the Music-hall. Mr. Grant Duff was

accompanied to the platform by Principal Campbell, the Professors of the University, Sheriff Thomson, and the magistrates and the members of the Town Council. The audience, including the students, numbered about 2000. Mr. Duff spoke for an hour and a half. The address was well received, and at the close three hearty cheers were, on the call of the Principal, given in honour of the new rector.

25. PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. EYRE, THE EX-GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.—At the special sessions held in the County Court at Market Drayton, Mr. Fitz-James Stephens applied for a warrant against Mr. Eyre on the charge of having been accessory before the fact to the murder of Mr. George W. Gordon. The magistrates on the bench were Sir Baldwin Leighton, chairman; Colonel Hill, Major Broughton, Mr. R. Corbet, Mr. Egerton Harding, and Mr. John Tayleur. Mr. Thomas Twemlow and Mr. D. Hodson also sat on the bench, but took no part in the proceedings, as they had subscribed to the Eyre defence fund.

Mr. Fitz-James Stephens said he appeared by the instructions of Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P. for Westminster, and Mr. Peter Taylor, M.P. for Leicester, to apply for a warrant against John Edward Eyre, now residing at Adderley Hall, as an accessory before the fact to the wilful murder of George W. Gordon, in Jamaica, on the 23rd October, 1865. He said the Acts under which he applied were, first, the 24th and 25th Vict., cap. 100, sec. 99, which empowers magistrates to issue a warrant against any British subject charged with murder or manslaughter committed in the United Kingdom or Colonies, provided that the accused now resided within the jurisdiction of such magistrates. He also relied on the 11th and 12th Vict., cap. 42, sec. 2, containing similar provisions. Counsel then entered into the details of Governor Eyre's proceedings respecting the disturbance at Morant Bay in October, 1865; the removal of Mr. Gordon from Kingston, and the transmitting of Mr. Gordon to Morant Bay to be tried by court-martial.

At the close of his statement, Counsel called Dr. Fiddes, of Jamaica, who deposed that Mr. Gordon had been a patient of his; that in his opinion Mr. Gordon had been illegally executed, and that Governor Eyre was a party to said execution.

Augustus Wm. Lake, of Jamaica, a reporter, deposed that he saw Mr. Gordon executed at Morant Bay on the 23rd October, 1865. Evidence was also given as to the proceedings at the court-martial.

At the close of the evidence, the chairman said it would be necessary if a warrant was granted for the prosecutor to attend to be bound to prosecute.

Mr. Shaen, of London, solicitor, said: I am the prosecutor. I charge Mr. Eyre with being accessory before the fact to the murder of Mr. George W. Gordon, and I apply for a warrant to arrest him.

After some observations from Mr. F. Stephens, who said if the magistrates felt that they could issue a summons he should prefer a summons to a warrant,

The Magistrates issued a warrant, and the case was adjourned to the 27th. On that day the proceedings were resumed, and Mr. Eyre attended.

Mr. F. Stephens said that, at the former sitting, the prosecutors being in London, Mr. Shaen volunteered in that emergency to act as prosecutor; but Mr. Taylor, M.P., now present, desired to appear personally as prosecutor.

Mr. Stephens then proceeded at considerable length to argue the question of law as applied to the facts of the case, and concluded by submitting that there were at least two points raised which were necessary for the decision, one of a judge and the other of a jury; first, as to what is martial law, and whether it is lawful according to the common law of England to take a civilian out of a district in which martial law did not exist and then hang him; secondly, whether Mr. Eyre's conduct towards Gordon was that of a man actuated simply by considerations of justice.

Dr. A. Fiddes, of Jamaica, Walter H. Lake, of Jamaica, reporter, Mr. H. Phillippo, Barrister (who had practised in Jamaica), and other witnesses were again examined, and severally deposed to the facts connected with the execution of Mr. Gordon.

Mr. Gifford addressed the magistrates for the defence in a speech which occupied six hours in delivery.

The magistrates retired for consultation, and on their return the chairman said that they were unanimously of opinion that the evidence did not raise a strong or probable presumption of guilt; and that upon such evidence a jury would acquit.

Mr. Eyre was then discharged.

— **STRIKE OF THE ENGINE-DRIVERS ON THE LONDON AND BRIGHTON RAILWAY.**—The engine-drivers on this railway, being dissatisfied with the rates of payment and some other conditions of their service, presented a memorial to the Directors, praying for more liberal terms of remuneration, and other concessions. The Board having taken this application into consideration, returned an answer in which they agreed to some of the demands of the men, with reference to the number of hours constituting a day's work, allowance for extra work, additional pay for Sunday duty, &c.; and as to other matters, they offered to abide by the adjudication of the Board of Trade or other public body. On receiving this communication from the Directors a council was held, in which it was determined that the answer of the Board to their petition was not satisfactory. At Brighton, where some of the engine-drivers reside, a similar decision was arrived at; so that, in all, about 350 men resolved on leaving temporarily, at least, the Company's service.

In consequence of this resolution, great confusion and considerable excitement prevailed at the Company's terminus. Virtually

all traffic was stopped between London and Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings, St. Leonard's, and Chichester. The Epsom Spring Meeting had just opened, and the disappointment of hundreds of sportsmen, who had intended to go down by train, was expressed with such vigour as sorely to test the patience of the officials who remained at their posts. On being made acquainted with the determination of the men, the Directors made application for assistance in their difficulty to the managers of other lines; but, as might be expected, very few could be subtracted from their own staff of drivers, who must be skilled in their business and possessed of considerable intelligence and power of observation. Under these circumstances it was resolved to make a reduction in the number of trains, and to limit their speed to twenty miles an hour. The trains were driven by travelling railway inspectors and by foremen of works, accompanied by competent men on the engines who thoroughly understood the signals. In some cases, on the main line, two and three ordinary trains were made into one, but not exceeding eighteen or twenty carriages in the whole on an average; and "short service" trains, so-called, were worked between Victoria and West Croydon on the one hand, and between the Crystal Palace and London Bridge on the other. In this way, the Directors endeavoured to adapt themselves to the inconvenience to which they were suddenly subjected, with all the attendant loss. In the meantime, all the ordinary time-tables were in abeyance, and the season-ticket holders, on the principal line especially, were seriously incommoded. The six o'clock train got away in good time, considering all the circumstances which impeded any approach to regularity, but the train which should have started at eight did not move from the terminus till after ten. On the South London line, only one engine was employed, and the traffic to and from the Crystal Palace was almost entirely suspended. The hundreds of city gentlemen residing in the suburbs, and who ordinarily avail themselves of this railway to come up to town, were of course put to inconvenience; and altogether the event was attended by an immense amount of excitement and loss of time and business. All the available foremen were put in charge of the trains, and every exertion was made by the Directors and Managers to obviate the almost insurmountable difficulties in which they found themselves entangled. The men on their part held out strongly, and delegates from the Engine-drivers' and Firemen's Union sat in council deliberating on the question at issue.

The Directors circulated a handbill stating that experienced and competent drivers and firemen, with satisfactory testimonials, might meet immediately with permanent engagements, at full and liberal pay, by applying to Mr. J. C. Craven, locomotive superintendent, London Bridge terminus.

The subjoined communication, partly in the nature of a remonstrance and partly of an appeal, was addressed to the men on strike by Mr. Hawkins, the traffic manager:—

"LONDON, BRIGHTON, AND SOUTH COAST RAILWAY.

"Traffic Manager's Office, London Bridge, S.E., March 25.

"To the Engine-drivers and Firemen.—Fellow Workmen,—I address you thus, because we are so in fact. Have not some of us worked together during the last quarter of a century? And I say it fearlessly, that on no other line in the kingdom has so much consideration been shown, or so much done for the servants as on our own; and yet, to my utter astonishment, this railway is picked out to suffer from a combination as unreasonable in its demands as any combination of the kind ever was.

"We have already suffered largely from the determined opposition of our neighbours; our property has been reduced, our shareholders damaged to a very large extent, and now, notwithstanding the treatment you have ever received at the hands of your employers, you are about to perpetrate a still greater damage upon them and upon us all.

"There is hardly one point in the demands you have made upon the Directors they have not cheerfully conceded; but you ask them to give beyond what it is possible for any gentlemen to do who have the interest of their shareholders and the rights of the public fairly to consider.

"They have conceded to you the time you ask for, the additional pay for Sunday work, the shed day, and the rate of wages; surely this should be enough.

"It appears to me that the fact of your having so far obtained all you require has led you to triumph in your successes, and induced you to ask for what it is impossible any body of gentlemen can grant.

"The only question between yourselves and the Directors now is that of conceding to you the right of fixing your own payments after you have been employed a certain period of time. It is, in fact, asking the Directors to hand over the entire management of the line to one section of their workmen. You have, many of you, known me for many years. You have known that, although not immediately connected with you in the department in which you serve, I have never been unfriendly to your interests; I have felt proud and pleased to work with a body of men I had reason to praise for their attention, their industry, and their zeal; but, whatever may be the result of this contest (and it must prove disastrous to the Company as well as to yourselves), feeling that you have no real cause of complaint against the Directors, I have felt it advisable to make this one strong appeal to each of you individually, in the hope that you will not allow the dictation of any committee to sway you so completely as to make you entirely antagonistic to your employers.

"Men withdrawing now should clearly understand what they are withdrawing from: permanent employment, not only at remunerative wages, but at a higher scale than is now paid by any

other company, and from the privileges of a superannuation fund, which, as far as I am aware, no other railway company has yet established; and from which, notwithstanding the denial that such fund existed, every man must know there are now five of your body receiving permanent pensions.

"It is, perhaps, as well to say that in thus addressing you I am by no means acting in accordance with the wishes of the Board, not one of whom knows any thing of this address. I am acting solely on personal grounds, in the hope that an earnest appeal from one who has worked so long and so satisfactorily with you, may not be without some effect in inducing you to pause before you adopt the ruinous course you seem now determined on.

"Yours truly,

"GEORGE HAWKINS."

After an interval which was happily of short duration, counsels of moderation prevailed, and on the 27th the Directors of the railway and the engine-drivers and firemen employed on their various lines came to an amicable arrangement with respect to the points of dispute between them; or rather, as to the only one which remained a subject of controversy, the Directors having previously conceded all the rest—and therefore, the strike came to an end, both parties having yielded. On the morning above-mentioned, all the drivers usually employed south of Three Bridges, or between Brighton, Portsmouth, and Hastings, about 100 in number, out of the 196 who had struck, with an equal number of firemen, resumed work, and throughout the day the trains on the main line from London to Brighton or Portsmouth, and from London to Hastings, were running according to the time-tables, and at the ordinary speed. On the preceding evening, the only remaining difference was in respect to the demand of the men that the increase of wages should be regulated at the rate of 6*d.* a day additional for every six months' service until the *maximum* of 7*s.* 6*d.* a day was reached; and now the men having received an assurance from the Directors and superintendents, to the effect that every man should have an opportunity of proving his claim to the promised advances in the scale of wages, they consented to resume work, depending on that arrangement being carried out to the letter. The graduated scale of wages agreed to was:—For drivers, 6*s.*, 6*s.* 6*d.*, 7*s.*, and 7*s.* 6*d.* a day; and for firemen, 3*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*, 4*s.*, and 4*s.* 6*d.*; and arrangements were to be made by the Directors and superintendents for having the pay-sheet reconsidered at the end of each year, with the view of advancing such of the men as proved competent, and whose general conduct was good. It is creditable to the men, that in adjusting the matter in dispute in that way, they expressed a hope that for the future things would go on more comfortably between them and their employers, and that the Company would be saved the expense of such a struggle. With those mutual concessions and a spirit of forbearance manifested on both sides, the con-

test was happily brought to a conclusion with only a day's inconvenience and loss to themselves and the public. The men, while in the best temper at the result, were not unduly elated; and the probability is, that their employers and they will work all the better together in future for this brief interruption in their relations.

APRIL.

1. FATAL EXPLOSION AT THE FAVERSHAM POWDER WORKS. —This afternoon, shortly before three o'clock, a dreadful explosion occurred at the gunpowder works of Messrs. Hall and Son, situate at Faversham, by which four men lost their lives, and another was very severely injured. The explosion took place in a building called the "mixing-house," in which powder undergoes almost the last process. It is situate at the "Oare Works," and in close proximity to it is another building, in which is kept the saltpetre. At the time of the sad occurrence there were five men engaged within the building, and all but one of these were instantly killed. The report of the explosion was not very loud, but its force was such as to render the building, almost in an instant, a mass of ruins, under which the five men were buried. As soon as the explosion occurred, all hands on the works rushed to the spot to render assistance, and their first object was to extricate the bodies of the unfortunate men from under the ruins. The first discovered was that of Louis Highsted, a man between fifty and sixty years of age, who was found to be living, but frightfully charred and injured. He was immediately removed to his home at Oare, and hopes were entertained of his recovery. Next the workmen came to the bodies of two men—viz., Mark Coe and George Love. Both of them were dead, and presented frightful spectacles, their clothes having been literally burnt from off them, and their bodies a completely black, burnt, and charred mass. They were removed to a building at another part of the works. After a lapse of about half an hour, another body, that of Henry Adey, and a few minutes subsequently another, that of George Back, were discovered, both dead, and both horribly disfigured. Mark Coe was about thirty-five years of age, a married man, and left a widow and two children. He resided at the Brents, near Faversham. George Love was of about the same age, also married, and left a widow and six children. He resided at the parish of Luddenham. Henry Adey was a single man, about twenty-five years of age, and resided at Ospringe. George Back was a youth of eighteen, living at Oare. As soon as the news of the explosion had reached this town, two medical men, Mr. W. N. Spong and Mr. Quinton, assistant to Dr. Spyers, proceeded to the scene of the disaster, and rendered what service

they could. Subsequently another surgeon, Mr. Garraway, arrived. As speedily as possible three engines were brought into play upon the burning timber,—one of which belonged to the works, and the other two were those of the Kent and Norwich offices, stationed at Faversham. The following day an inquest was held on the bodies by Mr. T. Delavaux, coroner for East Kent, Mr. Tassell, solicitor, attended on the part of Messrs. Hall, to render the coroner any assistance that lay in his power. The first witness examined was Thomas Johnson, the foreman of the works, who identified the bodies of the deceased, and said they were all engaged in the mixing-house when the explosion took place. He saw them shortly before, and then every thing was going on right. He could not tell what caused the explosion, nor did he believe any one else could. To the best of his belief it was an accident. John George Sega said that on the previous afternoon he was employed in serving the mixing-houses with saltpetre from the refinery. He was in the mixing-house three minutes before the explosion took place, and, as far as he knew, all the men were in their proper places and attending to their duties. They were all quite sober. He was within twenty-five yards of the mixing-house when the explosion took place. He could not tell what caused the explosion, and he did not believe any one else could. He believed, with the last witness, that it was entirely an accident. The coroner and jury thought this was sufficient evidence, inasmuch as nothing could be elicited as to the cause of the explosion, and they had already clearly before them another material point—namely, the cause of the death of the deceased. A verdict of “Accidental Death” was then unanimously recorded.

— OPENING OF THE PARIS EXHIBITION.—Although the Great Exhibition was far from being completed, the Emperor, for various reasons, maintained his decision as to opening it on the day originally fixed. The weather was magnificent, and a continuous string of equipages and cabs, and thousands of pedestrians, commenced at an early hour to proceed towards the Champ de Mars. Never was there seen such a display of police force as was engaged on the occasion; and, as to the mounted Garde Municipale, their name was legion. In addition to these, several detachments of the line were also on duty. The assemblage of persons collected to view the ceremony of the opening was very large. Those who took their position in the French section had the advantage of the others, inasmuch as the imperial party entered by the Pont de Jena. At two o'clock precisely, a great stir was observable throughout the palace, announcing their arrival, and the bands of the Garde struck up “*Partant pour la Syrie*.” The Emperor and Empress, followed by their own suite, the Ministers, the corps diplomatique, senators, and deputies, ascended the staircase leading to the French section. The Empress leant on the Emperor's arm. The Emperor, who was in plain evening dress, and wore the broad red ribbon of the Legion d'Honneur, walked with great difficulty,

leaning heavily on a strong stick, evidently suffering from rheumatism or gout. He however looked well. Most of the ladies of the suite, notwithstanding the fineness of the day, were wrapped in furs and velvet. The Prince of Orange followed the Emperor, leading the Princess Mathilde. The Count of Flanders was amongst the notabilities. At the head of the staircase, the Imperial Commission received the Imperial party. The Archbishop of Paris came in haste in his violet robes, evidently disconcerted at not having been in his right place in the procession, which he only joined on the staircase. The juries and committees of each nation, all in evening dress, were drawn up in their respective sections, and received their Majesties as they passed. The Emperor paid marked attention to the machines, those of the English and American departments being in full action, whilst but few of the French section were in motion. As the Emperor passed through the English section, he stopped opposite the drawings of the Channel railway, exhibited by Mr. Chalmers, inventor of the Chalmers' target, and pointed them out to the Empress. He also stopped several minutes to examine Stephens's locomotive and other models, including German railway carriages, which for luxury and comfort cannot be excelled. The Prince Imperial was absent, although the *Moniteur* had announced that he would attend. There were, perhaps, 10,000 persons present. Much discontent was felt at the vexatious and clogging regulations and counter-regulations of the Imperial Commissioners; and it might with truth be said that unreadiness was the character of the whole concern—except in the English department.

10. STRIKE OF ENGINE-DRIVERS ON THE NORTH-EASTERN RAILWAY.—An event took place on this railway which at first threatened to produce serious inconvenience to the public, but by the skilful measures of the Directors such consequences were almost wholly obviated. The engine-drivers, stokers, and mineral guards belonging to Darlington on the main line of the North-Eastern, numbering nearly 200 men, suddenly ceased work, because the locomotive foreman there refused to give an indoor day's work, termed a shed-day, to the enginemmen. Mr. Fletcher, the locomotive superintendent, had requested the men a few days before to appeal to him if dissatisfied, and if not content with his decision, to appeal to the Directors, and he had every reason to expect such a proper course would be adopted. The men on the main line at Darlington having, contrary to this, struck at once, the men at Newcastle, Leeds, Hull, and in fact over the whole line, numbering about 1100, followed their example, and to such an extent that only about one man in ten remained at his work. Their example was again followed by the men on the Stockton and Darlington line, which is under entirely different management, and where the locomotive work is done by contract. Out of 439 men on this section, only forty remained on duty, and the whole of the men admittedly had no grievance whatever; they simply stopped at a

moment's notice to help the Darlington main line men as much as possible. It is interesting to know how rapidly the railway managers, under such circumstances, overcame these difficulties. The Stockton and Darlington is by far the busiest portion of the North-Eastern line, and is certainly the most difficult to manage. Up to the 10th instant, the average number of engines in steam daily was about 135, and on the 11th, the first day of the strike, they had only 32; 12th, 52; 13th, 79; 15th, 90; 16th, 97; 17th, 110; and in a few days more they had the full complement in steam; and the work over the whole North-Eastern line had progressed in a similar manner, and with a less proportion of accidents than usual. This was an instance of a strike in which the men had no grievance which could justify such a step; and it is satisfactory to see that the employers were enabled completely to defeat the movement, and to obviate what might have proved a very serious injury to the public.

11. **THE JAMAICA PROSECUTIONS.**—The Grand Jury at the Central Criminal Court had to-day under consideration the indictments charging Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand with the alleged murder of Mr. George William Gordon and of Samuel Clarke, on the 23rd of October, 1865, at Morant Bay, during the rebellion in Jamaica. The accused were indicted jointly in two bills, in one of which they were charged with the murder of Gordon, and in the other with that of Clarke. The Grand Jury were so engaged from shortly after ten o'clock in the morning until about half-past one, when they returned into court and reported through their foreman, Mr. Charles Fane, that they had agreed upon finding "No Bill" in the case of Colonel Nelson, and "No Bill" in that of Lieutenant Brand.

The announcement of the Grand Jury was received with some slight applause, chiefly among such of the members of the Bar as happened to be present, and manifested in a suppressed manner.

The Foreman said that, in the case of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, against whom a bill had been preferred, and not found, for the murder of Mr. George William Gordon, in Jamaica, he and his colleagues were desirous of making a presentment.

Mr. Baron Channell requested that the presentment might be put in writing. His reason for making the request was this; that he could not deal with the presentment himself, it being a matter that he should have to bring before the proper authorities. He then asked what the presentment was.

The Foreman replied that it was a very simple one—namely, that "Martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment."

Mr. Baron Channell took a note of this presentment, and the Grand Jury withdrew.

14. **BIRTH OF A PRINCE AT WINDSOR CASTLE.**—Her Royal Highness Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein (Princess

Helena of Great Britain and Ireland) gave birth to a prince at five o'clock p.m.

Her Majesty the Queen was with the Princess constantly during the day.

In the room with the Princess at the birth of the child were Her Majesty, Prince Christian, Dr. Farre and Dr. Fairbank, and the nurse. In the next room were Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner; and in the adjoining apartment were Lady Susan Melville, the Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, Secretary of State for the Home Department; and Lieut.-General the Hon. C. Grey.

Intelligence of the happy event was immediately transmitted by telegraph to the various members of the royal family, and to the relatives of Prince Christian.

“Windsor Castle, April 14.

“Her Royal Highness the Princess Helena (third daughter of Her Majesty the Queen), Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, was safely delivered of a Prince to-day at five p.m.

“Her Royal Highness and the infant Prince are doing perfectly well.

“ARTHUR FARRE, M.D.

“THOS. FAIRBANK, M.D.

“WILLIAM JENNER, M.D.”

The following bulletin was issued the next morning:—

“Windsor Castle, April 15.

“Her Royal Highness Princess Christian has passed a quiet night, and the Princess and infant Prince are well.”

The recovery of H.R.H. proceeded without interruption.

16. EXECUTION AT HORSEMONGER-LANE. — James Longhurst, convicted before Mr. Baron Bramwell, on the Home Circuit, of a most aggravated murder of a child named Harriet Sax, was hanged in front of Horsemonger-lane Gaol. The convict, though twenty-two years of age, was quite boyish in appearance. After sentence, he repeatedly expressed to Mr. Jessop, the chaplain of the prison, his deep contrition for causing the death of the unfortunate child, and more than once desired him in effect to convey to the parents his extreme penitence for occasioning them so much grief. He was visited in prison a few days before by his father and mother; and the interview, as may well be supposed, was harrowing in the last degree. He was visited again by his father and also by his brother, and that appears to have been the last interview he had with those who were near and dear to him. On the eve of his execution he wrote a touchingly affectionate letter to his mother, and then prepared himself for his fate. On the appointed hour having arrived, he was conducted from his cell to be pinioned, upon which a shocking scene occurred. At sight of the executioner he was terror-stricken, and resisted violently. The chaplain addressed a few words to him, which for the moment appeared to pacify him, but

when the executioner attempted to pinion him he struggled frightfully, and it took four or five warders to restrain him. He was at length thrown upon the ground, upon which another struggle ensued, and he kicked severely the warders who were trying to gain the mastery over him. As he lay in that position, exhausted, his arms were strapped, and he was then raised to his feet. He walked towards the scaffold, attended by the chaplain, but at the sight of it he appeared to be again seized with a feeling of horror, and he struggled with all his might to release himself, but in vain. He was dragged up the steps by the warders, and held under the beam until the rope was adjusted. In that state of things the rest of the preparations were hastily made, the bolt was drawn, and the convict soon ceased to live. A great crowd, as usual, assembled to witness the execution.

22. REVIEW OF VOLUNTEERS AT DOVER ON EASTER MONDAY.

—The Review of the present year was generally considered to have been the greatest success of any similar display on the part of the Volunteer force since its formation. The frequent expressions of admiration indulged in by a large number of French, Belgian, and other foreign officers who were accommodated with positions in the Castle Hill Fort, told plainly what their opinions were of the splendid scene which was presented to their notice.

The morning indicated a favourable change of weather, and every portion of the town was profusely decorated with flowers, evergreens, triumphal arches, and flags; and the various railways had so admirably done their work, that all the London trains were punctual, and every volunteer was in his place of rendezvous by ten o'clock. At a quarter before eleven a signal gun from the Castle-keep announced the preparations for the start, and General M'Cleverty, the general in command, with the other generals of division and their staff, placed themselves at the head of the column, and the march commenced to the heights, taking the route from the Memorial Pillar connecting Bridge-street with the Esplanade, through Beach-street, the Market-hill, and Castle-street-hill, to the field of evolutions. The sight was a splendid one; the decorations of the houses were in many instances superb, whilst the windows were filled with fair occupants, and the streets thronged with the general public.

By the time the head of the column had reached the heights, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Prince Teck, Earl Granville in his uniform as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and a brilliant staff, had reached the flagstaff posted in front of the Castle Hill Fort; and the marching past commenced the moment the Volunteers reached the summit of the ascent, so that no time was lost. From the shortness of the distance between this point and the flagstaff, in many instances the corps were unable to gain their distances, and hence it was that, whilst some battalions went by at the proper "wheel into line" distance of companies from each other, some

were at half, and others only at quarter distance. This, in the main, was the fault of the officers, who are without doubt the weak point of the Volunteer service. Thus, for instance, the London Scottish went by in an unsteady manner. The London Irish, under their new major, Ward, were better; but the distances were the failing point, and some of the captains could be heard calling out to their companies "By your right" when it ought to have been "By your left," giving the companies as they marched past a swinging motion, and creating unsteadiness. With this exception the marching was excellent. It was about twelve minutes past one when the last corps had gone by; and the field state showed upwards of 24,000 volunteers, exclusive of 1500 regulars, who took part in the evolutions of the day. As soon as the first and second divisions had marched by, they doubled away in the direction of the heights on the other side of the Deal-road to their positions, as the supposed enemy first landed near Walmer, and moved on Dover Castle with a view of securing the fort below for their communications. The third and fourth divisions, representing the garrison of Dover, now took up their positions, on the supposition that they had sallied out of Dover Castle, to give the invaders battle; and each side was well supported on the flanks by artillery. At eleven o'clock the squadron lying in Dover Roads weighed anchor and stood out to sea. First in the line, the "Terrible," under the command of Captain Commerell, C. B., V. C.; next the "Virago," paddle-wheel; then the "Lizard," steamer; followed by the "Martin" and "Ferret," gun-training brigs, and the "Magnet," gunboat, with a tender.

Having descended the hill, both sides threw out, at an unusual distance from their supports, a cloud of skirmishers, who waited for the signal-gun from the keep of the Castle. Before its sound had died away the sharp crack of innumerable rifles showed that the skirmishers were engaged. The red jackets of the regulars, in the first division, found that they had a good position, but that they could not hold it against the swarming masses of volunteers which were climbing the hill on their left. They had an open country behind them, whereas the defenders had their fortifications to fall back upon. They had, moreover, the advantage in numbers as well as the protection. The defence, throwing out its left, made a feint on the right centre of the attack; and while thus occupying the attention of the enemy he massed his battalions on his right, and formed them in echelon, moving up one to the support of another, as occasion required. Soon he had thus crept up the hill which forms the cliff between Dover Castle Heights and the South Foreland; and there, establishing himself in two lines, he allowed his object of turning the invader's left flank to become for the first time apparent to the enemy, who made a vigorous effort to dislodge him. The enemy, finding that he could make no head against this position, abandoned the endeavour, and made up his mind to retreat to a new position. This was not accomplished without difficulty,

for throwing forward its right a full quarter circle, the defence completely severed the connexion of the attack with the coast, and pressing him hard, drove him inch by inch over the brow of a great hill, where both sides made a stand, and there ensued some of the finest file and volley firing ever seen.

Turning to the sea, there a continuous roar from the sea-batteries of the castle (especially the Guildford battery, almost at the water's edge) and the heavy guns on the Western Heights and the Drop Redoubt (some of which were never fired before), as well as on the Archcliffe Fort, by the South-Eastern Railway station, gave notice that something was going on of which the people on the Downs could see but little. And, indeed, here was, if not the finest, at any rate the most novel portion of the day's work. A more striking example of the uselessness of sailing vessels in comparison with steamers could not have been afforded, and if the matter had been pre-arranged, which it was not, the effect could not have been improved. So Captain Commerell was left with only the steamers, and practically no more than three of these took any share in what followed. The squadron first opened fire on the Coast Guard station about two miles north-east of the Castle, and then the "Terrible," the "Virago," and the "Lizard," in the order named, put their heads more to the southward, and prepared to bombard the town, so as to clear the beach for a possible landing in boats. Soon a signal at the main of the "Terrible" gave the order, and almost simultaneously sprang from the sides of each of the three ships the smoke and the fire. It was a model of what the conduct of a bombardment should be. And when, having delivered her broadsides, the "Terrible" moved a little farther out of range, she ran up her jib as quickly as though it weighed no more than the signal which she was flying; and, canting her head round smartly, bringing her port side on to the shore, she delivered another round from her guns, and was followed by her consorts, which fired more frequently, because they could fire oftener with less expenditure of ammunition. The old line of the attack had now become the new line of the defence, and still the men of the latter pressed forward, now gaining a little, now obliged to give way in turn. At length the enemy managed to make good his ground on the strong position in front of a village called Guston, and facing the sea, from which the divisions of the defenders of Dover cut him off. In vain, however, did these latter troops endeavour to carry the new position of the invader. He contested it obstinately, and drove them back several times at various points of the line. So at length, time being nearly up, one final assault was delivered, and this failing, both sides rested on their arms, and were soon afterwards on their way to the railway station by three different roads, the traffic on which by no means interfered with the other; but it is to be regretted that want of arrangement and the unfortunate circumstance of the evening closing with continuous rain of upwards of two hours' duration, sent many a volunteer home with a wet skin.

So far as the authorities and the inhabitants of Dover are concerned, nothing could have been more praiseworthy than their conduct, and the impression abroad that the volunteers would be subjected to exorbitant charges for accommodation and food was completely exploded by the fact that, whilst the accommodation was found to be ample, the charges, generally speaking, were fair and moderate.

It has been already stated that some 1500 or 2000 regular troops were engaged with the volunteers in the review, and it turned out that every man was armed with the new breech-loader Snider rifle; and this was the first time it was fired in the field on any thing like an extensive scale. The regulars having attained their position and received the word of command to open fire upon the supposed enemy, rattled away with such rapidity that, in less than three or four minutes, the whole of the ammunition with which they were supplied was expended, and they had to occupy the rest of the time the review lasted in simply manœuvring. But there is some drawback to this rapid firing. So quick in succession were the volleys, that there was no time between each shot for the smoke of the previous discharge to clear away, the result being that after three or four discharges the whole line of the regulars was so completely enveloped that they could not see either where they were firing or how close the enemy might be upon them. Such an event in actual warfare might possibly lead to serious disaster.

28. THE LONDON TAILORS' STRIKE.—A general "strike" of the journeymen tailors of London took place, the men demanding a higher scale of payment, which the masters refused to concede. The suspension of work lasted for several months. Considerable inconvenience was occasioned both to the employers and to the public, and although no serious outrages occurred, there were some breaches of the law and attempts at coercion over the recusant journeymen by their brethren, which became the subject of proceedings in the Criminal Courts¹. The men on strike succeeded in establishing a correspondence with the tailors in Paris, and expressions of sympathy with their English brethren were repeatedly conveyed by telegraph from the French metropolis. It appears also that a strike to a partial extent among the members of this trade took place simultaneously in Paris. One of the telegrams received from that city stated:—"The funds are coming in from all quarters from every town in France, and even from abroad. The painters have sent a large sum. People cannot make out where we get all our money from. All the papers are in our favour, and praising our calm demeanour. The Co-operative Association began working yesterday in an empty warehouse (their late premises being too small since the strikes), till their new premises on the Boulevard Sebastopol are ready. We will all take our savings there as soon as we resume work.

¹ See Law Cases, post.

We are very sanguine of success. You can form an idea of the effect produced in Paris by the closing of the tailoring establishments on the Boulevards."

As illustrative of the thorough understanding which exists between the workmen of London and those of the French capital, it may be mentioned that a large employer, one of the first masters in Paris, refused to comply with the terms required by his men. The result was a strike, of which the London committee was promptly informed. It was furthermore notified that the Parisian master had a brother a master tailor, living at Beckenham, and that it was likely he would receive some articles from Paris to be made up. The French workmen relied upon their English *confrères* to prevent this being done. The English committee informed the Beckenham employer that they would not permit him to make any such articles to the injury of the French journeymen; that, while they did not for a moment desire to interfere with his local trade, they would order his men out on strike if he called upon them to work for his brother. The circumstances under which the strike of the London tailors has taken place are thus explained in an official circular of the master tailors:—

For upwards of thirty years past the tailors have been paid upon a scale of remuneration based on a calculation of the time that it would take an ordinary workman to make a particular garment, not as the time within which the garment must be made, but merely as the basis for calculating the wages, and the workman is then paid so much per hour calculated on that scale.

This is what is now called the "time log." Under this "time log" every garment has a certain number of hours appropriated to it. The effect is, that according to the degree of skill and industry, so is the degree of payment. It is, in effect, a principle of piece-work.

Up to the spring of 1866 the rate per hour was 6*d.*, but an increase having been demanded by the London operatives, an arrangement was made, the effect of which was to increase the wages about an average of 6*s.* per week.

After a struggle of many months' duration, during which the men and their families had doubtless to endure much privation, the strike terminated in a complete victory on the part of the masters, to whose scale of payment the journeymen were eventually obliged to submit.

MAY.

4. **BANQUET AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.**—The anniversary dinner of the Royal Academy, previous to the public opening of the Exhibition, was given, when a distinguished company assembled.

The apartments were thrown open at two o'clock, to enable the guests, before dinner, leisurely to inspect the beautiful works of art with which the walls of the rooms were covered.

The entertainment was given in the East Room, the President's chair being placed in front of Sir Edwin Landseer's fine picture of the Queen at Osborne, and opposite the admirable portrait of Lord Stanley, painted by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.

Sir Francis Grant was well supported. On his right were the Prince of Wales and Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and on his left the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Teck. Among other distinguished persons present were the Lord Chancellor; the Lord President; the First Lord of the Treasury; the Secretaries of State for the Home, Foreign, Colonial, War, and India Departments; the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Lord High Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Speaker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Commissioner of Works, the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, the Lord Advocate, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Oxford, the Earl of Clarendon, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Justice Cairns, Lord Cranworth, Earl Grey, Earl Granville, Lord Houghton, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, Sir Charles Lyell, Lord St. Leonards, the Earl of Malmesbury, Sir Roderick Murchison, the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Dean Stanley.

The Prince of Wales made speeches in reply to the toast of his own health and that of the Princess and the Royal Family, and on behalf of the Volunteers.

In his response to the first of these toasts, the Prince said, "I beg to tender you my warmest thanks for the very kind manner in which you have proposed and received the health of the Princess of Wales and myself. I feel sure she will be deeply gratified for the kind words you have this evening uttered; and I am glad to say that, although she has now for very nearly two months been kept to her room by a long and tedious illness, she is progressing towards recovery. I know I can have no more pleasing announcement to make to her Royal Highness than to tell her of the very kind feeling which has always been exhibited to her since her first coming to the country. I beg also, Sir Francis, to thank you for

the very kind manner in which you have alluded to the interest I take with regard to science and art. I need not tell you that I do take such an interest. If I may say so, I take the same interest which my parents have always taken, although I may not have the same experience or knowledge; still, I hope I shall always tread in their footsteps in that respect. I am flattered, Sir Francis, by your statement that I have shown an appreciation of art in becoming the possessor of a work by so celebrated an artist as Sir Edwin Landseer. I think it would be impossible to find at this table any one who would not feel the same appreciation of so admirable a work of art. I obtained the picture under somewhat peculiar circumstances. It had been painted for a private person, who was kind enough to give it up to me. Sir Edwin Landseer, although he has been before the public for many years as a painter, has within the last two months achieved great distinction as a sculptor, and has produced one of the finest monuments of art that exist in this country. He kept us, perhaps, some time in waiting for his lions; but the result has certainly been a most magnificent one. With reference to the exhibition now before us, I think I may say that for many years we have not seen a finer exhibition. The names of Grant, Watts, Millais, and others I need not particularize. Last year we had to mourn the loss of Sir C. Eastlake, and now we have to lament the departure from among us of another Royal Academician, Mr. Phillip, to the vivid truthfulness of whose pictures from Spanish life I myself, from having been in Spain, can amply testify. I beg, my Lords and Gentlemen, again to thank you for the kind manner in which you have proposed and received my health, and the still kinder manner in which you have received the health of the Princess of Wales."

On the part of the Volunteers, his Royal Highness said:—"As honorary Colonel of several volunteer regiments, I have been connected with the movement for a considerable period. No person takes more interest in it than I do; and I think we must all acknowledge the zeal displayed by the Volunteers, which, since they came forward, has never in the slightest degree diminished. I hope their services will not be required, even defensively; but it is pleasing to know that their ranks are very little thinned, and that they are always ready to do their duty whenever it may be demanded of them. We have seen, not only our own countrymen approve the service, but we were peculiarly gratified by the notice taken of them last year by the King of the Belgians. I am sure I need not add that if the Belgian Volunteers pay us a return visit this summer we shall give them a not less cordial reception."

His Royal Highness was warmly cheered during the delivery of both speeches, and his statement that the health of the Princess is rapidly improving afforded the liveliest satisfaction.

Other toasts followed. That of Her Majesty's Ministers was acknowledged by the Earl of Derby; the Army, by the Duke of Cambridge; the Navy, by the Right Hon. H. Corry, M.P.,

First Lord of the Admiralty; the House of Commons, by Mr. Disraeli, &c.

6. REFORM DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE-PARK.—A great meeting in favour of Parliamentary Reform took place in Hyde-park. Considerable apprehension had been felt as to the effect of permitting such an assemblage to take place, and the Government thought it expedient, some days before the time appointed for the meeting, to issue a Proclamation warning the public against taking part in it, which was in these terms:—

“Whereas it has been publicly announced that a meeting will be held in Hyde-park on Monday, the 6th day of May, for the purpose of political discussion: and whereas the use of the park for the purpose of holding such meeting is not permitted, and interferes with the object for which Her Majesty has been pleased to open the park for the general enjoyment of her people: now all persons are hereby warned and admonished to abstain from attending, aiding, or taking part in any such meeting, or from entering the park with a view to attend, aid, or take part in such meeting.

“S. H. WALPOLE.

“Home Office, Whitehall, May 1, 1867.”

The Reform Delegates, however, persisted in their intention of holding the meeting, and they sought and obtained an interview with the Home Secretary, Mr. Walpole, in which they laboured to convince him that no evil consequences were likely to result from the proposed meeting. The Government thought it their duty, nevertheless, to take precautions against the contingency of a disturbance. Accordingly, a considerable body of special constables were sworn in, a very large force of police were ordered to be in attendance in the park, and the military were held in readiness to assist the police in clearing the park, in case it should be found necessary so to do. Happily no necessity for such an intervention of the authorities took place. The meeting was held and was a very numerous one. It was computed that not fewer than 70,000 persons gathered round the ten benches used as platforms, from which the speakers addressed the people; and the accessions of sympathizers during the course of the proceedings were so great that at eight o'clock upwards of 200,000 persons were assembled within the park. Not a soldier, and scarcely a policeman, was to be seen while the demonstration was taking place; and it was not until after the proceedings had terminated, and tens of thousands of Reformers were flocking homewards, that any considerable body of the police made their appearance to keep an eye on “the roughs,” who, however, were not visible in any considerable number. One remarkable feature of the demonstration was the presence in the park of many gay equipages, and of not a few ladies.

As six o'clock approached, some thousands of persons entered by the Marble arch, accompanied by Messrs. Baxter Langley and other well-known leaders of the movement, and soon afterwards

the Clerkenwell and Holborn branches of the League, accompanied by red flags, surmounted by the Cap of Liberty, and accompanied by a musical band. The band played the celebrated French air, "The Marseillaise," which was loudly cheered. Although no police force was visible, the number held in readiness to act in case of necessity exceeded 5000.

At about half-past six the business of the evening commenced. No. 1 platform was that occupied by Mr. Beales, President of the Reform League, who was supported by The O'Donoghue, M.P., Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, Mr. J. Cunningham, and the following delegates from Birmingham:—Mr. Alderman Baldwin, Mr. Thomas Wright, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Wateson, Mr. Delzell, and Mr. Hemming. The cheers which greeted Mr. Beales, The O'Donoghue, and Colonel Dickson, at their appearance on the platform, were loud and prolonged.

Mr. Beales congratulated both the meeting and himself on his work having been finished as regarded the parks and the right of public meeting. How far the Government should have acted as it had done with the full knowledge of being wrong in point of law he would not stay to inquire, but it would be for them to see that his work was not rendered fruitless by the bill now before the House of Commons relating to the parks. They must be more than ever watchful about that. Mr. Walpole said in the House of Commons that he (Mr. Beales) had admitted the right of Government to exclude the public from the parks. He (Mr. Beales) had never made any such admission. On the contrary, he had always insisted upon the parks being dedicated to and held for the public use. Mr. Beales then vindicated the course pursued by him in persisting that this meeting should be held, notwithstanding the opinions of many worthy persons that it ought not to be persisted in; and he concluded by saying: Warmly and profoundly as I admire the talents and character of Mr. Gladstone, appreciate the great services he has rendered the State, and much value the general impulse he has given to this Reform question; deeply also do I respect the character and value the services and judgment of Mr. Thomas Hughes; but in such a matter as this I listen to the glorious utterances of our great tribune John Bright, and the many declarations of that proved friend of freedom and popular rights, Mr. Peter Taylor—upheld, as I believe they are, by the sympathy of John Stuart Mill and our friend here present, The O'Donoghue, and other real Reformers; and in so listening, and considering further what I heard and witnessed last Friday evening, I felt that it was the imperative duty of the League to persevere in this demonstration; and I rejoice in the result. No, we must not abate one jot of our labours until the Reform we require is completed. Be you firm and resolved, and that Reform we shall have in a real, not a mock amendment of the representation.

The O'Donoghue, who on rising was received with great cheering, said he came there as President of the Irish Reform League, to

express their determination to co-operate in the struggle for political liberty. The hon. gentleman then proceeded at length to show the evils caused by class legislation, and concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That this meeting, whilst still adhering to registered and residential manhood suffrage, protected by the ballot, as the only really efficient measure of Reform in the representation of the people, hails with satisfaction the withdrawal last Thursday evening of Lord Grosvenor's proposed amendment, and the majority of eighty-one on the same evening against the two years' residence clause in the Government bill, and earnestly calls upon the House of Commons to make that bill a more full and honest measure for the execution of the franchise by expunging from it the ratepaying clauses, equalizing the borough and county franchises on the principle of household suffrage, and introducing a provision for giving a vote to lodgers, or else to reject that bill altogether."

Colonel Dickson seconded the resolution, and in so doing said: My friends and fellow-trespassers, I do not wish to talk about Reform. I am positively sick of it. I think that the game is in our hands now. You have done the trick. Don't undo it. Be steady and be orderly. Give the lie to your traducers. The gallant Colonel concluded by saying: Now my friends, maintain your good conduct by going home peaceably, and give three cheers for the Queen.

The resolution was agreed to, and thanks to Mr. Beales closed the proceedings.

At platform No. 2, Mr. J. B. Langley presided, and was supported by Messrs. Merriman and Guedalla; at No. 3, Dr. Perfitt presided; at No. 4, Mr. Mantle was the chairman, and he was supported by the Lambeth delegates; at No. 5, Mr. Lucraft presided, supported by Mr. Joiner and the North London delegates; at No. 6, Mr. Cremer, supported by the West Central delegates; No. 7, Mr. Odger, supported by Mr. Conolly; No. 8, Mr. Cooper, supported by Mr. Bradlaugh; No. 9, Mr. Dell, supported by Mr. Howell; No. 10, Mr. Weston, supported by Mr. Banister, Mr. W. Malthouse, and Mr. Owen. At each of these platforms the resolution adopted at platform No. 1 was carried unanimously.

The meeting being over, the people quietly dispersed themselves about the park, and when dusk had fairly set in, they left in the same orderly manner in which they had entered; and the proclamation of the President of the Reform League was obeyed to the letter, for "not a plant was disturbed, nor a leaf of a flower touched."

7. THE LUXEMBURG CONFERENCE.—The preliminary meeting of the Conference on the Luxembourg question took place under the presidency of Lord Stanley—in one of the principal apartments at the First Lord of the Treasury's official residence in Downing-street—in fact, the same room in which the conference in London on the affairs of Denmark took place in the spring of 1864. The

following were the principal members of the Conference:—Count Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador; Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador; Count Bernstorff, the Prussian Ambassador; Prince de La Tour d'Auvergne, the French Ambassador; M. Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister; and Baron Bentinck, the Netherlands Minister.

10. **CHRISTENING OF A PRINCESS.**—The christening of the infant princess, third child of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, took place on Friday at Marlborough House.

The ceremony was performed by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen of Denmark, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, his Royal Highness Prince Arthur, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke, the Grand Duchess, and Prince Adolphus of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, his Serene Highness the Prince and her Royal Highness the Princess Mary Adelaide of Teck, and Count Gleichen.

The infant princess received the names of Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar.

The sponsors were her Majesty the Queen of Denmark, her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Cæsarevna (Princess Dagmar), her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, her Royal Highness Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Augustenburg, her Royal Highness Princess Louisa, her Highness Princess Louisa of Hesse, his Majesty the King of the Greeks, his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Prussia, his Highness Prince Frederick of Hesse, his Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and his Highness the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein Glücksburg.

The following had the honour of being present at the ceremony:—The Countess of Macclesfield, Madame de Bille, the Hon. Mrs. Stonor, General Sir William Knollys, K.C.B.; Major Elphinstone, M. de Castenschild, Major Teesdale, Mr. Herbert Fisher, Dr. Farre, Mr. Paget, and Mr. Prescott Hewett.

After the ceremony, luncheon was served.

20. **THE QUEEN LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL.**—Her Majesty the Queen, in person, laid the first stone of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, to be built at Kensington. This edifice, henceforth named the Royal Albert Hall, will stand on the south side of the main road at Kensington Gore, adjoining the Gardens of the Horticultural Society, and fronting the National Albert Memorial, which is being erected in the south-west corner of Hyde-park, near the Coalbrookdale gate of Kensington-gardens.

The Hall of which Her Majesty thus laid the foundation-stone is to be available for the following objects:—Congresses, both

national and international, for purposes of science and art; performances of music, distribution of prizes by public bodies, *conversazioni* for the promotion of science and art, agricultural, horticultural, and industrial exhibitions, and displays of pictures and sculpture.

The wooden building for the accommodation of the assembly on this occasion was equal in size to the intended hall, and occupied precisely the same space of ground. It was built in three large bays, each division being supported by light wooden columns and cross framing-pieces. The roof was entirely of canvas, stretched so tightly as to resemble a flat ceiling. Round the wooden columns large clusters of flags were grouped at the summits, and draperies composed of banners hung over the sides of the building. In this place seats for nearly 7000 visitors were ranged in a sort of oval amphitheatre, rising tier above tier; and inclined paths led down the centre, to give free access to the various ranges of seats. At the upper end of the amphitheatre the velvet and gold canopy and throne used at the opening of the Exhibition of 1862 had been erected, and all beneath and around this was richly carpeted. On the left of this were the places arranged for the members of the Royal family and household, and on a lower dais, similarly fitted up, were the inclosures allotted to Ambassadors and members of Her Majesty's Ministry. Between these, at the corners, parterres of flowers had been made among the seats. The space in front of the lower dais was allotted to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, and the municipal dignitaries of other great towns.

The visitors began to come in as early as half-past nine. By eleven o'clock most of the seats were occupied by ladies, in their bright spring dresses of green, white, and blue; the Foreign Ministers, with their stars, crosses, and other decorations, the Mayors and Aldermen in their robes, added more splendor to the scene. The Earl of Derby, in the Windsor uniform, with the Countess of Derby, Lord Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, and the other Ministers, were greeted with much applause. Among those present, the chief persons wearing state uniforms and the stars and ribbons of their orders, were the Duke of Buckingham, Earl Granville, the Earl of Malmesbury, the Right Hon. H. L. Corry, the Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, the Right Hon. Lord Naas, the Duke of Buccleuch, Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., Sir John Pakington, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Halifax, Lord John Manners, Sir W. Hayter, and many other members of both Houses of Parliament. Only those who were more or less officially connected with the ceremony appeared in uniform or court dress, the rest in plain morning attire. The architect of the hall (Colonel Henry Scott, who is also secretary and director of the works) and the builders (Messrs. Thomas and Charles Lucas) took their stand near the foundation-stone, which was a block of polished red granite, slung

from a tripod resting on a pedestal of freestone. It bore, in gold letters, the following inscription :—

This stone was laid
by Her Most Gracious Majesty
QUEEN VICTORIA,
May 20, 1867.

The first member of the Royal family to arrive was the Duke of Cambridge, who was accompanied by the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Prince Adolphus. At twenty minutes past eleven o'clock came the Prince of Wales, attired in the uniform of a general, and the Duke of Edinburgh in the uniform of a captain in the Navy, both wearing the star and collar of the Garter; and Prince Arthur, attired as a cadet of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. The Prince of Wales, whose carriage was escorted by Life Guards, was loudly cheered as soon as recognized by the crowd, and was received at the entrance to the building by several members of the provisional committee. Their Royal Highnesses were attended by General Knollys, Colonel Teesdale, and Mr. Herbert Fisher.

The Queen, having left Windsor Castle at half-past ten, and travelled by a special train of the Great Western Railway to London, came from Paddington in an open carriage and four, with Princess Louisa and Princess Beatrice in the same carriage, preceded by five similar carriages, which conveyed the ladies and gentlemen in attendance upon her; amongst these were the Duke of Beaufort, General Sir T. M. Biddulph, General the Hon. C. Grey, Viscount Hawarden, the Countess of Caledon, Lady Caroline Barrington, and two maids of honour; Prince Christian and Prince Leopold were in the carriage just before her. They drove through Hyde-park, with outriders in the Ascot livery and an escort of Life Guards. Crowds of people hailed the passage of Her Majesty with hearty cheers.

At half-past eleven precisely, the Queen arrived at the entrance of the building at Kensington Gore. Here she was received by the Earl of Tankerville, Lord Steward; the Earl of Bradford, Lord Chamberlain; Lord Claud Hamilton, Vice Chamberlain; Viscount Royston, Comptroller of the Household; General the Earl of Lucan, K.C.B., Goldstick in Waiting; Colonel the Hon. Dudley de Ros, Silverstick in Waiting; and Colonel H. P. De Bathe, Field-officer in Brigade Waiting. A guard of honour of the Coldstream Guards, with the band of the regiment, was mounted at the entrance.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh met the Queen as she alighted from her carriage, with Princesses Louisa and Beatrice, and Prince Leopold. Her Majesty wore deep mourning, a plain widow's cap and a dark crape mantle. The Princesses wore dresses of green and white; Prince Leopold, a Highland dress. The Prince of Wales, bowing to his mother, handed her a beautiful bouquet. The Queen, as she took it, kissed both her sons, and came forward into the building. The whole company rose to bid

her welcome, with hearty cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and clapping of hands. The Queen advanced to the edge of the raised dais, and curtsied three times, first to the right, next to the left, and then to those in front of her. The orchestral band of the Royal Italian Opera, under Mr. Costa, began the National Anthem, which the choir sang magnificently to the end of the second verse, Mdme. Sainton-Dolby and Mdme. Rudersdorff taking the solo parts. There was a slight pause while Her Majesty turned to speak a few words to most of the distinguished noblemen and gentlemen around. The Prince of Wales then advanced to the front of the dais, and read the following address:—

“May it please your Majesty,

“The report, which, as President of the Provisional Committee of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, I have the honour to lay before your Majesty, will be found to contain a brief outline of the origin and progress of the undertaking to the present time.

“It is not necessary for me to remind your Majesty, that the building of which you are graciously pleased to lay the first stone to-day, is one of the results of the Exhibition of 1851, and that it forms a prominent feature in the scheme contemplated by my dear father for perpetuating the success of that Exhibition by providing a common centre of union for the various departments of science and art.

“I cannot doubt that, to your Majesty, the events of this day, with their manifold associations, must be full of mournful interest. For myself, I need not say, that sharing those feelings, it is also with gratification that I find myself co-operating in the endeavour to give effect to a plan which had commended itself to the judgment of my father.

“Your Majesty’s presence to-day will be the best encouragement to us to persevere in the work, and to render it in all respects worthy of the objects for which it is designed.”

To this Her Majesty made the following reply; but, contrary to her usual habit, in a scarcely audible tone of voice:—

“I thank you for your affectionate and dutiful address. It has been with a struggle that I have nerved myself to a compliance with the wish that I should take part in this day’s ceremony; but I have been sustained by the thought that I should assist by my presence in promoting the accomplishment of his great designs, to whose memory the gratitude and affection of the country are now rearing a noble monument, which I trust may yet look down on such a centre of institutions for the promotion of art and science as it was his fond hope to establish here. It is my wish that this hall should bear his name to whom it will have owed its existence, and be called ‘The Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences.’ ”

The Prince then presented a report adopted by the Provisional Committee, which was taken as read, and the Queen simply handed it to Mr. Gathorne Hardy, the Home Secretary, who stood close by her, on the left.

Preceded by Messrs. Charles and Thomas Lucas and Colonel Scott, Her Majesty then descended to the spot where the stone was to be laid, and with her own hands poured in a collection of new coins, and closed the glass vessel in which she placed them, to be deposited beneath it. Then, assisted by Mr. Charles Lucas, who handed her a magnificent trowel of solid gold, while Mr. Thomas Lucas and Colonel Scott placed the cement beneath the stone, Her Majesty spread the mortar evenly and neatly. Amid a loud royal flourish of trumpets and the distant booming of a salute of twenty-one guns from the park, the polished block of granite was lowered into its place. Again assisted by the Messrs. Lucas, the Queen, with a plummet and line tested the accuracy of the block's adjustment, and, striking it with an ivory hammer, declared it "well and truly fixed," amid loud and prolonged cheering. The Archbishop of Canterbury then offered up a short prayer, and the band and chorus proceeded to deliver the vocal and instrumental music of a composition by the late Prince Consort, entitled "*L'Invocazione all' Armonia.*" The solo tenor parts were given by Signor Mario, with beautiful distinctness and effect, and Her Majesty, while passing from the building, stopped where he stood, and thanked him. The remaining verses of the National Anthem brought the proceedings to a close. Attended by all who were admitted to the upper and lower dais, the Queen passed through the whole building amidst enthusiastic applause, which at short intervals she stopped to acknowledge by curtsying deeply to the right and left. After leaving the company, Her Majesty went into the conservatory of the Royal Horticultural Gardens, and thence through the West Arcade, where a beautiful collection of plants had been laid out for her inspection. At the best groups of these, sent for the occasion by Messrs. Veitch and Son, Messrs. Turner, Messrs. Paul and Son, and other florists, the Queen made a short pause to examine and admire them. The whole stay in the garden, however, was very brief, and at the Prince's Gate of the gardens the whole of the royal party entered their carriages, and left in the same order in which they had arrived.

21. CHRISTENING OF THE SON OF PRINCE AND PRINCESS CHRISTIAN OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—The Christening of the infant son of Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein took place, at one o'clock, in the private chapel of Windsor Castle. Chairs were arranged on each side of the nave for the use of the Queen, the sponsors, and the various royal personages invited to be present. The font was placed in front of the altar. The officiating clergy were seated within the rails of the altar. The choir consisted of the gentlemen of Her Majesty's private chapel, assisted by several gentlemen and boys of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Mr. Cusins presided at the organ.

The following royal personages were at the ceremony:—The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince and Princess Christian, Princess Louisa, Prince Arthur, Prince Leopold, Princess

Beatrice, the Duke of Cambridge; the Grand Duke, the Grand Duchess, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, Prince Teck, and Count Gleichen.

The Cabinet Ministers present were the Earl of Derby, K.G.; the Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department (the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy). The clergy officiating were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, and the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster. The members of the Queen's household present were the Earl of Bradford, the Earl of Tankerville, the Duke of Beaufort, K.G., the Duchess of Wellington, the Duchess Dowager of Athole, the Hon. Lucy Kerr, Viscount Hawarden, Colonel the Hon. C. Lindsay, Lieutenant-General the Hon. C. Grey, Colonel H. Ponsonby, Major-General Sir T. M. Biddulph, K.C.B.; and Sir John Cowell, K.C.B.

The ladies and gentlemen in attendance upon the various royal personages were also present. The following had the honour of receiving invitations to the ceremony:—The Countess of Caledon, Earl Granville, Lady Augusta Stanley; Major-General the Hon. A. N., Lady Mary, and Miss Hood; the Hon. Mrs. Wellesley, Major-General F. H. and Miss Seymour, the Hon. Mrs. and Miss Grey, the Hon. Mrs. Ponsonby, Mr. and Mrs. Engleheart, Sir James Clark, Dr. Jenner, Dr. Farre, the Rev. R. Duckworth, Miss Hildyard, Mdle. Norelle, Mdle. Bauer, Mr. Legge, and Mr. Sahl.

The household in attendance assembled in the corridor shortly before one o'clock. The company invited to be present proceeded upon arrival to the Red Drawing-room, and thence were conducted to seats provided for them in the chapel.

The sponsors for his Highness the infant Prince were the Queen, the Prince of Wales; Princess Louisa, proxy for the Crown Princess of Prussia; the Duke of Edinburgh, proxy for the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; Prince Arthur, proxy for the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg; Lady Churchill, proxy for the Princess Dowager of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. The sponsors were ranged on the left side of the altar.

At the commencement of the service, the following hymn, composed by the Prince Consort, was sung:—

"In Life's gay morn, ere sprightly youth
By vice and folly is enlaved,
Oh! may thy Maker's glorious name
Be on thy infant mind engraved.
So shall no shades of sorrow cloud
The sunshine of thy early days,
But happiness in endless round
Shall still encompass all thy ways."

The infant Prince was afterwards brought into the chapel, attended by Lady Susan Melville. The Queen handed the Prince to the Archbishop, and named him—CHRISTIAN VICTOR ALBERT

LUDWIG ERNEST ANTON. At the conclusion of the service another hymn was sung.

Her Majesty, accompanied by the royal and distinguished guests, afterwards proceeded to the Green Drawing-room, where the baptismal register was completed.

Luncheon was served for the royal family in the Oak Room, and for the other guests in the Dining-room. During the collation, the Lord Steward gave the following toasts:—"Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein," "The Queen," "Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein."

22. THE DERBY.—The Derby-day in 1867 will be long remembered by all turfmen, not only by reason of the astounding vicissitudes in the betting, but for the triumph of "poor Hermit," as he was derisively called only a few days before, when his chance seemed forlorn indeed. The air on the Downs from noon was at times raw and cold, and the holiday makers had to endure much from the showers of sleet and the biting blasts which swept over the Downs. Beyond all doubt, the Derby-day of this year, as far as company was concerned, was the most dull and dispiriting on record, and the forest of umbrellas that met the eye in every direction showed that the visitors had sensibly come prepared for the worst.

The great event of the day came off as follows:—

The 88th Derby Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft. for three year olds; colts, 8st. 10lb., and fillies 8st. 5lb.; the owner of the second horse to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes. Mile and a half. 256 subs.

Mr. Chaplain's ch. c. Hermit, by Newminster (J. Daley)	1
Mr. Merry's ch. c. Marksman (J. Grimshaw)	2
Duke of Beaufort's br. c. Vauban (Fordham)	3
Mr. Eastwood's ch. c. Master Butterfly (Hardcastle)	0
Mr. Eastwood's br. c. Lord Hastings (J. Doyle)	0
Mr. F. Elliott's bl. c. Leases (Jeffrey)	0
Mr. Maund's b. c. Man of Ross (Loates)	0
Mr. Godding's br. c. Amanda colt (T. French)	0
Mr. G. Angell's ch. c. Ben Nevis (Parry)	0
Mr. Bowes's ch. g. Taraban (Carroll)	0
Mr. Savile's br. g. Roquefort (H. Covey)	0
Mr. Savile's br. c. D'Estournel (Edwards)	0
Mr. Fleming's b. c. Van Amburgh (Challoner)	0
Count F. Lagrange's b. c. Dragon (Hibberd)	0
Marquis of Exeter's b. c. Grand Cross (Norman)	0
Mr. Johnstone's b. c. Tynedale (J. Osborne)	0
Mr. J. Johnstone's b. c. The Corporal (Cameron)	0
Mr. F. Pryor's b. c. The Rake (Custance)	0
Duke of Newcastle's b. c. Julius (J. Mann)	0
Mr. H. Temple's b. c. Fitz-Ivan (Payne)	0

Sir J. Hawley's br. c. The Palmer (Wells)	. . .	0
Marquis of Hasting's br. c. Uncas (Salter)	. . .	0
Mr. A. Heathcote's ch. c. Gipsy King (Snowden)	. . .	0
Mr. Gilby's b. f. Skysail (Huxtable)	. . .	0
Duke of Hamilton's b. c. Wild Moor (Clement)	. . .	0
Sir R. Bulkeley's br. c. Owen Glyndwr (J. Goater)	. . .	0
Lord Coventry's ch. c. The Rescue (J. Adams)	. . .	0
Mr. Crawley's b. c. Redbourne (Morris)	. . .	0
Mr. Baker's b. c. Bedlamite (R. Viney)	. . .	0
Lord Uxbridge's b. c. Distin (Cannon)	. . .	0

Betting—6 to 4 agst Vauban; 7 to 1 agst Palmer; 8 to 1 each agst The Rake and Van Amburgh; 11 to 1 agst Marksman; 100 to 7 agst Julius; 100 to 6 agst D'Estournel; 30 to 1 each agst Dragon and Grand Cross; 50 to 1 agst Tynedale; 66 to 1 each agst Master Butterfly and Fitz-Ivan; and 100 to 1 agst Hermit.

As usual, Mr. Manning had expedited the weighing out of those engaged in the Derby, and in consequence their numbers, with their respective riders, were speedily exhibited on the usual notice board; and, shortly after, twenty-eight of the thirty competitors were seen leaving the paddock, Marksman and The Rake soon after meeting them, having been saddled at the Warren stables. Little or no time was lost in their preliminary canters, in which those most interested took exception to several of their favourites. The lot were marshalled down to the starting-post by the veteran Starling, who delivered them in something like order into the custody of Mr. M'George. Upwards of an hour was lost before he could get them together, breaks away apparently being the order of the day. At last the patience of the spectators, sorely tried by several heavy showers, was rewarded by the welcome cry of "They're off;" and, immediately after, Julius, on the extreme right of his horses, was observed slightly in advance of Redbourne, Skysail, and Fitz-Ivan; to whom succeeded Vauban, Marksman, Corporal, Van Amburgh, The Rake, and Hermit. The next division had for their leaders Wild Moor, Owain Glyndwr, The Rescue, Tyndale, Man of Ross, Dragon, and The Palmer; the extreme rear being represented by Mr. Eastwood's pair, Taraban, the Amanda colt, and D'Estournel. The latter jumped round as the flag fell, and was left a long way in the rear, which mishap was further increased by his bolting out of the course. During this *contretemps*, the leaders held their way through the furzes; but, as they entered the old course, Redbourne dropped away from the front, and his place was then taken by Skysail, who proceeded along the brow of the hill to the mile-post, at the girths of the Duke of Newcastle's colt, the pair being upwards of three lengths in advance of Vauban, on whose right were seen the colours of Wild Moor, Tynedale, Marksman, and The Rescue, and on the inside followed The Palmer, Hermit, and The Rake, the rear rank even at this early period having taken open order. Descending

the hill for Tattenham-corner Julius was beaten, and Fordham indulged the favourite with a pull, which for a brief period gave to the race an open appearance, and let up Marksman on his right, who, with Van Amburgh, The Palmer, Wild Moor, and The Corporal, with his stable companion Tynedale, showed prominently in advance. At the road Vauban was seen clear of his horses, when his success was loudly proclaimed from the Stands, but immediately after Fordham was seen to be hard upon his horse, and as they neared the distance he was joined on the whip hand by Marksman, and on the lower ground by Van Amburgh, J. Daley at this period holding his horse in reserve to the enclosure. At this point Van Amburgh was disposed of, which let up Hermit, who joined issue with Vauban and Marksman at the Stand; here the favourite was completely run out, leaving Mr. Merry's colt in advance, but Daley, riding with great determination to the end, was just enabled to get up in the last stride, and landed one of the most extreme outsiders a clever winner by a neck. Marksman, who ran a thoroughly game horse throughout, finished upwards of five lengths in advance of Vauban. Wild Moor was fourth, Van Amburgh fifth, Owain Glyndwr sixth, Tyndale seventh, The Palmer eighth, and The Corporal next. At the head of the next division pulling up, were, headed by The Rake, Leases, Julius, and Gipsy King, to whom succeeded, at wide distances, The Rescue, Grand Cross, and Roquefort, the last three being Ben Nevis, the Amanda Colt, and Distin. The following is the time, as taken by Benson's Chronograph:—Start, 3 h. 52 min. 20 sec.; arrival, 3 h. 55 min. 12 sec.; duration of race, 2 min. 52 sec. The time last year was 2 min. 49 sec.

26. ACCOUCHEMENT OF THE PRINCESS MARY OF TECK.—Her Royal Highness the Princess Mary Adelaide was safely delivered of a Princess at one minute before midnight.

The following bulletin was issued the next day:—

“Her Royal Highness and the infant Princess are doing perfectly well.

“ARTHUR FARRE, M.D.

“EDWARD H. HILLS, Chir.”

The recovery of her Royal Highness proceeded most favourably.

27. THE HORSE SHOW AT THE AGRICULTURAL HALL, ISLINGTON.—This popular exhibition was opened to the public, and continued on view during the week. It was visited by a very large number of persons, and the decisions of the judges excited the liveliest interest. The judging of harness-horses and ponies was first proceeded with, and the award of the prizes was received with great applause. About 10,000 persons visited the Show on the first day, and the jumping of the hunters and the trotting classes afforded considerable amusement. In consequence of the announcements and the anticipations that the Prince of Wales would visit the Show on the 29th, the scene during the afternoon

was a most exciting one. Not only was the whole of the sides of the arena thronged by spectators, five and six, and in many instances seven and eight deep, but every morsel of gallery space, boxes, reserved seats, and orchestra on both sides of the organ were completely filled with a most fashionable company, chiefly ladies. The Prince was expected shortly before five o'clock, but in consequence of the late hour to which the levee was prolonged, his Royal Highness was unable to attend. The judging of the splendid array of cobs, already in the ring, for the gold medal, value twenty-five guineas, given by Mr. H. Dodd, one of the directors, for the best weight-carrying cob, equal to sixteen stone, with a view to improve the breed of this class of horses, then took place, exciting the deepest interest. The gold medal was awarded to Mr. Jonas Webb, for his splendid black-brown cob, Brunette, fifteen hands and half an inch high, seven years old. On the groom who rode the animal receiving the indications of success, the three sets of prize ribands, blue, crimson, and orange combined, he placed them on his breast, and rode the winning cob round the arena amidst thunders of applause. There were from 15,000 to 20,000 visitors that day. On the 30th, the great event was the visit of the Prince of Wales, with Prince Teck and other distinguished persons. The arrival took place at twenty minutes past four. There were not so many persons in the building at the time as on the previous day, but the Prince on his arrival and departure received demonstrations of applause. After staying about an hour and a half, in the course of which time his Royal Highness made one or two purchases of valuable horses, the royal party left amidst loud cheers. On the 31st, the jumping and trotting for prizes were the great features of attraction, and over twenty thousand persons paid for admission. The first prize was awarded to Mr. Patmore's Izod, who was at once sold by the owner for 150 guineas; second to Mr. Davey's Dollar (not in the Show); and the third to Mr. Gale's Preston Dean, ridden by the owner. In the trotting match against time, ten times round the ring, Mr. Edward's Shepherd F. Knapp, American stallion, did the distance in 3m. 49s., or at the rate of 3m. 27s. per mile; second prize to Mr. Edward's Star, 4m. 1s.; third, Mr. Davis's Lady of the Lake, 4m. 11s. The prizes were awarded amidst great applause. The ordinary parades of stallions then took place, and the Show closed about eight o'clock.

JUNE.

1. INAUGURATION OF THE STATUE OF LORD HERBERT OF LEA.—Some of the first notabilities in the land, in addition to a distinguished member of the royal family, assembled within the enclosure of the War Office, Pall Mall, for the purpose of paying a just tribute to the memory of one who, whether as a statesman or as a benevolent nobleman, will long live in the estimation of his countrymen, namely, the inauguration of a statue which had been erected by public subscription to Lord Herbert of Lea, who, during the earlier stages of the volunteer movement, distinguished himself in his capacity as Minister of War in its support, and in other matters for the benefit of his country.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, had most appropriately undertaken the task of unveiling the statue; and on the arrival of his Royal Highness, shortly before twelve o'clock, he was received and surrounded by a large number of noblemen and gentlemen. Amongst those present were the Right. Hon. Sir John Pakington, M.P., present Secretary of State for War; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord John Manners, M.P.; Earl Granville, the Earl de Grey and Ripon, the Bishop of Oxford, the Marquis of Ailesbury, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Malmesbury, the Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons, Earl Grosvenor, M.P.; the Right Hon. W. Cowper, M.P.; Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M.P.; Lord Halifax, Lord Harris, Major-General Lord F. Paulet, General Eyre, the Venerable the Chaplain-General of the Forces, the Right Hon. Lowry Corry, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty; General Sir John Burgoyne, General Sir Harry Storks, General Sir Hope Grant, General Sir W. Codrington, Lord Elcho, M.P.; the Right Hon. H. U. Addington, General Sir Chas. Yorke, General Sir George Bowles, K.C.B.; Lieut.-General Knollys, Sir Roderick Murchison, K.C.B.; Captain Douglas Galton, R.E.C.B.; the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Mr. Thomson Hankey, M.P.; the Viscount Folkestone, the Right Hon. J. Stuart Wortley, Mr. R. J. Holford, M.P.; Mr. Peter Hoare, Mr. Alderman Salomons, M.P.; Sir Francis Goldsmid, Bart., M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P.; the Right Hon. T. E. Headlam, M.P.; Mr. Arthur Peel, M.P.; Lord Houghton, Colonel North, M.P.; General Lefroy, Mr. G. Tomline, M.P.; Mr. M. H. Marsh, M.P.; Sir Charles Wyke, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. J. H. Foley, R.A. (the sculptor of the statue); Mr. F. H. Wyatt, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Standish Haly (Hon. Secretary), &c., &c. In the balcony over the entrance to the War Office were a number of

ladies, including Mrs. Cardwell and the Ladies Herbert, as well as the Hon. Percy Herbert, Colonel Percy, and other gentlemen.

The origin of this noble memorial—which is situate in the open courtyard immediately in front of the grand entrance to the War Office, but sufficiently close to the railings to afford a fine view from the opposite side of Pall Mall, and the street opposite running into St. James's-square—was a public meeting held on the 28th November, 1861, at Willis's Rooms, shortly after Lord Herbert's death, and which was presided over by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and attended by a large number of noblemen and gentlemen. At this meeting it was resolved to erect, in the first instance, a statue to the memory of Lord Herbert in London; and, secondly, to apply the surplus funds, if any, raised for the object, to the endowment of exhibitions or gold medals, in connexion with the Army Medical School at Chatham, which was founded under Lord Herbert's auspices. The site at the War Office having been granted, Mr. J. H. Foley, R.A., was commissioned to execute the work.

The memorial consists of a bronze statue, nine feet in height, on a carved granite pedestal, the lower grey, and the upper portion a very beautiful specimen of red granite. Let into the granite on three of its sides are three tablets or bas reliefs, also in bronze, illustrative of subjects to which Lord Herbert chiefly devoted his attention whilst filling the office of Secretary of State for War. On the face of the pedestal, beneath the words "Sidney Herbert," in gold, cut deeply into the granite, are the armorial bearings of the family in bronze, and on the sides are the dates of his birth and death: viz., "Born 16th Sept., 1810," on the east side; and on the west, "Died August 2, 1861." On the southern side is a bronze tablet, inscribed "Erected by public subscription, 1867." The tablet in front of the statue or northern side, facing Pall Mall, represents an incident in the "Herbert Hospital," Woolwich, Miss Nightingale instructing nurses in their duties of tending wounded and sick soldiers. On the east side is a bas relief representing the volunteer movement, in which a battalion of volunteers are seen marching, whilst that on the west side exhibits the process of casting and testing the first Armstrong gun at Woolwich, which events occurred during the administration of Lord Herbert of the post of War Minister. The statue portrays Lord Herbert robed as a peer, standing with his head bent downward in a position expressive of deep thought, tending to give an impression to the spectator of the absorbing attention which his lordship gave to the principal subjects with which his name was associated. The attitude must be familiar to his friends, being one in which he was frequently seen. The head is bent down, and supported by the right hand, the elbow resting on the left, which holds a roll of papers. At the feet of the statue are some books.

The company having assembled,
The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone stepped forward, and addressed

his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief in the following terms:—"I have, your Royal Highness, on behalf of the executive committee who were appointed to provide a statue in memory of the late Lord Herbert of Lea, to acquaint you with the manner in which we have fulfilled our commission. Your Royal Highness was pleased, with that courtesy and interest in public matters which distinguish you, and likewise, may I be permitted to say, with that special regard which we all know you bore to the late Lord Herbert, to take upon yourself a most prominent duty in the commencement of this great undertaking by presiding at the meeting held at Willis's Rooms, for the purpose of establishing a subscription for the erection of a statue to the deceased statesman.

When the committee was appointed, we proceeded to consider the questions which it was our duty to take into our view—the choice of an artist, the choice of a site, and the determination of a design; and we have now to submit to you the result of our labours in these several particulars. As respects the choice of an artist, I am quite sure we shall enjoy the honour of your approval in having selected for the execution of this work a man whose name has long been famous to this and other lands, I mean Mr. Foley. As respects the site, we think ourselves particularly happy in having been permitted, by the kindness of the authorities, to make arrangements for placing the statue of Lord Herbert in immediate contiguity to the scene which is associated with the most interesting of all his labours, and in which he spent the last and failing energies of his life. As respects the design of the statue, that will speak to you for itself to-day when you proceed to uncover it; and we are sanguine enough to anticipate that you will not be disappointed at the result of the undertaking to which your Royal Highness has so kindly given your countenance and your aid. It only remains for me now, sir, to say that we trust that this statue will long be regarded with deep interest in London, as a memorial, not of regard and friendship only, but of warm affection on the part of those who have contributed to its erection. It will be also a record of virtues, of graces, and of talents which are rarely indeed combined in the same individual, and of which it may be said that when they do meet it becomes, not a pleasure and a satisfaction only, but a duty to mankind to commemorate them in the most permanent form that any materials at our command will grant. Finally, this statue will remain, also, we trust, as a record of those remarkable efforts for the benefit of the army which have no doubt increased the interest felt by your Royal Highness in the name and reputation of Lord Herbert; and we trust that for this reason, even more than on account of the general claims, it will long be a memorial visible to the eyes of all men; and saying, though dumb, to all those who come after the deceased, "Go thou and do likewise."

The veil with which the statue was enveloped having been removed, his Royal Highness, accompanied by Sir John Pakington,

Mr. Foley (the sculptor), and one or two other gentlemen, passed round the statue and examined it for several minutes; and, having returned to the front of the portico of the War Office, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, addressing Mr. Gladstone and the rest of the company assembled, said:—"Having now performed the duty of unveiling the statue of my late lamented friend, Lord Herbert, it becomes my duty to assure you that, in my opinion, the executive committee have been most fortunate in the success which has attended their labours. The object of this day's proceedings has attracted around me a large number of gentlemen of all shades of politics and of every class of society; and this is sufficient to satisfy us that the decision which was arrived at to erect this statue was one deserving of the universal assent of the nation. With regard to the effect produced by the memorial which we now behold, I must say it appears to me well worthy of the object for which that memorial has been raised. The tablets reproduce to my mind in a remarkable degree the character of the deceased statesman. We see him there, in the first place, in association with Miss Nightingale in the hospital arrangements, for which our lamented friend stood conspicuous. We see there the introduction of the volunteer force, with which his name was so much associated; and we also see the martial character which he filled in relation to the construction of a new war material which is now generally adopted. I do think that the happy conception of these three leading features in the eminent life of that illustrious statesman are creditable to the artist, and must be gratifying to the friends of the lamented Lord Herbert. In closing these few observations I can only express the gratification which I feel, and in which I am sure every one around me must share, at the success of the object which we had in view."

His Royal Highness then shook hands with Mr. Foley, and warmly congratulated him on the success of his work.

Sir John Pakington having, in a few words, expressed his admiration for the high public character of the late Lord Herbert, his great abilities, and that devotion to the public service which brought him to an early grave, concluded by expressing the thanks of the company to his Royal Highness for taking part in the ceremonial.

With this the proceedings terminated.

6. THE ASCOT CUP DAY.—One of the most attractive racing meetings of the season, that which takes place on Ascot Heath, was this year marked by all the features of brilliancy and gaiety which are associated with its recurrence. The numbers who flocked to see the great race for the Cup are supposed to have been in excess of any previous occasion. The stand and private boxes were full to overflowing; the lawn had its quota of nearly every class in our great metropolis, and the avenue of drags and carriages was as densely packed as of yore. Nothing indeed was wanting. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Duchess of

Cambridge, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Duke of Cambridge, arrived from Windsor shortly before the commencement of racing, with all the time-honoured Ascot ceremonial. Lord Colville and the Royal Huntsman, the men in green, and the men in scarlet, were greeted with warm and respectful loyalty by the immense throng.

The great event of the day took place as follows:—

The GOLD CUP, value 300 sovs., added to a subscription of 20 sovs. each. Weight for age. The second horse to receive 50 sovs. out of the stakes. About two miles and a half. 33 subs.

Marquis of Hastings' Lecturer, by Colsterdale, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Fordham)	1
Mr. Graham's Regalia, 5 yrs., 9st. (Heartfield)	2
Baron Rothschild's Hippias, 3 yrs., 7st. 2lb. (Peake)	3
Mr. B. E. Dunbar's Tormentor, 4 yrs., 8st. 7lb. (J. Mann)	0
Lord Glasgow's b. c. by Young Melbourne, dam by Teddington—Maid of Masham, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Aldcroft)	0
Marquis of Hastings' John Davis, 6 yrs., 9st. 5lb. (Cannon)	0
Count F. de Lagrange's Montgoubert, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (Hibberd)	0
Duke of Newcastle's Julius, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (Huxtable)	0
Duke of Newcastle's Opoponax, 3 yrs., 7st. 2lb. (H. Covey)	0
Mr. Chaplin's Rama, 4 yrs., 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	0

Betting—11 to 4 agst Lecturer, 5 to 2 agst Hippias, 5 to 1 agst Rama, 100 to 15 agst Regalia, 10 to 1 agst Julius, and 100 to 7 each agst Tormentor and Montgoubert.

Half an hour after the appointed time they reached the post, and with no loss of time Mr. M'George got them away to an excellent start, the lot running in a line into the bottom. Here John Davis quitted his horses, and made the running at a strong pace to serve his stable companion, attended by Hippias, Lecturer, Rama, Opoponax, and Tormentor in a body; then came Regalia, Julius, the Young Melbourne colt, and Montgoubert. In these positions they came past the stand, but when fairly round the Swinley turn, Cannon considerably improved his advantage, Opoponax going on second, Hippias third; close up with whom were Rama, Julius, Tormentor, and Lecturer, who followed the leaders into the bottom nearly abreast. Passing the kennels, Opoponax dropped back, and his place was taken by Rama, who, with Hippias, Lecturer, and Tormentor lying up, waited upon John Davis to the brick-kilns. Here the latter dropped back, and his place was taken by Rama, Lecturer, with Regalia at his girths, at the same time drawing towards the front. On entering the straight

Rama appeared slightly in advance of Hippia, the pair being closely attended by Regalia, in whose track were seen the colours of the favourite, who waited to the distance, where Mr. Chaplin's horse was beaten and dropped back; Regalia at the same moment challenged Hippia, whom she headed at the enclosure, the pair being a length or so in advance of Lecturer, who, having been disappointed in getting through, now bided his time next the rails until they reached the Royal stand, where the two leaders were seen in difficulties; when Fordham brought up the favourite with one of his finished and well-timed rushes, and, heading Regalia in the next stride, won very cleverly by a length and a half; a similar distance separated the second and third; Julius was a bad fourth, Rama fifth, the Young Melbourne colt sixth, and Montgoubert seventh; Opoanax, Tormentor, and John Davis, side by side, were pulled up on the post. The time of running, as taken by Benson's chronograph, was 4 min. 40½ sec.; time last year, 4 min. 35½ sec.

10. VOLUNTEER REVIEW IN WINDSOR PARK.—This day being Whit-Monday, a review of two thousand rifle volunteers of different corps, with three or four hundred cavalry, of the Yeomanry, Honourable Artillery Company, and 2nd Life Guards, took place in Windsor Park. The troops came on the ground between three and four in the afternoon. The detachment of Guards was under the command of Colonel Marshall; one troop of the mounted Hon. Artillery and two troops of the South Bucks (Taplow) Yeomanry Lancers, under Captain N. Grace Lambert, also appeared. The infantry were composed of four companies of the Hon. Artillery Company, under Major Robinson; three companies of the Victorias, joined to one company of the Harrow Rifles, under Major Greenhill; three companies of the South Middlesex, under Lord Ranelagh; three companies of the West Middlesex, under Colonel Somerset; four companies of the North Middlesex, under Captain Brown; four companies of the St. George's, under Colonel the Hon. Charles Lindsay; four companies of the Civil Service and one company of the Artists, under Major Du Plat Taylor; eight companies of the North-East London Rifles, under Colonel Richardson-Gardner; and eight companies of the 1st Berks Administrative Battalion, under Colonel Loyd-Lindsay. Major-General Seymour, commanding the Brigade of Guards, took the command, by authority of the War Office.

The force was formed into two divisions; one, the attack, consisting of the Victorias, the South Middlesex, and the Harrow Rifles, under Colonel Lord Ranelagh, and the 2nd Life Guards, under Colonel Marshall; the other division, that of the defence force, consisting of the remainder of the troops, each side having two field-guns, manned by the Hon. Artillery Company. The ground was a fine expanse of sward, one mile and a half from Windsor, known as "Queen Anne's Walk." The defence occupied the trees bordering on the Long Walk; the attack, the high

ground by the road through the park from Ascot to Windsor. About five o'clock the operations of the sham fight commenced, which were conducted in a manner very creditable to the forces engaged on either side, and afforded an interesting sight to a large body of spectators. In the evening the North-East London Rifles were entertained at dinner under a large marquee in a field near the railway station, by their commander, Colonel Richardson-Gardner.

12. OUTRAGES OF TRADES UNIONS AT SHEFFIELD. — A Royal Commission having been appointed, with Sir William Erle at its head, for conducting an inquiry into the constitution, character, and proceedings of the Trades Unions throughout the kingdom, and certain outrages which had occurred at Sheffield, supposed to be connected with these bodies, having become matter of public notoriety, it was determined by the Commissioners to delegate the inquiry into these transactions to certain gentlemen of the Bar, who should proceed to Sheffield and carry on the investigations on the spot. Mr. Overend, Q.C., Mr. Chance, and Mr. Barstow were appointed for this purpose, and they were authorized by an Act of Parliament passed to facilitate the proceedings of the Commission, to grant a certificate of indemnity to all persons implicated in any of the illegal proceedings who should make a full and free disclosure of the truth. The inquiry, thus instituted, brought to light some very remarkable facts, which, but for this process, would probably have remained for ever unknown, since the actors in them had, up to the present time, defied every attempt to detect them by the ordinary agencies of justice. Some of these disclosures were so terrible, as proving the unscrupulous and merciless fidelity with which the instruments of these secret tribunals executed their mandates, that the public mind, now for the first time made acquainted with the dark mysteries of Unionism, was appalled at the discovery. The inquiry at Sheffield occupied some weeks, and the facts elicited would fill a large space in this volume; but we may give as a specimen of the rest the details of the transactions which were described by some of the principal authors of these atrocities, who came prepared as witnesses under the protection of the statutory indemnity. One of these persons, James Hallam, a saw-grinder, who had refused at the first examination to give up the name of an accomplice, and was committed to prison for contempt of court in consequence, afterwards intimated that he was prepared to make a full confession of what he knew respecting trade outrages, and was, therefore, brought up for examination. He was evidently much troubled, and could scarcely speak when called upon. He fainted, and was for some time unconscious before giving any evidence. He was very reluctant in making his statements from the commencement. After confessing to the "rattening" of one Taylor, in company with Samuel Crookes, and the blowing up of Wheatman and Smith's place with gunpowder, also in company with Crookes, the powder being bought with money

supplied to Crookes by Broadhead, the secretary to the union, for the purpose, he was questioned respecting the murder of a man named Linley, who had made himself obnoxious to the union by, as was thought, spoiling the trade by "filling it with lads." It was very difficult for Mr. Overend to get answers to his questions. The witness was evidently frightened. The word "murder," and a contemplation of the consequences which usually follow that crime unmanned him. He was again and again told that if he would speak the truth he "would get his indemnity" from the Commissioners; but he pressed for indemnity for those whom his confession might implicate. Having confessed to having been seen with a pistol in his pocket shortly before Linley was shot, he was asked for what purpose he carried that pistol, when he trembled from head to foot. The question was again put, and then the witness looked fixedly at Mr. Overend for a few seconds, and trembling so violently as scarcely to be able to support himself, he rose from his seat, staggered up to Mr. Overend, and whispered something which could only be heard by the examiners.

Mr. Overend: "Oh, we'll give you the indemnity if you will tell the truth."

Witness: "And the party that was with me, too?"

Mr. Overend: "And him, too, if he will tell the truth; if he will come forward and ask for his indemnity. You need not fear implicating any body, for they will get their certificate. Now I ask you for what purpose you bought the pistol?"

The witness attempted to stagger back to his seat, but was unable to guide himself to it, and Mr. Jackson supported him. After sitting a second or two in the chair, trembling more violently than ever, he leaned back and fainted away. He was laid down upon the floor, and the usual means of restoration were applied, his hands being chafed, a smelling bottle applied to his nostrils, and brandy poured down his throat. In about five minutes he opened his eyes, made a convulsive snatch at his throat, and relapsed into unconsciousness. He was then carried into an adjoining room, and laid upon an ottoman under an open window. Stimulants were applied to him, but it was some minutes before he awoke out of his stupor, and then, as before, his first act was to clutch his throat, and this time he did it repeatedly, and with such pertinacity and force that it required the strength of two or three men to keep his hand to his side. After about a quarter of an hour he was led into court again. His chair was placed opposite Mr. Overend, and the reporters were obliged to approach quite close to him to catch the faint and husky whispers that fell from his lips. At times he was only preserved from fainting by the prompt administration of brandy. Mr. Jackson, the chief constable, kept close behind him, helping him to sit upright in the chair. Occasionally he was quite unable to speak, and abandoned himself to tears and sighs. Resting his head on his hand, and partly shielding his face from the gaze of the bystanders, he gave, with trying slowness, with downcast

eyes, and a distress painful to witness, the following melancholy details of the murder in which he had taken a leading part:—The pistol, he said, was bought for the purpose of shooting Linley, and Crookes was associated with him (Hallam) in the crime. Witness did not really fire the shot, but compelled Crookes to do so. They were “set on to do it” by Broadhead; they were to “do for” Linley, but did not intend to kill him, only to make him so that he could not work any more. Hallam undertook to do that, and Broadhead asked how much he would want for doing it. Witness thought about 20*l.* would not be too much, and Broadhead said he thought it was not. The day after this understanding with Broadhead, Hallam met Crookes and told him he “had got the job to do for Linley,” and said they were to get 20*l.* for it. They met again the next week, and went to Broadhead’s to see what they were to have. Crookes saw him alone, and on returning said they were only to have 15*l.*, as that was all that Broadhead would give. Witness got 3*l.*, and bought a revolver. Crookes also had a revolver. They followed Linley about almost every night, except Sunday night, for about six weeks, but without getting the chance of “doing for him.” As they could not manage with revolvers they got an air-gun, and appear to have gone to Eccleshall Wood, to experiment first upon the rabbits. Finding the weapon a manageable one, and sufficiently destructive, they recommenced dodging Linley. At last they followed him to a public-house in Scotland-street. That was about nine o’clock at night, and having seen him enter the kitchen they went to the back of the house, into the yard, and looking through the window saw Linley sitting there. Other people were in the room at the same time. When Crookes looked at him (Linley) he refused to shoot, being apparently made timid by thinking there were no means of exit from the yard. Witness found a ready way out, told Crookes about it, and again pressed him to shoot. Crookes again refused; but when witness attempted to take the gun and said he would shoot, then Crookes himself fired and shot Linley in the head. They then ran away, and in doing so tumbled against a man and woman who chanced to be approaching them. After they had run about two miles they separated. They met again the next morning, and Crookes gave witness a sovereign. Witness saw Broadhead before the following Saturday, and was told it would be better for him not to be seen there much. Witness got 7*l.* 10*s.* for shooting Linley. Crookes gave him 4*l.* 10*s.* and Broadhead gave him the 3*l.* The 3*l.* he received before the murder. Linley lived several months after he was shot, but ultimately died from the effect of his wound, and a coroner’s inquest was held, at which a verdict of “wilful murder against some person or persons unknown” was returned. Witness saw Crookes frequently after the verdict, but did not talk much about any matters of importance. They did not pledge themselves to keep the secret, or bind themselves by any oath.

The witness was then examined as to why he had refused to give up Crookes's name on a former occasion, and why he had denied his private confession, which he had now publicly repeated. He said he did it to save Crookes, and thought to take the whole blame on himself. He charged himself with instigating Broadhead to these things. He did not know Linley at the time he agreed to shoot him. Never spoke to him in his life, and only shot him on account of Linley's dispute with the trade. He also confessed to having knocked a man on the head with a life-preserver, at the instance of, and for pay from, a deceased secretary of the pen and pocket-blade grinders, named Bromhead.

Broadhead was present during the whole of the examination, and was perhaps the least moved person in court.

After one or two cases of rattening had been gone into, Samuel Crookes, who had been sent for by a policeman, was brought into the court, and was sworn by Mr. Overend. He appeared to be very calm and self-possessed. Immediately after he was sworn, Broadhead shouted out to him, "Tell the truth, Sam—every thing."

Mr. Overend then, addressing Crookes, said: "I don't know what you have heard, but I will tell you what Hallam has said, because I think you ought to be made acquainted with it. He says that you and he were employed by Broadhead to do an injury to Linley. He says that you and he met together, and that you had an air-gun; that you went following him about for a long time from place to place, for nearly five or six weeks, having been promised 20*l.* by Broadhead to do this deed; that you then, having followed him into a public-house in Scotland-street, with your air-gun shot Linley in the head; and he says he told you to do it—that you were unwilling to do it, but that he compelled you to do it; that he was by you at the time you did the deed, and saw you do it. I don't know whether you have heard this statement?"—Witness: "No, I never have."

"But that is what he says—that he has sworn to this morning. It is about yourself, and I want to caution you, for if you are guilty of this, you are guilty of murder, and if you are guilty of murder you are in danger of your life. If, however, you make a clean breast of it, and give a full and candid disclosure of all you know, we have the power to grant you a certificate which will protect you even from such a deed as that—and that is the only protection you have for your life. Now, then, it is for you to say if you did that deed or not."

The witness, after a slight pause, said in a firm and quick voice, and with perfect composure: "Yes, I did."

In answer to another question, he repeated that he did shoot Linley. He had no quarrel with him; it was because he was doing an injury to the trade that he intended to do him an injury, not to kill him. He (Crookes) spoke to Broadhead about it, who, he believed, agreed to give them 20*l.* for the job they had undertaken. Witness could not help aiming where he did, because there were a lot of

people in the room, and Hallam would have him shoot. Hallam compelled him to shoot. All he wanted to do was to hit him in the shoulder, but as he could not do that he was compelled to shoot him as he did. He (Linley) was leaning forward that way. [The witness showed how by reclining his head on his right shoulder.] He was leaning down talking to some persons, and the shot which was meant for the shoulder hit the head. Witness was questioned about the money he had received from Broadhead, which "was after it was done, of course." At first the witness denied having had a revolver. He admitted that Hallam had one, but it took some time to get him to admit that he had himself bought one at a pawnshop somewhere out of Pot-square. They had only one revolver. Hallam had told witness they must have a revolver, as he wanted something to defend himself with. Witness bought the revolver, but Hallam gave him the purchase-money.

On the following day, Broadhead, the secretary of the Saw-grinders' Union, was examined. He said that all cases connected with the trade did not go before the committee. Such questions as now came before the court did not go before the committee. He then proceeded to state, amidst expressions of horror from the hearers, that he paid Crookes and Hallam, whom he hired to shoot Linley, 15*l.* or 20*l.* on each of the two occasions. He did so, not owing to any quarrel with Linley, but because he had set the rules of the trade at defiance, and taken a large number of apprentices. The understanding was that they were to wound him, but not to kill him. Linley's taking six apprentices was the sole cause of his being shot, as he was ruining the whole body by violating that rule. If others had followed that example it would so much increase the number on the box that the society could not exist. It had such an effect on the society that, in five years, 5000*l.* was paid to the sick and unemployed.

Mr. Overend, addressing Broadhead, warned him against his endeavour not to implicate others. In his evidence he had not disclosed a single fact which had not been previously proved by two witnesses. Unless he disclosed all that he knew he would not obtain a certificate.

Broadhead then asked would mercy be extended to others, as well as to himself, if they told the truth?—Mr. Overend: "Certainly."

Broadhead: "Then I will give you a true statement." He then said his statement as to the Hellewell affair was untrue. "I hired Dennis Clark, for 3*l.* or 5*l.*, to blow up Hellewell's. I said nothing to any one about the paper which I prevailed on 'Putty' Shaw to sign, alleging that I had never employed him in outrages. I then, when the committee met, produced Shaw, who corroborated the allegation, and then the committee signed the statement."

Mr. Overend compared the entry in the minute-book, and found that they did not agree. The entry said Shaw was never employed in any outrage, but the document was confined to blowing up Hellewell's.

Broadhead said that was the only incorrect entry which he made in the book. Elisha Parker's house was destroyed by Elijah Smith, John Taylor, and Phineas Day. He did not remember Bradshaw having spoken of Parker's house being destroyed. All the men whom he had named as having been in this job were dead. His impression was that after they had done the job they came to him, and he paid them. He knew a man named Bamford, a shooter, who lived near Parker. He was not engaged in the house case. Witness hired George Pearce, senior, to do something to stop Parker from working. He came to witness several times on the subject, and witness went to his house on Sunday, and they went together to some fields, and after a conversation agreed that something should be done, but what that was he could not say. He could not swear that he did not agree that Pearce should shoot him. It was not agreed to call up Parker at night by throwing stones at his house. He did not till afterwards know any thing of the mode in which they were to go about the business. Pearce told him he had employed a man of his own, who would do it. After it was done, witness had to pay a large sum—20*l.* or 30*l.* It took him a long time to get the money, but ultimately he got it. Witness did not know whether Elijah Smith confessed on his death-bed that he had done it.

Mr. Overend: "I have the evidence here. I ask you again, was not he one of the men?"—Witness: "I can't say no more. Repeat the question to-morrow." The witness admitted that he had spoken to Crookes that morning, in order to agree what he should say and what he should withhold. They agreed that he should withhold the Hereford affair. Witness caused that to be done, and Sam Crookes did it. Witness caused the attempt to blow up Joseph Wilson's house on the 4th of July, 1849. He employed Crookes for that. Wilson's fault was keeping aloof from the trade. He ought to contribute, as he had received a great deal of the society's money. Wilson's family were grown up, and his wife was living with him. The object of throwing gunpowder into Poole's house was to frighten Linley and cause him to come into the trade. Mr. Harry Holdsworth's place was blown up in December, 1861. Witness employed Crookes to do that, and gave him 6*l.* Holdsworth had employed non-union men. Crookes attempted to blow up Mr. Reaney's engine-house on the 7th of June, 1863. Copley helped Crookes in the Hereford case. Witness paid about 19*l.* for blowing up Reaney's engine-house. It was not the engine-house; it was the engine-wheel. Crookes paid from 5*l.* to 10*l.* for watching. Fearnough's house was blown up in October, 1866. Crookes did this, and Copley assisted. Witness paid Crookes 15*l.* Witness knew nothing of Sutcliffe's case till his attention was drawn to it. He and Broomhead had a conversation about a man fit to do such an act. Witness had frequently arranged with members for rattening to be done. Holdsworth's case was a joint affair between them and witness; that is, they divided the expenses.

The officers with whom he arranged were William Hides and William Skidmore, the secretary of the saw-handle makers and the secretary of the jobbing grinders. After Wheatman's affair witness wrote letters to cast suspicion on Messrs. Wheatman [here the witness wept bitterly]. In his letters he described it as a hellish deed. After Fearneshough was blown up, witness wrote a letter to the newspapers describing it as an "infamous deed," and he offered 5*l.* reward out of his own pocket for the discovery of the perpetrator. The committee knew of every outrage that was committed. Witness himself, and also Machin, the very man who went with witness to Parker, stood up in the committee to protest against the outrages. There was no entry in the books of any of the outrages.

A great deal more evidence similar in character, though not quite so startling in its details, was elicited during the investigation at Sheffield. A similar inquiry, under the direction of the Trades Union Commission, was afterwards instituted at Manchester, in which outrages scarcely less flagrant, murderous assaults on individuals, and malicious destruction of property, were proved to have been instigated by the Unions under the same system and with the same policy as at Sheffield.

16. **ANTI-POPERY RIOTS AT BIRMINGHAM.** — Mr. William Murphy, a lecturer against Roman Catholicism, commenced a series of lectures in a wooden building erected for the purpose in the centre of Birmingham. A large mob collected outside, and stones were thrown at the building, and three of the ticket-takers were seriously injured. There were only three or four policemen at hand at the time, but a large force was afterwards brought to the spot armed with cutlasses. They cleared the streets in the neighbourhood of the building, but the crowd continued to increase. At the close of the afternoon lecture, the shop of Mr. Thomas Aston, a prominent member of the Protestant Association, was broken into, and every pane of glass at the front smashed. A second lecture was delivered in the evening. The crowd, however, continued to increase. There was afterwards a serious conflict with the police, who drew their sabres, and, it would appear from the list of wounded, used them pretty freely. One labourer was brought to the hospital with a sabre-cut in his elbow-joint. It was necessary to amputate the joint in this case. A candlestick-maker had also a sabre-cut in his elbow-joint. A nail-forger was cut with a sabre. One man had a cut shoulder, another a cut arm, a third a cut elbow; a woman a cut arm, and another woman severe injuries on the head. It does not appear that the police inflicted these last injuries. The casualties among the police themselves were—one wounded with a stone while taking a prisoner to the station, one cut on the head, and one stabbed slightly in the arm. Some others were struck with stones. There were twenty-six arrests.

Before preaching in the evening, Mr. Murphy said "he was not going to say a word against any person—he spoke only against a

system. The system was dishonouring to God and ruinous to man. Romanism was despotism, Protestantism was liberty. Romanism was death, Protestantism was life. He was going to be there for five weeks. If they burned or pulled the building down, he would put it up again as fast as they destroyed it, for depend upon it they had the wrong man to deal with in him. He was an Irishman, but all Popery was knocked out of him, and he was war to the knife, not against a man, but against a system. He must confess he did not blame the poor Irish. They were badly led and badly taught. It was the leaders that were to blame—the blind leaders of the blind, and they would both fall into the ditch. Before he had finished his lectures he would prove to the people of Birmingham that every Popish priest was a murderer, a cannibal, a liar, and a pickpocket. They knew him, and they knew that he could prove what he said. He was prepared to meet any Popish priest, from Bishop Ullathorne to the biggest ragamuffin in the lot; and if ever there was a rag and bone gatherer in the universe it was the Pope himself, and if what he said were not true, let them prove it."

Mr. Whalley, M.P., presided at Murphy's lecture on Monday night. At half-past six o'clock Mr. Murphy delivered a short address in the "Tabernacle," in the course of which he said:—

"I have a building. This building is a witness this day against Popery and Tractarianism. I say it is a witness of the right of speech and the liberty of conscience. And I will carry out my lectures if they walk over my body as a dead corpse. And I say to the Mayor of Birmingham he must and shall protect me. I say to the Mayor of Birmingham that he is my servant while I am in Birmingham, and as my servant he must do his duty. He is placed as Mayor and chief magistrate; and as I am a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen, I say the Mayor must protect me. There was a stone thrown at him to-day. I hope it will do him good, and that the Popish stone will let him see what Popery is. And he will get better if he gets a couple more stones. We didn't attack nor you didn't attack Dr. Manning when he came to the Town Hall. You didn't attack the Popish bazaar held in the Town Hall. And because you are Protestants and because you love liberty, I am threatened with my life. Popery would crush you to atoms."

At eight o'clock, the hour fixed for the evening lecture, the chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, Rector of Burslem. Mr. Whalley delivered a long address, as did also Mr. Murphy. The staple of his discourse was abuse of the Mayor for refusing him the Town Hall. He spoke amid much interruption.

Murphy discoursed again on the 18th (the Rev. W. Cattell, Wesleyan minister, Walsall, in the chair), using the same violent and inflammatory style of language as on the former occasion. Up to half-past twelve that night no serious disturbance occurred. It was rumoured that it was intended to make an attack on the

Catholic Cathedral and the armouries in the gun-making district of the town; but, warning having been given to the authorities, any outbreaks, if they had been intended, were prevented by the presence of the police and the military. Over 100 soldiers of the 81st Regiment arrived from Manchester the previous night.

On the 19th, Lieutenant-Colonel Brockman took the chair. Mr. Murphy was received with long-continued cheers, after which a hymn was sung, and a prayer offered. The chairman, in the course of his remarks before Mr. Murphy delivered his harangue, said that "in the present day they were passing through scenes and circumstances which England had known nothing of since the accession to the throne of William and Mary. The impudent demands of the Roman Catholics in the House of Commons in the present session had not been equalled since before the days of William and Mary. They were reaping the fruits of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. The Pope's Brigade in the House of Commons set its heel upon any thing opposed to the interests of the Pope. The fault was their own. There had been no Government that had been supported as it should have been by the Protestants of Great Britain. They should never allow themselves to be at the mercy of sixty men whom the Pope commanded." Mr. Murphy's address was ostensibly on the subject of "Transubstantiation and the Mass." He stood on a chair to deliver it, and was loudly cheered. In one part of his remarks he declared that "he would fearlessly say to the Roman Catholics of Birmingham, if they trifled with the liberties of Englishmen, depend upon it they would get it hot and heavy. All John Bull wanted was to get a kick; and let John Bull get a kick in the right place, depend upon it he would roar bigger than any other bull. It had been said that they wanted a leader. He was very little, but he would be their leader, and go for war to the knife against that degrading system of Popery. Depend upon it, if they trifled with him, they would find him no mean enemy to the kingdom of Antichrist and the devil." The assemblage fortunately dispersed without any accident.

Later the same evening a band of twenty or thirty men visited several shops in Lichfield-street, and menacingly demanded money. They escaped before assistance could be obtained. Threatening demonstrations were made against the synagogue and the church in Dymock-street, where High Church services had been ordinarily held. Great damage to property was done by the mob.

The condition of Birmingham during the 18th and 19th was indicative of the triumph of authority. In all parts of the city the able disposition of the military and civic forces at the command of the magistrates frustrated every attempt of the mob, or those who sought to lead the crowd to riot, before the manifest intention could be stimulated into action. Both days passed without any considerable tumult, although some outrages were committed. Ominous rumours were, however, afloat, and alarm was widespread. Pressing applications, more or less founded

on information of projected disturbances, were made to the magistrates from various quarters of the town. The most important of these were from the Roman Catholic establishments and chapels, upon which, it was asserted, an organized attack was to be made.

On the 21st the town was perfectly quiet. About twenty prisoners were brought up at the police court, and charged with having been concerned in the riot in Park-street. They were committed for trial at the quarter sessions. They all declared that they were innocent. Mr. Murphy's lecture on the "Confessional" the same night went off quietly. The "tabernacle" was crowded, and there was no attempt at disturbance.

20. PROFESSORIAL ELECTION AT OXFORD.—A Convocation was held at twelve o'clock for the purpose of electing a Professor of Poetry in the room of Matthew Arnold, M.A., of Oriel College. There were three candidates for the vacant office—viz., the Rev. Dr. Kynaston, late Student of Christ Church; Sir F. H. Doyle, late Fellow of All Souls; and the Very Rev. W. Alexander, Dean of Emly, M.A., of Brasenose College. A large number of non-residents, especially from London, attended and recorded their votes. At the close of the poll the numbers were found to be as follows:—

For Sir F. Doyle	294
For Dr. Kynaston	203
For Dean Alexander	203

Sir F. Doyle was consequently elected.

25. ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT WINDSOR.—Her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, attended by her suite, left Brussels at six o'clock on the evening of the 24th, on a visit to Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle. The Queen of Prussia arrived at Ostend by railway, and embarked on board the special boat "Sapphire" at half-past eight o'clock, and after an excellent passage, landed at the Admiralty Pier, Dover, at half-past twelve o'clock. Her Majesty, on quitting the steamer, was received by Captain Bruce, R.N., Admiralty Superintendent, General Ellice, the commandant of the garrison, and Mr. J. P. Knight (the latter gentleman representing the South-Eastern Railway authorities). A guard of honour, furnished from the Dover garrison, was in attendance, the band during the disembarkation playing the Prussian and English National Anthems. Count Bernstorff (the Prussian Ambassador) and the Countess Bernstorff, with Lord Torrington, for the Queen, who had arrived at Dover on Monday, accompanied the Queen of Prussia to the Lord Warden Hotel, where her Majesty slept for the night, and in the morning, at half-past nine o'clock, her Majesty received a visit from their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Christian, who were *en route* for Schleswig-Holstein. At 10.10 a.m. her Majesty left Dover in a saloon attached to a South-Eastern special train, which was under the

charge of Mr. J. P. Knight, Mr. Alfred Watkin driving the engine. Mr. Walker also accompanied the train. Count and Countess Bernstorff travelled in the royal train, which, proceeding by way of Tunbridge Wells and Redhill, arrived at the new Waterloo station of the Charing Cross line at 12.10 noon. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attended by Colonel Keppel, arrived almost at the same moment from Marlborough-house, for the purpose of escorting the Queen to Windsor, and a very cordial interview took place between the Queen and Prince. His Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar also had an interview with the Queen while the train remained at the junction. At 12.20 p.m. the royal train quitted Waterloo, under the charge of Mr. Williams, and proceeded by way of Clapham Junction and Staines to the Windsor Station of the South-Western Railway, which was reached at 1.15 p.m., the Prince of Wales having accompanied the Queen of Prussia from London. In the handsome suite of private waiting-rooms attached to this station, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and their Royal Highnesses Princess Louise and Prince Louis of Hesse, attended by Lord Alfred Paget, who had driven down from the Castle a short time previously, awaited the coming of their royal visitor. As the train slackened speed within the station, Her Majesty and the Prince and Princess came on to the platform, the Queen and Princess affectionately saluting and kissing the Queen of Prussia when she alighted from the saloon. Accompanied by Her Majesty and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, Prince Louis of Hesse, and Princess Louise, the Queen of Prussia drove through the town, the houses in which were here and there decorated with the Prussian ensign, to the Castle, where an elegant suite of apartments had been allotted for the Queen's use.

26. **TERCENTENARY ANNIVERSARY OF RUGBY SCHOOL.**—This interesting occasion was celebrated at Rugby with much *éclat*. A large number of old pupils of the school were assembled, among whom were several highly distinguished ornaments of the Church and State. In the morning, service was held in the chapel. The sermon was preached by Dr. Temple. The annual speeches began in the great school at three.

The Head Master, after alluding to the special interest attached to the day, read a list of distinctions gained by Rugbeians since Midsummer, 1866.

The prize compositions were then recited in the presence of a numerous and attentive audience.

In the evening, a dinner took place in honour of the day, at which Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, presided. Some interesting speeches were delivered, especially by the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, who had at one time filled the office of Head Master of the School.

29. **FATAL RAILWAY ACCIDENT.**—A frightful collision took place on the London and North-Western Railway, near Warrington,

which resulted in some loss of life and many serious injuries to the passengers. The circumstances were these:—The 10.23 train from Liverpool to Birmingham and London left Bank Quay station at 11.25, taking up several passengers, and on approaching Walton Junction the driver saw ahead a coal train, which efforts were being made to shunt on to the Chester line. He did not deem it necessary to slacken speed, not doubting that the way would be clear. The coal trucks, however, had scarcely left the main line when the passenger train reached the points. The points were not turned, and the passenger engine rushed into the coal trucks. The driver and fireman escaped with comparatively slight injuries, having jumped for their lives when they saw a collision to be inevitable, and the passenger engine was driven right into the breaksmen's van of the coal train, and firmly lodged there. The first two or three of the passenger carriages—one in particular, a second class—were broken to pieces and overturned, and five of the passengers were killed and a large number injured. The wreck was awful. Immediately after the occurrence, intelligence was conveyed to Warrington, and assistance procured. Mr. Banks, the station-master, was immediately on the spot, and directed the movements of the men engaged in clearing the line and lifting out the dead and wounded. One after another, as the remains of the front carriages were removed, the mutilated bodies of men and women were taken up and conveyed to places of safety. All the medical men in Warrington whose services were available were sent for, and they repaired to the spot without a moment's delay, doing all that human effort could to allay the sufferings of the wounded. A special train was sent from Warrington, with a number of first-class carriages, to bring the wounded on to Warrington. Some of the dead bodies were also brought on, and placed in the waiting-rooms at Bank Quay station; they were afterwards taken to the Norton Arms in Latchford.

A passenger from Liverpool—one among many who had a providential escape—stated that he was seated in the next carriage to that which was broken to atoms. Before the final crash—not more than one moment—he felt that a collision was inevitable; it seemed, he said, to come on “gradually,” and he made an effort to get out by the door, but found himself locked in. The carriage was overturned. Having received no severe injuries, he managed to crawl out. A lady, he said, in the same carriage was killed; she was on the same seat with him, sitting next to the window. He was at her elbow. When the crash came he sprang from the seat and got down, then the carriage went over and he found his way out. A lady who was with him seemed hardly conscious of her movements at the moment of the collision. She said, “I was in the same carriage, but can't tell how I got out.” She did not seem to have received the least injury.

Mrs. Trumble, matron from the workhouse, with efficient nurses, was in attendance; the Revs. J. J. Dreaper, H. R. Dodd, and N.

Porter, and Fathers Hall and Welch, were also present. In some cases the patients expressed a wish to make their wills, and this was done in proper legal form for them. Messrs. B. Pierpont, W. Smith, P. Rylands, and Holmes also attended at the hospital and rendered every assistance in their power.

The heads of the several railway departments, with their staff, were promptly on the spot. Mr. Pilling, Mr. Banks, Mr. Ramsbottom, and other officials were among those present. The most praiseworthy exertions were made by Mr. Hunt, the head constable, and the members of the police force.

JULY.

6. ARRIVAL OF THE VICEROY OF EGYPT IN ENGLAND.—His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt arrived in London, on a visit of at least a fortnight's duration. The event can scarcely be said to have created much excitement, but there were great crowds outside the Charing Cross station during the evening. The Viceroy, accompanied by the members of his suite, some twenty-five in number, left Paris early by special train for Boulogne. At Boulogne he embarked on board a small steam-sloop of the Imperial Marine—the “Limier,” 5 guns, commanded for the occasion by Commodore Bruyère. A smooth and rapid passage was made across the Channel, and Dover Harbour was reached at a quarter to five. Here Her Majesty's ships the “Liverpool” and the “Phœbe” were anchored, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns as the vessel bearing his Highness drew near. At the same time the yards were manned and all the ceremonies of reception usually proffered to Royalty were observed. On the pier his Highness was received by General Ellice, commandant of the garrison, and his principal officers; General Seymour, as representing the Queen; Mr. Larkin, the Agent for the Egyptian Government; Colonel Stanton; and by Mr. Watkin, M.P., the Hon. J. Byng, Mr. Eborall, and Mr. J. Knight, on the part of the railway company. As the Viceroy stepped on shore, the band of the 51st played the English National Anthem, while the guard of honour presented arms. A short delay was made at the Lord Warden Hotel, where his Highness and suite took some light refreshments, starting again for London in the state carriages of a special train at half-past five. Only one stoppage was made *en route*, and that was to water the engine at Tunbridge. On the platform here a guard of honour of Kent Volunteers was drawn up, and saluted his Highness with the customary royal honours. The Charing Cross station was prettily decorated with flags and flowers, and groups of

coloured streamers. On the platform to receive his Highness were his Excellency Musurus Bey, the Turkish Ambassador, Lord Dudley, the Viceroy's host during his stay, several officers connected with the Turkish and Egyptian Governments, and the *attachés* of the Turkish Embassy in London. Two royal carriages, with outriders, had been sent for the conveyance of his Highness and the chief members of his suite, and a royal escort of the 3rd Hussars was drawn up on the open space outside the station. As the train stopped and his Highness alighted, Lord Dudley advanced and warmly welcomed his Highness to this country. M. Musurus also offered his congratulations. In the first royal carriage sat his Highness, with Nubar Pasha, Lord Dudley, and Colonel Stanton; the second conveyed three of the most distinguished members of the suite, with General Seymour. Two Egyptian officers returned with the Turkish Ambassador, and the rest occupied handsome private carriages sent by Lord Dudley. In the courtyard outside the station the royal escort formed up in front and rear of the Viceroy's carriage, and on issuing into the Strand the assembled crowds cheered his Highness heartily. To this welcome he bowed his acknowledgments very graciously. In no respect, as regarded uniform or decorations, was the great chief of the party distinguishable from any of his suite. He wore a plain dark blue single-breasted coat, with silk braid on the cuffs and collar, with an ordinary fez, that seemed almost too large for him. The Viceroy reached Dudley House before eight o'clock. Later in the evening, accompanied by Nubar Pasha and General Seymour, he went to the Italian Opera at Covent Garden, to witness the performance of *Fra Diavolo*. The party occupied the royal box.

The period of the Viceroy's stay in England was amply filled up with a round of banquets, entertainments, and visits to objects of interest in and around the metropolis. On the 8th, his Highness went down to Windsor by railway on a visit to the Queen. On reaching the terminus, the illustrious visitors were received by his Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, Lord Alfred Paget, and the mayor and magistrates of the borough, and also many of the clergy of Windsor; and, as they left in four of Her Majesty's open carriages, with outriders in State liveries, they were loudly cheered by the populace as they passed along the streets. His Highness dined with the Queen and slept at the Castle.

The following morning, at an early hour, his Highness, accompanied by Nubar Pasha and Lord Alfred Paget and suite, left the grand quadrangle of Windsor Castle for a drive in the royal demesne of Windsor Forest. The Viceroy, with Nubar Pasha and Lord Alfred Paget, occupied an open carriage drawn by four bays, the suite following in a shooting-break. Both equipages were placed at his Highness's disposal by Her Majesty the Queen. The *cortège* was preceded by an outrider in scarlet and gold. His Highness and party drove by the "slopes" in the Home Park to

the royal kennels and dairy, and thence by way of the rhododendron drive to the Norfolk Farm and to Virginia Water.

On his return to London in the afternoon, the Viceroy drove through Eton College, where he met with a hearty reception from the boys; and on the same evening was entertained at dinner, on his return to London, by the members of the United Service Club, at their club-house in Pall Mall, at which the Duke of Cambridge presided.

The next day the Earl and Countess of Derby gave a magnificent entertainment to his Highness in Downing-street, at which the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Princess Mary Adelaide and Prince of Teck were present.

On the 11th a magnificent banquet was given by the Lord Mayor in the Egyptian Hall, in honour of the Viceroy. The company invited to meet his Highness included the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Teck, Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the members of the Cabinet, all of whom were present, except the Premier. The principal speakers were the Lord Mayor, the Prince of Wales, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Cambridge, the Right Hon. L. Corry, &c. The Viceroy responded to his health in the Turkish language, which was translated for the benefit of the guests into French by Nubar Pasha, as follows:—"Il y a vingt-et-un ans que dans cette même salle, qui porte le nom de son pays, le père de son Altesse se voyait l'objet de la sympathie du peuple Anglais. Jeune alors, et à vingt-et-un ans de distance, son Altesse ne s'attendait pas que dans cette même salle, assis peut-être à la même place, il se verrait à son tour l'objet des mêmes affectueux témoignages. Il a en été fier alors pour son père, il l'est actuellement pour lui et pour l'Égypte. Milord, vous avez mentionné ce qu'il vous plaît d'appeler les services que l'Égypte a rendus à ce pays, en facilitant le passage des troupes se rendant aux Indes. Mais si l'Égypte a pu le faire, c'est grâce à ses chemins de fer, et ces chemins de fer, qui a aidé à les construire? L'énergie Anglaise. Ne doit-elle pas ses progrès en grande partie à ce pays? et le coton, source de sa richesse, qui le consomme? L'Angleterre en grande partie. Si l'Égypte a rendu quelques services à l'Angleterre, elle ne fait qu'acquitter une dette. Ses progrès matériels, son progrès moral, sont dus aux progrès matériels, aux progrès moraux de ce pays. Le Vice-roi est heureux de pouvoir le constater; il est heureux en même temps de trouver cette occasion de pouvoir exprimer de vive voix ses remerciements au peuple et au Gouvernement Anglais."

On the 13th, his Highness honoured the Crystal Palace with a visit. His Highness was attended by Raghib Pasha, General Seymour, Colonel Stanton, and Mr. Larkin. He was received at the Central Transept entrance by Mr. Ionides and other directors and chief officers of the company, and was conducted through the Egyptian and Roman Corridors and Courts, and across the nave by t^h-

Renaissance and Italian Courts to the open balcony at the back of the royal box. At the moment of his entrance the upper series of fountains commenced playing, and the afternoon being still, the effect was extremely good. He then entered the royal box, and surveyed the motley and remarkable scene presented by the "revels" of the Dramatic College, which were being carried on in full vigour in the centre transept below. After remaining for some time, and evidently enjoying the scene, his Highness left, and returned by a different route from before to the Centre Transept entrance, which he quitted at half-past five. His Highness repeatedly expressed his great delight with the Palace, with the charming landscape view from the balcony, and with the fountains, and was loudly and continually cheered by the large concourse of people present. On being informed that the late fire had done great damage to a portion of the building, the Viceroy immediately requested that he might be permitted to contribute 500*l.* towards its restoration. His Highness also presented 500*l.* to the fund of the Dramatic College, in the objects of which he expressed himself as much interested.

His Highness showed his activity of mind, and that interest in the progress of improvement which marks his character, by leaving London early on the 15th to visit the Exhibition of the Royal Agricultural Society at Bury St. Edmund's. He was received by the Mayor and Town Clerk, and one of the Directors of the Great Eastern Railway. The platform at the railway station was covered with scarlet cloth, and the station itself was decorated with shrubs. The Viceroy drove directly to the show-ground, where he was entertained at luncheon in a tent specially erected for the purpose. Afterwards he inspected some of the machinery, and also made a cursory examination of the horses and sheep, and then proceeded—heavy rain falling all the while—to a farm on which Howard's steam cultivating machinery was at work. Finally, his Highness quitted the show-yard about three p.m., and, returning to the railway station, left Bury for town. In the evening he attended a *fête* at Stafford House, given in his honour by the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge were present.

On the 15th his Highness received a deputation from the City of London, headed by the Lord Mayor; who waited upon him at Dudley House to present an address. The Viceroy said, in reply, that "The welcome he had received from all classes of the English community in the metropolis during his stay here would never be forgotten by him. It would be his constant aim to encourage and foster commercial intercourse with this great city, because it was by commerce that Egypt must thrive and prosper. The facilities he had been able to render to their country for communications with the East, and for the passage of their troops, had been afforded most willingly, as they ever would continue to be, by him. He had experienced the greatest pleasure in offering a wel-

come reception to all Englishmen who had visited his dominions; and he should be gratified in having an opportunity of showing hospitality to the Lord Mayor or any of the members of the Corporation, should they ever visit Egypt, in return for the marked respect and consideration he had received at their hands. For the kindly interest they took in the prosperity of his country and in his own happiness he thanked them very much."

In the evening he visited the Houses of Parliament, accompanied by Nubar Pasha. His Highness directed his attention, in the first instance, to the House of Commons, and was shown into the ambassador's gallery, where he was joined by Mr. Gladstone, who remained in conversation with him for a few minutes, when he gave place to Lord Stanley, who was seated by his Highness for about a quarter of an hour. The Viceroy, accompanied by Lord Stanley, next proceeded to the Lords, and remained standing a short time near the benches occupied by the bishops. The Earl of Derby, Earl Russell, and other peers engaged in conversation with his Highness, as also did the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, with several members of the Lower House, was standing behind the woolsack. The visit to the House of Lords occupied only a few minutes.

The next day the Viceroy was present at the Naval Review, of which an account is given below, in reference to the visit of the Sultan of Turkey. On the 18th he took his departure, leaving a very favourable impression on those with whom he had been brought into contact during his stay in England. Having gone down to Dover by the South-Eastern Railway, he embarked with his suite at the Admiralty Pier on board the Government paddle-steamer "Helicon," Commander Field, which, after being used by his Highness at the recent Spithead Review, was, with the "Vivid," Admiralty yacht, ordered round to Dover specially for this service. A guard of honour, with the band and colours of the 51st Regiment, attended the embarkation. A salute was fired from the Castle; and as the "Helicon," amid the cheers of the public on the promenade, left the pier-head for Calais, the frigates "Liverpool" and "Phœbe" were ready in the roads to escort the Viceroy across the channel. Notwithstanding the somewhat unsettled weather, the "Helicon" made a rapid passage, and landed the Viceroy at Calais before 1.30 p.m.

11. THE BELGIAN VOLUNTEERS IN ENGLAND.—The hospitalities and entertainments of which London was the scene during the second and third weeks of the month of July were such as have seldom been witnessed before in our sober metropolis. The first place was due, and the most conspicuous honours were justly paid, to a visitor whose extent of dominion, and peculiar position among the potentates of the world gave him a claim to pre-eminent distinction, the head of the Mahometan world. Next in rank, and a partaker at the same time of the hospitalities of this country, was his great vassal the Viceroy of Egypt, a prince

whose personal character, as well as his elevated rank and station, gave him a high title to the homage and respect of the English nation. In addition to these Royal guests, London had at the same time opened her gates in cordial welcome to a large party of Belgian Volunteers, who had been invited on this occasion in recognition of the liberal and magnificent reception given to a body of our English Volunteer Force at Brussels in the preceding year. Mindful of the extraordinary kindness there experienced, our countrymen were anxious to make a return to their brave brethren in arms in some degree suitable to the favour conferred upon themselves. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was forward, on this occasion, to promote the object in view; and, under his patronage, a programme of entertainments and celebrations was devised, by which it was hoped our Continental guests would be amused and gratified. The arrival of the Belgian visitors in London took place on the 11th. They were brought over in Her Majesty's Indian troop-ship "Serapis," from Warden Channel, about twenty miles below Antwerp. On reaching Gravesend, they were received by the members of the Reception Committee, and brought up the Thames to their quarters in London.

The next day, at noon, the whole force was paraded in the quadrangle of Somerset House—the Civic Guard, Artillery, Chasseurs, and Infantry forming a hollow square, with two bands of music, and a gigantic drum-major. They marched through the Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, and Cheapside, to Guildhall. A few banners were hung across these streets; and the carriage traffic was stopped, as they passed along, six abreast, with their own music, the church bells ringing and crowds of people shouting. The City Volunteers, with their band, were drawn up in King-street, Cheapside. In front of the doors of Guildhall the City architect had built a temporary pavilion, as on the occasion of the ball given to the Prince and Princess of Wales. The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Councillors, and chief officials of the Corporation, in their robes of state, with the members of the Reception Committee; the Dukes of Grafton and Manchester; M. Van de Weyer, the late Belgian Minister; Lord Overstone; Lord Ranelagh, Lieutenant-General Sir E. Cust; the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires, M. Bartholeyns; Colonel Erskine, Inspector-General of Volunteers, and other gentlemen, were ready to sit down to luncheon with the Belgian Volunteers; but, as the tables in the hall could not accommodate more than 700 or 800 persons, only a third of the whole number was admitted at one time to this repast. The band of the 1st Surrey Rifle Volunteers played in the gallery at the west end of the Hall. The health of Queen Victoria was followed by that of King Leopold II., which M. Bartholeyns acknowledged. The toast of "The English Volunteers" was responded to by Colonel Erskine. The Lord Mayor then proposed "The Garde Civique of Belgium and the other Belgian visitors." He said that the watchwords of Belgium, as of England, were

"Commerce and liberty," which were understood as well in Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, as in London, Liverpool, and Manchester. The toast was drunk with enthusiastic cheering. It was acknowledged, in an English speech, by Colonel Grégoire, commander of the Garde Civique of Antwerp, who gave the health of the Lord Mayor of London. The toast of "Prosperity to the Municipalities of Belgium" was replied to by M. Iseghem, the Burgomaster of Ostend, a member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. "The Municipalities of England" was acknowledged by the Lord Mayor of York. The band played the National Anthem and the Brabançonne as the Belgians passed out of Guildhall; but when they got outside, their own band struck up a polka, and hundreds of the men began dancing, to the great amusement of the English. So they got away merrily enough, and marched back through Cheap-side in a jovial rollicking fashion. They went to a *Conversazione* at South Kensington Museum in the evening. The company was numerous, with many English Volunteers. The bands of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers supplied the music. The great hall, fitted up as a promenade, was appropriately decorated for the occasion.

On the 13th the Belgians went out to the camp and shooting-ground of the National Rifle Association, Wimbledon-common. They assembled, as on the day before, at Somerset House, and marched to the Waterloo-road station, proceeding to Wimbledon by the London and South Western Railway. Arriving between one and two o'clock, they were received by the guard of honour of the 1st Surrey Volunteers, with their band playing, while the 1st Middlesex Artillery fired a salute. The Belgians were then drawn up in lines of open columns facing the Grand Stand, where a large company of ladies and gentlemen had taken their places. A platform or dais had been put up for the ceremonial of reception. The Prince of Wales presently arrived, on horseback, in his uniform as Captain-General of the Hon. Artillery Company. He was accompanied by Prince Teck, in a plain black coat; Earl Spencer, the Duke of Manchester, Colonel Loyd-Lindsay, Colonel Kennedy, and other officers, in their uniforms. Lord Elcho, Colonel of the London Scottish, commanded on the ground. The bands of the 1st Surrey, the Victorias, and of the Belgians struck up the National Anthem, and the royal standard was hoisted, amid a burst of cheering. After remaining a few minutes in front of the dais, his Royal Highness rode along the lines of the Belgians, receiving hearty cheers and salutes, and frequently saluting in return. He then rode back to the dais, where he dismounted. This was the signal for a renewed peal of cheering. The Belgians broke forth lustily with "*Vive la Reine*," "*Vive le Prince*;" caps were hoisted on the muzzles of rifles or on the points of fixed bayonets, and the cheering and waving of caps lasted several minutes. At this moment it began to rain. The Prince put on a light waterproof coat while he conversed with Colonel Grégoire

and the gentlemen who were presented to him. He then, though the rain began to descend in torrents, advanced to the front of the daïs, and delivered a speech in the French language, expressing the cordial friendship which is felt in this country for the Belgian people and their King, and regretting that His Majesty was prevented from coming in person. Colonel Grégoire delivered a suitable reply, after which the Belgians were formed into fours right, and marched past the daïs, on the steps of which the Prince stood, and as each four passed handed to the right-hand man of each section the card containing the English silver badge for himself and comrades. At the conclusion of this, the rain still continuing, the Prince and his staff left the ground amidst a royal salute and renewed cheering, and the Belgians were marched off in detachments to the repast which had been provided for them in the refreshment-tent; while Earl Spencer invited to his tent, to meet the Prince of Wales and Prince Teck at a luncheon, the chief officers of the staff of the Belgian Civic Guard.

On the 15th, a series of gala entertainments took place at Cremorne Gardens, where about a thousand of the Belgians dined together, under the presidency of Mr. E. C. Cockcraft, one of the Reception Committee.

On the 16th, the whole party of Belgians went to Windsor. They were received by the Mayor and Corporation of that town, and by the Treasurer and Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household at Windsor Castle. They saw the Castle, and dined in the Royal Riding-school, which had been conveniently and handsomely fitted up. They were entertained as guests of the Queen by Colonel Percy Herbert and Lord Royston, who presided at the dinner. It was explained that the Queen would have received them in person, but she was obliged to go to Osborne to meet the Sultan at the Naval Review next day. The Belgians received her name with the loudest, longest, and heartiest cheering ever heard at Windsor. They returned to London in four special trains. Some of them went that night to a grand ball at the Alhambra, in Leicester-square, which was open gratuitously to them, as were several of the London theatres.

On the 17th, the Belgians were at the Fête prepared for them at the Crystal Palace.

The Grand Ball, however, which was given on the 18th, at the Agricultural Hall, at Islington, proved the most brilliant of all the attempts which were made to do honour to the Belgian visit to this country. Nothing could have been more successful, whether regarded in the honour done to the event by the royalty and aristocracy of England, in the cordiality and kindness with which the Belgians were received, or in the splendour of the decorations. To draw together and to feed from 14,000 to 15,000 persons under one roof, and to please and satisfy the whole of them within a given space of time, and on such an occasion, is a feature entirely new in the annals of festivity in this country.

Yet such a feat was accomplished by the Belgian Reception Committee, effectually assisted by the Messrs. Defries and Sons, and by the Messrs. Willes and Co. The Prince of Wales, with the Princess Louis of Hesse, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and a number of other noble and distinguished visitors, arrived from the Guildhall shortly before eleven o'clock; and, on reaching the dais, the scene was of the most animated description. The splendid band played the National Anthem and the Brabançonne; the male portion of the immense assembly, Belgians and all, cheered lustily, whilst a sea of handkerchiefs waved in every direction, and the waters of the prismatic fountains danced in their beautifully variegated hues. The Prince and Princesses expressed their delight warmly to Colonel Loyd-Lindsay and other members of the Reception Committee; but dancing was impossible, although a circle was made in front of the dais for the purpose, by means of a crimson rope held by officers and gentlemen connected with the English and Belgian Volunteers. The Duke of Cambridge and Princess Louis of Hesse left about half-past eleven, but the Prince of Wales and the rest of the royal and distinguished party stayed and ascended to the magnificent supper-room in the rear of the grand organ, in the eastern gallery, some idea of the magnificence of which may be formed from the fact that the tables were decorated with plate from the establishment of Messrs. Hancock, Son, and Co., of Bond-street, of the value of 25,000*l*. The Prince and the remainder of the royal party did not leave till after one o'clock. The ball continued till after five the next morning, when one of the most splendid entertainments of the kind that ever took place in this country was brought to a close.

On the 19th, the Belgians were most hospitably entertained by Miss Burdett Coutts at Holly-lodge, Highgate, and in the evening they had a concert at the Agricultural Hall. The next day, they were present at the great Volunteer Review at Wimbledon, of which some account is given elsewhere. On the 22nd, the major part left London. They went on board eight steam-boats, at Westminster Bridge, and passed down the river, amidst the vociferous acclamations of an enormous multitude of people on the bridges and in the streets overlooking the Thames. Having arrived at Gravesend, they embarked in the transport-ship, "*Serapis*," which conveyed them safely to Antwerp.

Previously to their departure from London, Colonel Grégoire gave a parting *déjeûner*, at De Keyser's Hotel, in New Bridge-street, to a number of his friends. In proposing the toast of "*The Queen*," the Colonel stated that the reception of the Belgians had exceeded all the anticipations of his countrymen. They had always entertained a profound respect for England and her institutions; but the noble hospitality and enthusiastic welcome which the Riflemen had experienced from all classes in the British metropolis would strengthen still more the ties between the two countries.

There was no language which could adequately express what he and those whom he commanded felt. He believed that in the history of the world there was no precedent for a similar reception of one people by another, and he could not but regard the circumstance as one in every way important, not only for Belgium, but for all nations. "The King and Queen of the Belgians" was drunk with all the honours, and the toast of the gallant Colonel himself was received with much cheering. It was gratifying to find that there was but one opinion among the whole party as to their reception in London. They were not only pleased, but delighted with it; and the entire Belgian press gave expression to the feeling of the visitors themselves.

12. VISIT OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SULTAN TO ENGLAND.—Among the events which will render the year 1867 memorable in English annals, none will hold a more prominent place than the visit of the great chief of the Mussulman race, the Sultan Abdul Azziz to the metropolis of this country. It was an event without parallel, for never before had any "Father of the Faithful" set foot on British ground. And, although the observance of Oriental usages was, as far as possible, maintained around him, while the great representative of the faith of Islam was a sojourner in a Christian land, it was inevitable that the contact into which his Majesty was brought with the habits and manners of a civilization so entirely different from his own, must have given a shock to many traditional prejudices and habits of thought, and have occasionally put his equanimity to a severe trial. Happily, however, no indications of dissatisfaction or displeasure were betrayed by the Imperial guest or his distinguished suite; and the visit to London, though it must have been one of no ordinary fatigue and excitement to them, passed off without serious embarrassment or *contretemps* of any kind. The Sultan had previously passed a few days in Paris, on a visit to the Emperor of the French, and honoured the ceremony of the award of Prizes at the Paris International Exhibition with his presence. From Boulogne he crossed to Dover on the 12th. The Viceroy of Egypt had arrived in England a few days previously. Every preparation was made to receive the Imperial visitor with due honour, and the public awaited his arrival with extreme interest and curiosity.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who had reached Dover at an early hour the same morning, having left the metropolis by the midnight train, was present to receive his Imperial Majesty. His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, and a numerous staff, and the Duke of Cambridge, were also present to render every mark of respect due to the Sultan. Viscount Sydney, as Lord-Lieutenant of Kent, was in attendance to welcome the Sultan, together with the Duke of Sutherland and other noble personages. His Excellency M. Musurus, the Turkish Ambassador, and the whole of the *personnel* of the Embassy received their illustrious sovereign.

Shortly after eight o'clock, a telegram was received announcing

that the "Reine Hortense" had left Boulogne with the Sultan on board, and the fact was announced by the firing of a gun from one of the Castle forts. This was the signal for a general move towards the Admiralty Pier, every available inch of which was quickly occupied by an eager crowd of spectators. The pier itself and the approaches thereto were lined with a guard of honour composed of the Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery, 5th Fusiliers, and 51st Regiment. Crimson cloth had been laid down from the point of debarkation to the entrance of the Lord Warden, which faces the sea, immediately in front of which a kind of pavilion had been erected, festooned with crimson and ornamented with flowers and evergreens. This approach conducted to the principal apartment of the hotel, which had been fitted up with considerable taste.

The Channel Squadron, including the "Minotaur," the "Achilles," the "Bellerophon," the "Lord Clyde," and the "Pallas," was drawn up in the bay, and upon the approach of the Imperial yacht, precisely at a quarter-past ten, fired a salute, the crews manning the yards. The broadside was taken up by the forts at the Castle and the heights, and again responded to, the effect being exceedingly grand and imposing. The "Reine Hortense" was accompanied by a French squadron of iron-clads, and also by a couple of English frigates, the "Liverpool" and the "Phœbe." On the Imperial yacht drawing alongside the Admiralty Pier, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the other illustrious personages above named, proceeded on board to meet the Sultan, the band playing the National Anthem, and the spectators cheering vociferously as the train of state carriages to which the Sultan was conducted conveyed the royal personages along the pier to the Lord Warden Hotel.

There was some little difficulty experienced in getting the Imperial yacht alongside the pier, for the set of the tide was strong, and the wind from the north-east was freshening. As it drew near, the greatest anxiety was manifested to see the Sultan, but he was not visible on deck. To the lovers of pageantry, however, there was more than enough to compensate for his temporary absence, for the deck was crowded with the Imperial attendants, all in magnificent uniforms, and at least one-half of them wearing the star and ribbon of the Medjidie, and with their sleeves embroidered up to the very epaulettes with masses of gold lace. Conspicuous among these dignitaries was the Grand Vizier, Fuad Pasha, an elderly and thoughtful-looking man, who seemed to pay little attention to what was passing around him, but conversed almost entirely with the young Prince Izzedin Effendi, the heir apparent to the Ottoman Empire. This prince is but a mere lad, and, unlike most Turks of high rank, is almost as dark complexioned as a Spaniard. The resemblance to his Imperial father is very striking, and is rendered greater from the fact of both wearing exactly the same kind of state uniform and the same riband and order. Prince Izzedin Effendi is, in other words, the Sultan in miniature. Near his Highness stood the sons of the late Sultan, and nephews of the

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Here were to be seen the keen, clear features and the handsome uniform of an Ionian; and there the haughty figure and the lofty caftan of a Circassian. A figure which attracted much attention was that of Hairoullah Effendi, his Majesty's Chief Almoner, who wore an ample cloak and turban, the green colour of which garments suggested that he had either performed the pilgrimage to Mecca or was a descendant of the Prophet. From the respect shown to him by all his companions, it was clear that he was a personage of importance.

The Sultan, after receiving an address of congratulation from the Corporation, took his departure by special train on the South Eastern Railway for London, his Imperial Majesty and his illustrious heir and nephews being accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Duke of Cambridge, Viscount Sydney, Lord Raglan (Lord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty, in attendance on the Sultan), Major-General the Hon. Nelson Hood, and a very numerous retinue of the Imperial Household. The engine of the train was decorated with the arms of England and Turkey, together with a large quantity of flowers. The train made only two stoppages on the journey, namely, at Folkestone, where the Sultan, feeling somewhat fatigued, requested to be left alone during some portion of the journey; and again at Redhill, where the Prince of Wales and other distinguished companions of the journey rejoined the Sultan. The royal train left Dover punctually at 12.30, and reached Charing Cross shortly after 2.30.

Extensive preparations were made by the railway authorities for an imposing reception of the august potentate. Within the station galleries had been erected for the accommodation of a considerable number of spectators, tastefully covered with crimson drapery, and ornamented by innumerable festoons of flowers, and a multitude of flags, those of Turkey and England predominating. At the west end, galleries were also erected capable of accommodating several hundred persons, which were almost exclusively filled by ladies. On the right hand of the station, where the Continental trains arrive and depart, a guard of honour of the Grenadier Guards was drawn up, headed by the band of the Coldstream Guards. The courtyard was filled with an escort of the Royal Horse Guards. The whole length of the arrival platform was covered with crimson cloth, the lamp-posts and barriers being hung in graceful festoons, and tastefully wreathed with evergreens and flowers. All the available points were crowded with spectators. The Duke of Beaufort, the Master of the Horse; Sir Richard Mayne, the Chief Commissioner of Police; Colonel Clifton, Equerry to the Duke of Cambridge; Viscount Hamilton, and the Hon. Mr. Wood, of the Prince of Wales's Household, &c., arrived at the station shortly after two o'clock, and there awaited the arrival of the royal train.

A few minutes before the arrival of the train, notice was given that his Imperial Majesty had just passed London Bridge terminus;

and punctually at 2.45 the special and royal train entered the station and moved slowly up the platform. When it came to a stand, the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince of Wales, and Viceroy of Egypt were the first to alight, and the Sultan, on leaving the saloon-carriage, was received with the warmest acclamations of welcome. His Imperial Majesty slowly walked along the platform to the Queen's carriage which was in waiting to convey his Imperial Majesty and the principal members of his suite to Buckingham Palace. The Duke of Beaufort and Sir Richard Mayne were presented to the Sultan by his Excellency the Turkish Ambassador.

The guard of honour of the Grenadier Guards saluted the illustrious Sovereign, and the band of the Coldstream Guards played the Turkish Hymn. After a delay of a few minutes, his Majesty entered the Queen's carriage, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, and his Excellency Fuad Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the other royal carriages were the Sultan's son, his Imperial Highness Youssouf Izzedin Effendi, and his nephews, Hamid Effendi and Murad Effendi, his Excellency Kiamil Bey, his Excellency Arify Bey, his Excellency Djemil Bey, and other officers of the imperial household. As the Queen's carriages left the station, the Sultan was loudly cheered, and the ladies waved their handkerchiefs.

As the royal carriages passed out of the station in the Strand, preceded by the Queen's grooms in their scarlet liveries, and escorted by a squadron of the Royal Horse Guards, the Sultan was enthusiastically cheered by the crowds who had assembled to witness his entry into London. The entire route from the Charing Cross station to Whitehall and the Horse Guards was kept by detachments of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards. The mounted band of the regiment was stationed opposite Northumberland House, and played occasionally till the arrival of the Sultan, when, as the royal *cortège* passed, they struck up the Turkish Hymn, and afterwards played "God save the Queen." In Whitehall, immediately in front of the Royal Horse Guards, was stationed the mounted band of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), and on the Sultan reaching that point they played the Turkish National Hymn. On the parade in the park, the band of the Royal Marines from Woolwich, which during the morning had been playing in the courtyard of the Admiralty, welcomed the Eastern potentate by playing the Turkish National Hymn. From the Horse Guards, and along the Mall to Buckingham Palace, the line of route was kept by the Grenadier Guards, under the command of Colonel his Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar. A vast number of people lined the entire distance, and cordially and repeatedly cheered the Sultan as he passed.

In the garden of Marlborough House a gallery was erected, in which was a distinguished company, among whom were the Princess of Wales and her infant sons; and opposite, in the Mall, was

stationed the band of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who enlivened the gay scene by their spirited musical performances.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan reached Buckingham Palace a few minutes after three o'clock. He was there received by a guard of honour of the Grenadier Guards with a royal salute, and the band of the regiment in the courtyard played the Turkish National Hymn. The Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Master of the Household, and other principal officers of the Queen's Household received his Imperial Majesty at the palace with all the ceremonial due to his exalted station.

The rooms set apart for his Majesty were those generally designated the Belgian suite. They are all connected together by communicating doors, and as they are accessible from the marble entrance-hall, they are conveniently situated in regard to the terrace gardens, which the windows overlook. The entire suite had been completely restored and re-decorated. All the curtains, hangings, and ornamentations were entirely new, and the skill of the artificers had been so directed that the result was not so much calculated to show that a sudden transformation had been effected, as to convey the impression that the Sultan was in apartments which had little more than their ordinary attractions to recommend them. The bath-room and lobbies were hung with chintz, and the bed-room was coloured with deep rose and green silk hangings, and the bow-windowed drawing-room was tinted with French grey, white, and gold. The furniture in the drawing-room was for the most part of polished wood and gold, and the curtains of deep crimson. The dining-room had been fitted up with simplicity, and at the same time substantially. Indeed, the endeavour seems to have been throughout to avoid rather than develope any immediate characteristics of Orientalism, so that his Majesty might feel himself the guest of a foreign country, with tastes proportionate to, if not assimilating to, those of his own. Several thousand flowers, brought from Kew Gardens, were banked all along the garden terrace, on the grand staircase (which had been completely restored for the occasion), and in the fire-places, in such profusion and with such regard to pictorial effect that the result was one of the most animated beauty and luxuriance. The pavilion in the garden had been renovated, the conservatory rearranged, and by the side of the lake two large marquees had been erected. The facilities afforded for an agreeable communication between the Sultan's apartments and the arrangements in the garden formed an interesting feature in the general plan, and his Majesty had it in his power to enjoy the strictest privacy, both within the royal palace and without. Independently of the more temporary decorations of the rooms, the walls were adorned with portraits of the various reigning families in Europe and persons illustrious in history.

The entertainments provided for his Imperial Majesty during his short stay in England were of a varied character, and quite as

numerous as it was possible for him to partake of without incurring undue fatigue. In fact, the novelty and strangeness of the spectacles which were presented to him in a land and among a people so essentially different from his own, must have occasionally laid a somewhat heavy task upon his attention and powers of endurance. The day following his arrival in London, the Sultan proceeded, with a numerous suite, to pay a visit to the Queen at Windsor, going and returning by the Great Western Railway. He was met at the Windsor station by a number of the royal carriages. As soon as that which conveyed his Majesty entered the park, a royal salute was fired by a battery of the Horse Artillery stationed in readiness, and the Life Guards posted on each side of the roadway presented arms. Proceeding up a small portion of the Long Walk, the procession entered the grand gate of the castle between the York and Lancaster Towers, and passing through the courtyard, drew up at the hall entrance.

The Queen, with the younger members of the royal family, received her imperial guests in the Grand Hall, and on the Sultan's alighting, Her Majesty advanced to meet him. He stepped forward with an Eastern salutation, and kissed Her Majesty's hand, and in the interchange of courtesies which ensued, the Queen affectionately kissed his Highness the young Izzedin Effendi, as did also the Princess Mary of Teck, the young prince appearing somewhat surprised by the warmth of the royal reception. Her Majesty and the Sultan were then conducted by the Lord Chamberlain and other high officers of the household into the interior of the palace, where shortly afterwards luncheon was served. The reception altogether lasted about an hour.

The route followed on returning to the station was by the walls of the castle, and to this road the crowd in the meantime had adjourned. The same order which had been observed in the journey down to Windsor was carried out on the return to London, which was reached a little before two o'clock. A dense crowd was assembled on the arrival platform, and the greatest eagerness was displayed to obtain a glimpse of his Imperial Majesty. This was gratified to a certain extent by a delay of some minutes in the drawing up of the carriages, but at last the whole of the procession moved off to Buckingham Palace, escorted by a detachment of the Horse Guards (Blue). This first visit of the Sultan to Windsor was shortened in its duration by the projected departure of the Queen in the afternoon from the Castle. Shortly after the arrival of her illustrious guest in London, Her Majesty started for Osborne, the royal train leaving Windsor at 4.30 p.m.

On the 15th, the Sultan visited the Royal Italian Opera House, Covent-garden. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge were there to meet his Majesty, who received an enthusiastic welcome from the audience. The opera was "Masaniello." The *corps dramatique* sang an Ode composed for the occasion.

The next day his Imperial Majesty went to see Woolwich

Arsenal, where he was again met by the Prince of Wales and H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief. The Sultan inspected with much interest Colonel Boxer's parachutes, for conveying light over an enemy's works; and his life-saving rocket, containing a 300-yard line. The Snider rifle and the new species of cartridge were also inspected; after which the party witnessed the manœuvring of guns for land and sea service, and the process of making and welding the coils, &c., of the Woolwich guns. They terminated the visit by going through the shell factory, where they witnessed the casting of ordinary shot, and also of shot on Major Palliser's chill system. At six o'clock the visitors re-entered their carriages to return to London.

The same evening his Majesty honoured with his presence a grand Concert at the Crystal Palace, which attracted many thousands of visitors. An act of munificence on his part had been made generally known some time before his appearance. Informed of the sad disaster which happened to the Crystal Palace in the winter, his Imperial Majesty spontaneously signified his intention of subscribing 1000*l.* towards the expenses of the restoration. The English National Anthem was given *in extenso*, with solos by Mdle. Titiens and Mr. Santley, quartet, chorus, military bands, &c., the occupants of the Imperial box rising and remaining standing to the end. To this succeeded an "Ode to the Sultan," words and music composed expressly for the occasion. The words, by Zafiraki Effendi, were printed in the books of the concert, both in Turkish and Roman type. The translation into English from the Turkish, in which it was originally written, was made by Miss Hullah. After the close of the concert the Sultan witnessed, from the great front terrace, one of the most magnificent displays of fireworks ever witnessed in England. His Majesty, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, then departed amidst renewed cheers.

On the 17th took place what was designed and expected to be the most interesting of all the spectacles offered to the Sultan, a Review of the Royal Navy at Spithead, the effect of which, however, was, in a great degree, marred by the roughness and inclemency of the weather. In spite of this drawback vast numbers of spectators assembled at Portsmouth, and every place which that town afforded for the reception of strangers was filled to overflowing. Half-past seven had been the hour fixed for the departure of the Sultan, but a message from Marlborough House, informing the South Western Railway officials that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge would accompany the Sultan, caused a slight delay, and it was nearly half-past eight before the train, consisting of the Queen's saloon-carriage, and nine of the best saloon-carriages, left the station. The various special trains appointed for the owners of tickets entitling the bearers to places on board the steamers chartered by Government reached Portsmouth by half-past ten, and the members of the House of Commons embarked on board the "Ripon;" the "Tanjore," and the "Syria,"

set apart for the House of Lords and the Admiralty respectively, being moored alongside. The Viceroy of Egypt was the first of the royal visitors to arrive, the "Helicon" yacht having been in readiness to receive him. On his arrival an address was presented to him in the dockyard by the Mayor and Aldermen, &c. Soon afterwards the Sultan arrived, and on his embarking on board the "Osborne" he also received an address from the Mayor, &c., of Portsmouth. The presentation of the addresses caused some delay. At length, at ten minutes to twelve o'clock, the "Osborne" set forward, followed by the "Helicon" and the "Enchantress," when the distant report of a salute was heard, before the "Syria," the "Tanjore," the "Ripon," and other ships were under weigh. The ships to be reviewed were formed in two lines, as seen in the following list:—

IRON-CLAD SQUADRON FORMING THE STARBOARD DIVISION.

Name.	Guns.	Tonnage.	Horse Power.
1. Minotaur (flag of Rear-Admiral Warden)	26	6621	1350
2. Achilles	26	6121	1250
3. Warrior	32	6109	1250
4. Black Prince	41	6109	1250
5. Bellerophon	14	4270	1000
6. Lord Clyde	23	4067	1000
7. Valiant	24	4063	800
8. Pallas	6	2372	600
9. Research	4	1253	200
10. Royal Sovereign (turret ship)	5	3765	800
11. Prince Albert (turret ship)	4	2537	500
12. Wivern (turret ship)	4	1899	350
13. Viper (twin screw)	2	737	160
14. Vixen (twin screw)	4	754	160
15. Waterwitch (hydraulic propelled)	4	777	167

UNARMoured SQUADRON FORMING THE PORT DIVISION.

1. Victoria (flag of Admiral Sir T. S. Pasley)	102	4127	1000
2. Donegal	81	3245	800
3. Revenge	73	3322	800
4. Duncan (broad pendant of Com-modore Tarleton)	81	3727	800
5. Irresistible	60	2642	400
6. Lion	60	2611	400
7. St. George	72	2864	500
8. Royal George	72	2616	400
9. Mersey	37	3733	1000

Name.	Guns.	Tonnage.	Horse Power.
10. Liffey	31	2654	600
11. Liverpool	35	2656	600
12. Phœbe	35	2896	500
13. Sutlej	35	3060	500
14. Dauntless	31	1575	580
15. Nymphe	4	1084	300
16. Daphne	4	1081	300

There were, besides, sixteen gunboats in two sections, and two paddle-wheel men-of-war, forming a combined fleet of forty-nine vessels, mounting 1099 guns, the united horse-power being 22,527, and the total burden 102,478 tons.

When the "Osborne" reached the end of the lines she was met, according to appointment, by the Queen, on board the "Victoria and Albert," and it was a scene of singular beauty. The "Victoria and Albert" mixed herself almost inextricably amongst the vessels of her *entourage*. The Sultan and the Imperial Princes, and the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge went on board the royal yacht. In the royal progress between the squadrons, the "Victoria and Albert" was preceded by the "Gladiator" and "Terrible" steamers, and followed by the royal yachts "Osborne," "Alberta," "Fairly," and "Elfin," the Admiralty yacht "Enchantress," and the "Helicon." No other vessels were allowed to pass through the lines. While the royal salute was being fired from each ship, the rigging was manned, and the Queen was received with hearty cheering. The royal yacht passed each ship in succession when at the east end. The yachts remained some time to give the Sultan and Viceroy an opportunity of inspecting the new troop-ships, "Serapis" and "Malahin." The Queen invested the Sultan with the Order of the Garter, in the presence of the Imperial and Royal Princes. The signal was then given for the two lines to engage, and immediately the thundering of the guns was heard from the ships of war. The land-forts, in reply, bellowed with Armstrongs and rifled pieces, and the landscape and sea were lighted round with flashing, piercing thick smoke, which was rent every moment by the wind, and renewed by fresh broadsides. After the "Victoria and Albert" had got safe under the shores of the Isle of Wight, leaving its escort of steamships in the Mid Solent, there was a general break up of the squadron. The smaller vessels made their way back to Portsmouth with all convenient speed. But the larger ships, like the "Ripon" and the "Tanjore," had no hope of crossing the bar into Portsmouth Harbour for some hours to come, and contented themselves with drifting slowly with the tide without making any progress.

But for the discomfort and obstruction of view occasioned by the tempestuous state of the weather, the spectacle would have been highly imposing and magnificent.

The following communication was received by the First Lord of the Admiralty:—"Par ordre de sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, Fuad Pasha prie Monsieur Corry, Premier Lord de l'Amirauté Britannique, de vouloir bien exprimer à Messieurs les amiraux et les officiers, et aux équipages de la Flotte Royale, réunie à Spithead, les remerciements et les sentiments de reconnaissance de sa Majesté pour l'accueil cordial qu'ils lui ont fait. A l'expression de ces sentiments sa Majesté Impériale aime à joindre celle de son admiration pour ce qu'elle a vu de la puissance maritime de la Grande Bretagne. Le 17 Juillet, 1867."

On the 18th, the Sultan was entertained by the Corporation of London at the Guildhall, which was decorated in a very costly and elegant manner for his reception. His Majesty, with a full suite, left Buckingham Palace in several state carriages, and the progress of the *cortège* to Guildhall was greeted with loud cheers. An escort of Life Guards (Blue) accompanied his Majesty. The Prince of Wales and other members of the royal family, also escorted by Life Guards, had previously proceeded to the city in state carriages. In King-street, a guard of honour, composed of the Coldstream Guards and the Hon. Artillery Volunteers, was drawn up on each side of the road. Here also police, mounted and on foot, beef-eaters, and other officials, were stationed. The front of Guildhall had been wonderfully transformed. The dark stonework and archway had disappeared, and in its stead was an arcade 120 feet long, with double columns of imitation marble, draped with heavy folds of green cloth and crowned with flags of various kinds. The reception-hall, between this handsome entrance and the usual Guildhall porch, was a most elegant room, being with lobby and porch 105 feet long by 54 feet wide. The beauty of this hall was increased by the number of flowers and plants arranged high and low. Guests began to arrive soon after four o'clock, and by five o'clock nearly half of the expected 3000 had been set down at the entrance. Some of these went at once into Guildhall, while others remained in the reception-hall awaiting the arrival of the Sultan and other notabilities. At about half-past six the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Teck, and Princess Teck arrived; and at seven o'clock the excitement was renewed by the arrival of the Prince of Wales, Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. At a quarter past seven the Sultan and his retinue arrived, and were received by the Lord Mayor and a deputation appointed by the Corporation, who escorted them to the seats reserved for them before the dais. Upon this carpeted eminence three thrones were erected and two velvet-cushioned chairs. The Sultan took his seat on the centre throne, and the Lord Mayor presented an address, to which a suitable reply was read as follows:—"I sincerely thank the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of this great and noble city of London. I am happy to proclaim the gratitude which I feel for

the cordial and hearty reception I have met with from your gracious Queen, my august ally, as well as from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the great English nation. I have two objects in view in visiting this and other parts of Europe—one, to see in these centres of civilization what still remains to be done in my own country to complete the work which we have begun; the other to show my desire to establish, not only among my own subjects, but between my people and the other nations of Europe, that feeling of brotherhood which is the foundation of human progress and the glory of our age." The Sultan then resumed his seat on the centre throne, with the Prince of Wales on his right, the Lord Mayor on his left, and the Lady Mayoress and Princess Louis of Hesse in end chairs. There was a large space beneath the *daïs*. Several hundreds of the company were seated, but an equal number had to stand, and to submit to the continual crush, which sadly interfered with their comfort during the concert which followed, in which the following vocalists appeared:—*Mdlle. Lucca, Madame Lemmens-Sherrington, Mr. Sims Reeves, Signor Graziani, Signor Ciampi, and Signor Naudin, M. Benedict* presiding at the pianoforte. After the concert, the Sultan and a few of his friends retired for a quarter of an hour. On their return a procession was formed to the Council Chamber, where a magnificent supper was served to about fifty select guests, while the other guests supped in rooms prepared for the purpose in other parts of the building. Shortly before eleven o'clock, the Sultan left, and returned to Buckingham Palace, and the other royal guests left soon afterwards. A ball then took place, the guests, being nearly 3000 in number, and the festivities were kept up for some hours.

On the 19th the Duke of Cambridge entertained the Sultan at a splendid banquet. The Prince of Wales and a very distinguished party of guests were present. The same evening the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Council gave a grand ball at the New India Office, in honour of the Sultan. This new office had not yet been occupied by the department, and, therefore, the whole building was available for the reception of the guests. Further accommodation was, however, needed, as there was in the official palace no apartment large enough to serve as a ball-room suitable to the occasion. To meet this want, the vast quadrangle in the centre of the structure was covered in and converted for the occasion into a magnificent hall by Messrs. Grace and Son, who had charge of all the decorators, under the direction of Mr. Digby Wyatt, architect of the Indian department. Beneath a canvas roofing was stretched an awning after the fashion of the old Roman velarium, and at the extreme end was erected a *daïs* and a handsome canopy placed over the chairs of state prepared for the reception of the Sultan, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family. The sides of the hall were occupied by the windows of the various apartments running round the court,

between which were fixed mirrors reflecting the groups of dancers and promenaders. The lower part of the hall was illuminated by splendid chandeliers and gaseliers, which shed a brilliant light throughout. The upper rooms were on the first floor, occupying the whole of that part of the spacious building. At half-past ten o'clock the Prince of Wales arrived at the park entrance, which had been fitted up with trophies of arms, chief among which was the centre trophy, having in the midst a crescent formed of a single scimitar. Full half an hour later, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan was received at the same entrance by the Prince of Wales and Sir Stafford Northcote; and it was exactly at five minutes past eleven that the procession moved up the centre of the floor, to the dais at the north end, on which a hundred gilt and crimson-seated chairs were placed. The passage was kept by silk ropes, against which the ladies pressed on either side, being urged forward by the pressure behind them. The members of the Council led the procession, in a body by themselves; and Sir Stafford Northcote then preceded the august party, at the head of whom walked the Sultan, with the Princess Alice on his arm. The Prince of Wales escorted the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; and, in the train that followed, Moslem and Christian Princes were strangely intermixed. The Sultan wore the Garter, and the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge both displayed the insignia of the Osmanli and Medjidie. Arrived at the dais, amid a silence only disturbed by a few bars of the Turkish hymn, the Sultan took the centre chair of state, having on his right the Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and on his left the Princess Alice. The three bands of the brigade of Guards, led in turn by the brothers Godfrey, were there to give a state ball every musical advantage it deserved. Their orchestra, to the left of the dais, and midway down the east side of the court, was one of the most conspicuous additions to the permanent building; and, being supported on columns exactly resembling the red marble pillars employed in the architecture, it had all the appearance of a substantial structure. After some courtly greetings, on the dais, the ball was opened by Sir Stafford Northcote's soliciting the honour of the hand of the Princess Alice for the first quadrille. In the quadrille the Prince of Wales had for his partner Lady Northcote; and among the dancers were Prince Teck, Prince Louis of Hesse, and Lord Abercorn, as well as two of the Turkish suite. The programme of the dance music included compositions by Offenbach, Strauss, D. Godfrey, A. F. Godfrey, Calpin, &c. The chief guests, besides the Sultan's party, were the Prince of Wales, the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Prince and Princess of Teck, the Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, Count and Countess Gleichen, the Duke and Duchess of Aosta, and the Maharajah and Maharanee Dhuleep

Sing. At half-past twelve the Sultan and the royal guests retired to the supper-room. After supper they returned to the ball-room for a short time, and at about two o'clock his Majesty took his departure, followed by the royal family and many distinguished guests, but the dancing was continued with much spirit for a considerable time longer. The number of invitations was about 2600, of whom nearly all attended.

On the 20th, the Sultan honoured with his presence the Volunteer Review at Wimbledon. Here again his Majesty was received by a brilliant and distinguished party of guests, including the heir to the throne, and the Commander-in-Chief, and many of the most distinguished members of the British aristocracy. The scene would have been a beautiful one, but for the occurrence of an extremely wet afternoon, which threw a damp over the proceedings, though it did not abate the ardour of the vast crowd assembled on the common to get a glimpse of the illustrious visitor and his suite.

One more day remained before the departure of the Imperial guest; and on this, the 22nd, after being entertained at a magnificent banquet, followed by a concert, by the Duke of Sutherland, at Stafford House, the Sultan honoured the President and Vice-Presidents of the Horticultural Society with a visit to their beautiful gardens. This was a special Night Fête given solely in honour of his Majesty. The conservatory was cleared along its centre, and the rarest plants which could be got from Chiswick or the nurseries of Messrs. Veitch and Sons were brought up in haste to add to the attractions of what was already one of the most beautiful conservatories in London. Carpets were laid, passages railed off with silk ropes, and a dais with royal chairs erected at the opening on the northern side between the flights of steps leading to the gallery. On the left side of this gallery a spacious temporary room, draped with flags and exquisitely adorned with flowers, had been hastily run up for the use of his Imperial Majesty and the most illustrious of the guests who came with him, and in this a most sumptuous supper had been provided by the orders of the Duke of Buccleuch, the President of the Society. A corresponding enclosure was made on the right gallery, for the use of the members of the suite. These preparations, however, were as nothing compared to those which were made in the garden. All the coloured lamps which could be procured at so short a notice, and all the coloured Chinese lanterns that could be bought or made, were sent in from every direction. These marked the rims of the parterres, lit up the statues and vases, and hung in intricate festoons of coloured lights. At nine o'clock, when all these were lit, the effect was wonderfully beautiful, and the early visitors were rewarded for their punctuality by seeing the garden under the most striking aspect it has ever worn. A fall of rain, which unfortunately set in, did much mischief, drowning half the lamps before the illustrious visitor arrived.

The Sultan was received on alighting at the Prince's entra-

by the Duke of Buccleuch and the chief members of the Horticultural Society. His Majesty wore a plain blue frock-coat, without embroidery of any kind, and a plain fez. The other members of the suite were similarly attired. The Sultan passed at once along the corridors into the conservatory, where every one rose to receive him, but there was no cheering nor any marks of welcome beyond deep reverence. The daïs being situated midway down the conservatory, his Majesty turned off short and went to his chair of state, having only traversed half the length of the building. Looks of disappointment from those at the northern end, who, of course, had not seen him, were general; and the Sultan was the first to notice this, and at once came down from the daïs and walked up the hall and back again that all might see him. After this the conservatory-doors were opened, and 150 men of the Household Brigade stationed along the terraces, and at intervals in line near the principal arcades, lit, at the signal of a bugle-call, the monstrous port-fires or signal lights, two of which each man carried. The effect was beautiful, and the glare of the light threw quite into the shade the pale flicker of the illumination. It was not, however, so effective as the same device used at the Crystal Palace on the night of the Sultan's fête, and which so pleased his Majesty, that at his special request an attempt was made to repeat it. After the fires had burnt out, which was not for some minutes, the Sultan retired to his own room in the gallery, and, as it was then past twelve, there was a general dispersion of the company. His Majesty, after about an hour's stay, quitted the gardens, accompanied by the same marks of ceremony and popular welcome amid which he had entered.

For many days London had been kept in a state of continued excitement by the uninterrupted succession of spectacles and entertainments provided in honour of her Oriental guests. At length, the round of banquets and celebrations having been exhausted, and the Sultan's strength and energies having paid a sufficient tribute to the hospitality of the nation, his brilliant visit was brought to a close. On the 23rd, his Majesty left Buckingham Palace, where he had resided twelve days, and, amidst the enthusiastic cheerings of the populace, took his departure from Charing Cross Station for Dover.

Arrived at that place, the Sultan and the Imperial Princes remained at the Lord Warden Hotel for a short time, and at two o'clock embarked on board Her Majesty's yacht "Osborne," Commander D'Arcy, their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge accompanying his Imperial Majesty on board, where they took leave. The yacht then left for Calais.

The Right Hon. H. T. L. Corry (First Lord of the Admiralty), Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, and Captain the Hon. Francis Egerton, A.D.C., accompanied his Imperial Majesty in the

Following telegraphic message was despatched from Her

Majesty the Queen to the Sultan on the morning of his Imperial Majesty's departure :

"Osborne, July 23, 9 a.m.

"I offer to the Sultan my best wishes for his safe return home, and every good wish for his welfare and happiness."

To this message the Sultan telegraphed the following reply :—

"Buckingham Palace, July 23, 10.30 a.m.

"Je remercie votre Majesté de cette nouvelle marque de bienveillance que je reçois d'elle au moment de mon départ. Je reste à jamais reconnaissant de l'accueil cordial qu'elle a bien voulu me faire, ainsi que sa Royale Famille et son peuple. Je fais des vœux sincères pour la conservation des précieux jours de votre Majesté, et je garderai un éternel souvenir des jours agréables que j'ai passés sur le sol hospitalier de l'Angleterre.

"ABDUL AZIZ KHAN."

The following telegram was received at Marlborough House the same afternoon :—

"Calais, July 23, 1867.

"A son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles, Londres.

"Au moment de quitter le Yacht Royal et de me séparer du drapeau Britannique j'éprouve le besoin de remercier encore une fois Sa Majesté la Reine des bontés qu'elle a eues pour moi, et son peuple de l'accueil qu'il m'a fait. Je suis également reconnaissant à votre Altesse Royale de toutes ses attentions. Je la prie de vouloir bien transmettre l'expression de mes sentiments à son Altesse Royale le Duc de Cambridge, et de faire savoir en même temps à la vaillante armée de la Reine, par la voix de son illustre Chef, combien je suis touché des sympathies qu'elle m'a montrées, et combien je suis son admirateur.

"Je prie votre Altesse royale de vouloir bien aussi faire parvenir mes remerciements à la brave et brillante marine royale, qui m'a donné un si beau spectacle de sa puissance et de sa magnifique tenue.

"ABDUL AZIZ KHAN

"(à bord du yacht 'Royal Osborne')."

22. VISIT OF THE EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH TO HER MAJESTY AT OSBORNE.—The French Imperial steam-yacht "*Reine Hortense*," with her Majesty the Empress of the French on board, arrived off Portsmouth early in the morning from Havre, after a pleasant passage of eight hours, and anchored until after noon in the vicinity of the Spit Buoy. A party of ladies and gentlemen from the yacht, including, it was supposed, the Empress, landed at Southsea in the morning, and spent some time on the Esplanade and Common, and partook of luncheon at the Pier Hotel. Shortly before 2 p.m. the "*Reine Hortense*" again weighed her anchor, and steamed slowly past the fleet at Spithead for Osborne, where the Empress arrived

on a visit to Her Majesty the Queen soon after 3 p.m. As the Empress travelled *incognita*, the yacht hoisted no standard.

8—23. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION AT WIMBLEDON.—This meeting commenced under favourable auspices, the weather at the outset being extremely propitious. The general aspect of the camp was much the same as in former years. The number of Volunteers encamped exceeded 2000, and the aggregate value of the prizes competed for was upwards of 10,000*l.*, the largest sum ever raised for the purpose. The attendance of spectators was extremely large, and the attractions afforded by the presence of the Sultan of Turkey, the Viceroy of Egypt, and upwards of 2000 of the Belgian Volunteers, who had come over on a visit to their English brethren in arms, added much to the brilliancy and interest of this meeting. The large demand which the visit of the above-mentioned persons has occasioned upon our space compels us to limit our account of the proceedings of the Wimbledon Meeting within as short a compass as possible.

The following is a list of the principal prizes awarded:—

First Stage Queen's Prize (First Prize, the Silver Medal and 60*l.*).—Won by Captain Wright, 30th Cheshire; 52 marks out of 60.

Second Stage Queen's Prize (value 250*l.*, with the Gold Medal).—Won by Sergeant Lane, 1st Gloucester, 57 marks out of 84.

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' Prize (value 100*l.*).—Won by Corporal Hepplestone, Lancashire, 42 marks out of 60.

The St. George's Challenge Vase (value 250*l.*).—Won by Sergeant Baillie, for the 15th Middlesex, 27 marks out of 28.

The Dragon Cup (value 50*l.*).—Won by Private Roe, 1st Salop, 14 marks out of 28.

The International Enfield Trophy (value 1000*l.*, with the Gun-makers' Company Challenge Cup (value 50*l.*).—An Enfield Rifle Match between the three Kingdoms. Won by Scotland, 1086 marks out of 1680.

The Irish International Challenge Trophy (value 1000*l.*).—An elegant design, candelabra-like in form, with groups of figures in oxydized silver, the remainder being in bright silver. At the base are seated Britannia and Hibernia, and on the top is a group taken from the history of the redoubted Brian Borhu. An Enfield Rifle Match between the single highest scores of England, Scotland, and Ireland in the Enfield International Match; shot at 200, 500, and 600 yards. Won for Scotland by Private Hay, London Scottish, 66 marks out of 84.

The Chancellor's Challenge Plate (value 100*l.*).—Won by Oxford, 412 marks out of 672.

The China Cup (value 525*l.*, with 55*l.* added).—A very large silver vase, designed and manufactured by Canton Chinese artists. The handles are formed of fanciful monsters, a group of which are also posed on the top. The body of the vase is covered with

countless figures in low relief. It is a curious specimen of Oriental work. The cup was presented by English volunteers in China. An Enfield Rifle Match between representative squads of volunteers from the several counties at 200 and 500 yards. Won by West York, 296 marks out of 400.

The Martin's Prize (50*l.* Cup, with 50*l.* added).—Won by Ensign Gow, Queen's (Edinburgh), 18 marks out of 20.

The Albert Prize.—A series of Small-bore Rifle Matches open to all comers. First Stage, 200 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Won by Capt. Hon. Gordon, 2nd Aberdeen, 20 marks out of 20. 500 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Mr. Dighton, 20 marks out of 50. 600 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Won by M'Cririck, 3rd Ayrshire, 20 marks out of 20. 800 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Lieut. Waterman, 19th West York, 19 marks out of 20. 200, 500, 600, and 800 yards, 20*l.* Won by Private Cameron, 73 marks out of 80.—Second Stage, prize value 100*l.*, with Gold Medal of Western India Rifle Association. A Small-bore Match between winners in the First Stage; shot at 800, 900, and 1000 yards. Won by Private M'Kenna, 3rd Ayr, 70 marks out of 84.

Alexandra Prize.—A series of Enfield Rifle Matches, open to all comers. First Stage, 200 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Private Roberts, Bristol, 18 marks out of 20. 500 yards, first prize, 20*l.* Won by Ensign Wakeman, 10th Wilts, 19 marks out of 20. 600 yards, first prizes, 20*l.* each. Won by Lieut. Brooks, 6th Leicester, 19 marks out of 20; and Private Formby, Liverpool R.B., 19 marks out of 20.—Second Stage. Prize, value 50*l.* An Enfield Rifle Match between winners in the First Stage, 600 yards. Won by Ensign Radcliffe, 2nd (South) Middlesex, 21 marks out of 28.

Windmill Cup (value 25*l.*).—Won by Ensign Grieve, 4th Roxburgh, 22 marks out of 28.

The Belgian Challenge Cup.—A silver cup of very spirited design, with dragon handles and emblems of British royalty, surmounted by a figure of Liberty. It was presented by our Belgian allies. A match of volley-firing in squads of ten from volunteer battalions; at 400 yards. Won by 7th Surrey, 144 marks out of 200.

Any Rifle Association Cup (value 50*l.*).—Won by Mr. Farquharson, of Blairgowrie, 39 marks out of 40.

The Enfield Association Cup (value 50*l.*).—Won by Sergeant Aldridge, Dorset, 35 marks out of 40.

The "Any Rifle" Wimbledon Cup (value 100*l.*).—Won by Ensign Boynton, 5th East York, 51 marks out of 56.

The Enfield Wimbledon Cup (value 100*l.*).—Won by Private Robins, 1st Wilts, 33 marks out of 40.

Swiss Carton Prizes.—A series of prizes for the most central shots. For Enfield rifles, at 200 yards, 20*l.*, won by G. A. Smith. For Enfield rifles, at 500 yards, 20*l.*, — Page. For Enfield rifles, at 600 yards, 20*l.*, — Smith. For any rifles, at 200 yards, 20*l.*, — Black. For any rifles, at 500 yards, 20*l.*, C. J. Ewen. For any rifles, at 600 yards, 20*l.*, Captain Costin.

The Duke of Cambridge's Prize (value 50*l.*).—Won by Private M'Rae, 1st Newcastle, 20 marks out of 28.

The Elcho Challenge Shield.—This shield is also the work of Messrs. Elkington, and, as its name implies, was presented by Lord Elcho. A Small-bore Match, between the three Kingdoms. Won by England; 1097 marks out of 1440.

Daily Telegraph Prize (value 50*l.*).—The work is by Mr. J. W. Benson. An Enfield Rifle Match, at 500 yards. Won by Sergeant-Major Cooke, 3rd West York; 20 marks out of 20.

The Ashburton Challenge Shield (value 140*l.*).—Won by Harrow School, 244 marks out of 660.

The Spencer Cup (value 15*l.*).—Won by Sergeant Collyer, Cheltenham, 22 marks out of 28.

The "Henry Peek" Prize (52*l.* 10*s.*).—Won by Sergeant Bingham, Bristol, 39 marks out of 48.

The "Dudley" Prize (value 50*l.*).—Won by Private Wilkin, 3rd Aberdeen, 46 marks out of 48.

The "Earwig" Prize (value 20*l.*).—Won by Sergeant Lindsay, Cambridge University, 19 marks out of 20.

Extra Prizes, First Series.—First prize, gilt candelabra, given by Mappin, Webb, and Co., value 52*l.* 10*s.* Won by Captain Sanderson, 14th Somerset, 19 marks out of 20.

Extra Prizes, Second Series.—The Wimbledon Tradesmen's Cup, value 31*l.* 10*s.* Won by Private M'Rae, 1st Newcastle, 19 marks. Second prize, a Dinner Service, given by Messrs. Gardner, Strand, value 25*l.* Won by Assistant-Surgeon Masfen, 25th Stafford, 18 marks. Third prize, a Gold Chain, given by Messrs. Watherston, Pall Mall East, value 20*l.* Won by Private Beasley, 10th Gloucester, 18 marks. Fourth prize, a Photographic Album, given by Mr. Vernon Heath, value 20*l.* Won by Sergeant Clarke, 1st Stafford Artillery, 18 marks. Fifth prize, Birmingham S.A.C. Rifle, given by the National Rifle Association, value 20*l.* Won by Ensign Radcliffe, South Middlesex, 18 marks. Sixth prize, Birmingham S.A.C. Rifle, given by the National Rifle Association, value 20*l.* Won by Ensign Sprott, 5th Somerset, 18 marks.

Extra Prizes, Third Series.—A Small-bore Rifle Match at 600 yards. Highest possible score, 20 marks. First prize, Silver Cup, given by Messrs. Elkington and Co., value 25*l.* Won by Sergeant Nosworthy, Inns of Court, 20 marks. Second prize, Birmingham S.A.C. Rifle, given by the National Rifle Association, value 20*l.* Won by Sergeant Coats, 6th Renfrew, 20 marks.

Extra Prizes, Fourth Series.—An Enfield Rifle Match at 200 yards. First prize, value 25*l.*, a Silver Cup, given by Messrs. Elkington and Co. Won by Ensign Sprott, 15th Lancashire, 19 marks out of 20.

Extra Prizes, Sixth Series.—A match with any breech-loading or repeating rifles, at 200 yards. First prize, a Silver Cup, value 40*l.*, given by the Fishmongers' Company. Won by Lieut. Haldane, 3rd Queen's; 72 marks in three minutes.

The ceremony of handing the prizes to the successful competitors took place on the 20th, in front of the Grand Stand. The prizes—a goodly array of silver epergnes, tankards, and other works of art—were arranged on tables covered with baize. In the centre of these tables was a raised dais, on which the Princess Mary Adelaide, Prince Teck, Earl and Countess Spencer, and others stood. The princess appeared to be in excellent health, and, as usual, beaming with good nature, pleased and delighted with the scene before her and the task which she had so kindly undertaken. The princess wore a mauve-coloured dress, with lace trimming, and a black shawl with gold stripes. Her husband, Prince Teck, wore the uniform of honorary colonel of the First Surrey Artillery Corps. Earl Spencer (President of the National Rifle Association) stood by the side of her Royal Highness, and called out the names of the successful competitors, who advanced to receive the prizes from the hands of the Princess Mary, Captain Mildmay, the secretary, handing them in the first instance to her Royal Highness. No prize under the value of £20 was distributed. Considerable cheering took place, as the more successful and best known competitors advanced; the greatest enthusiasm being displayed when the English volunteers advanced, and bore aloft on their shoulders the huge Elcho Challenge Shield, amid the cheering of their comrades. As to the great China Silver Vase, four feet in height, and almost as much in breadth, with strange monsters and griffins, and a vast quantity of work in relief, the Princess was content to point to it, and smiled at the idea of having to present so massive a work. At the close of the ceremony, Earl Spencer called for three cheers for her Royal Highness, who had so kindly and so gracefully presented the prizes—a request which, it is scarcely necessary to say, met with very general and cordial acquiescence from the vast crowds assembled in the Grand Stand, and at every point commanding a view of the ceremony.

The grand feature of the day was the Review. This arose from the fact that the Belgians, or at least a very large portion of them, were to participate in it, not merely as spectators, but as actual performers in the great military spectacle which it was anticipated would take place. This, however, was not the only grand feature. The still more important event in the eyes of most people was the expectation that his Imperial Majesty the Sultan would also honour the Review by his presence. The Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Princess Mary, and most of the distinguished visitors took up their positions at the flagstaff shortly after half-past five. About six o'clock the booming of the cannon announced the arrival of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, who, with a splendid escort and staff, in a few minutes afterwards rode on to the ground. His Majesty bestrode a magnificent white charger, the caparisons of which were of the most gorgeous description; and on his reaching the front of the Grand Stand, the

Turkish national standard of the crescent and the star was run up the great flagstaff; the smaller one, used as the saluting-point, bearing the royal arms of England. The Sultan, who was attired in his full dress and splendidly-embroidered suit of blue and gold, with the ordinary red fez, was accompanied by his Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta, second son of the King of Italy, and by the English *attachés* appointed by Her Majesty, and his own suite, also mounted upon chargers of the finest breed. On reaching the Grand Stand, he was received by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, both attired in the uniforms of general officers of the British army, and wearing, in addition to the usual sash and orders, the green sash and Grand Order of the Medjidie, conferred upon them by the Sultan. The scene at this moment was magnificent. With uniforms of every hue and decorations of every variety were intermingled the Oriental costumes of his Imperial Majesty and his suite. The background was formed of the Grand Stand, crowded by thousands of ladies dressed in the most varied costumes. On the left was formed up the corps of Belgian riflemen, who were detached for the march past. Over to the south-west in the distance was a dense mass of red coats, and stretching away for a long distance in the direction of Kingston Bottom a formidable array of cavalry. These formed the right flank of that noble army of Volunteers of which no other country in the world but England can boast; who, drawn up in quarter-distance column of battalions, stretched right across the common from south to north, covering the rifle-ranges in the rear, where the flower of British rifle-shots had been engaged in friendly contention for an entire fortnight previous, for those valuable rewards which the National Rifle Association had collected, not only from every part of the United Kingdom, but from our most remote possessions, and even from China, for competition.

At a quarter-past six a signal-gun called the whole of the military and volunteer forces on the ground to attention, and in a few minutes the movements at the flagstaff told that the splendid cavalcade had set out on their tour of inspection. The Sultan, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cambridge, Duke d'Aosta, and the Staff first paid the Belgians the honour of a visit, and the men presented arms and seemed extremely proud of the compliment paid to them. The Volunteers were the next in rotation to receive the honour, but the royal party had scarcely reached the right flank of the first brigade of the first division when a steady and penetrating rain commenced and continued throughout the remainder of the proceedings without intermission. The royal party having made their inspection of the Volunteers, proceeded in the direction of the infantry and cavalry of the regular forces stationed on the right rear over towards Kingston. At this moment considerable confusion took place. The barriers on the northern side of the common were broken through, and the British public, with that

curiosity and love of sight-seeing for which they are proverbial, rushed into the enclosure by thousands, and began to surround the royal *cortége*, and in a few moments, but for the timely aid of detachments of Hussars and mounted police, there is no doubt the Sultan and the royal party would have been completely mobbed. By this means, though kept at bay, the "majesty of the people" was by no means subdued; driven back in every direction, many rushed into and between the ranks of the Volunteers, where the task of dislodging them was a much more difficult one, and indeed it was never afterwards effectually accomplished.

Having completed the ordeal of the inspection, the march past took place. The Belgians had formed up in open columns of companies, and the splendid bands of the Household Cavalry, the Royal Artillery and Engineers, and the 11th Hussars, were drawn up facing the Grand Stand. So soon as his Majesty the Sultan, the Prince of Wales, and the other distinguished persons, reached the front of the dais, on which were seated the Duchess of Cambridge, the Princess of Teck, and a number of other ladies, the royal party pushed forward, and took post at the lesser flagstaff, immediately under the English royal standard. The march past then commenced, the post of honour being accorded to the Belgians, who, to the number of about 1000 of the contingent, formed up in twelve strong companies, marched past at wheeling distance. The first two companies were those of Chasseurs Eclaireurs, under Major de l'Eau d'Audimont, their commandant, and some ten companies of the Belgian Garde Civique, the whole being under the supreme command of Colonel F. Grégoire, "Colonel Commandant en chef des Excursionists Belges." Colonel Grégoire rode at their head, accompanied by a numerous staff, and their march was with the most excellent precision and elicited vigorous cheering from the crowd assembled round the enclosure in the grand and other stands. Indeed their reception throughout was of the most enthusiastic character.

A few moments afterwards the splendid bands of the Cavalry Brigade struck up a grand military march, and at the head of the First Regiment of Life Guards rode his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief and Field-Marshal the Duke of Cambridge, with his staff. On reaching the flagstaff, his Royal Highness saluted his Majesty the Sultan, and then, riding from the ranks, took his post on the left of the Sultan, between his Majesty and the Duke of Aosta, the Prince of Wales being immediately on his Majesty's right, but a little to the rear. Immediately following the staff of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief were two batteries of the Royal Horse Artillery of six guns (Armstrong) each, and subsequently two batteries of the Artillery, also of six guns each. The 1st Life Guards then marched past in the most splendid manner in close column of squadrons. This magnificent regiment, which numbered twelve of such squadrons, elicited vociferous applause from the populace, and was followed by the Royal Horse

Guards (Blue). Next came the 2nd Life Guards, all in the same formation, followed by eight squadrons of the 11th Hussars. This completed the cavalry forces of the regular army on the ground. Then came the infantry, comprising the Household Brigade, and possibly here was seen the finest marching as well as the finest body of infantry troops in the world. The entire band of the brigade of Guards was massed in one close column in front of the brigade, and as they neared the flagstaff, their facings presented the appearance of a perfect sea of gold and scarlet. On reaching within a few yards of the Grand Stand, the combination of bands changed front to the left in order to take post facing the saluting flag, and play the Brigade and Volunteers past, and disclosed the whole Brigade of Guards marching forward in grand divisions. At the same moment the spirit-stirring strain of "The British Grenadiers" was heard, and the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. Loud and continuous cheers rang out from the Grand Stand, and were taken up by the immense multitude in every direction. Onward marched the Grenadiers, in open column, but as straight as if there were but six instead of sixty in a line. Cheer after cheer rang out. The Grenadiers were followed by the Coldstreams in the same formation; and when the tune, changing to the animating strains of "Highland Laddie," told the approach of the Scots Fusiliers, renewed cheering and cries of "Bravo!" rent the air.

Now came the turn of England's citizen soldiery, numbering in the aggregate about 10,000 men; and, whether as regards their appearance or their marching, they bore no unfavourable comparison with the regular army of England. The various divisions and brigades went by, headed by Lieut.-General Sir J. Yorke Scarlett, in the following order:—

Volunteer Staff; Volunteer Cavalry; Horse Artillery; Volunteer Field Batteries; Infantry, 1st Division; ditto, 2nd Division; ditto, 3rd Division.

The marching past occupied more than an hour, but before it was half over the stands and enclosures began to empty; for the rain was merciless; and long before the troops were past, the crowds at the other extremity of the common had broken through the thin and therefore inefficient lines of police, and obstructed every part of the Review ground. All the programme was, therefore, hurried to a close, and the Cavalry and Horse Artillery, forming up in the rear of the lines of infantry, came past the Sultan at a hand-gallop. It was a fine sight, and one gleam of sunshine would have made it a magnificent spectacle. But St. Swithin was remorseless, and the great bright-coloured stream flowed by in masses amid such rain as made it difficult to raise one's head to look at their ranks. The instant this was over, the Sultan dismounted and entered his carriage, and then an overwhelming rush of all the spectators was made to see his Majesty depart. But for the cavalry, who, forcing back the crowds, formed two long lines,

this very simple operation of leaving the ground might have been one of considerable difficulty. As it was, some minutes elapsed before the Imperial *cortège* could proceed and drive between the walls of horsemen to Lord Spencer's cottage, at which the Sultan, the Prince of Wales, and the other members of the brilliant circle had been invited by Lord Spencer to dine at the close of the Review.

It was estimated that there were at least 200,000 people present during, and even at the conclusion of the Review, which was about eight o'clock.

12. THE ANNUAL CRICKET MATCH BETWEEN ETON AND HARROW.—This match commenced at Lord's Cricket Ground, and was played in the presence of fully 10,000 spectators. At the close of the day the numbers stood—Eton 208, Harrow 173. The match was resumed on the following day, but the state of the weather was such as to cause it to be "drawn." The following are the scores made:—

ETON.

1st inn.		2nd inn.	
W. C. Higgins, c. Chetwynd, b. Fryer	16	b. Graham	0
W. Hay, b. Money	0	c. Walsh, b. Graham	42
C. Thornton, b. Graham	35	c. Fryer, b. Hadow	47
C. T. Ottaway, b. Graham	15	b. Graham	32
C. R. Alexander, b. Graham	38	run out	26
W. F. Tritton, c. Fryer, b. Graham	46	hit w., b. Hadow	13
H. M. Walter, b. Graham	4	b. Hadow	0
W. H. Walrond, b. Graham	17	c. Graham, b. Money	27
E. Wormald, c. Templer, b. Fryer	8	b. Penn	4
M. Horner, c. and b. Fryer	9	not out	12
P. Curry, not out	8	c. Fryer, b. Penn	0
B. 13, l. b. 5, n. b. 1	19	B. 10, l. b. 4, w. b. 4	18
Total	208	Total	221

HARROW.

1st inn.		2nd inn.	
J. Walsh, c. and b. Horner	13	not out	28
W. Penn, b. Higgins	2	c. Higgins, b. Walter	30
W. H. Hadow, c. Hay, b. Higgins	9	not out	15
W. B. Money st. Ottaway, b. Currey	28		
F. E. R. Fryer, c. Ottaway, b. Currey	14		
S. W. Gore, run out	33		
G. Chetwynd, l. b. w., b. Higgins	1		
F. G. Templer, not out	50		
S. Pelham, b. Horner	5		
J. R. Graham, b. Walter	6		
W. P. Law, b. Walter	4		
L. b. 5, h. 1, w. 2	8	B. 2, w. 3	5
Total	173	Total	78

AUGUST.

9. ROYAL VISIT TO NETLEY.—The Queen paid a long visit to the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley, an honour much appreciated by the men as well as by the officers of the establishment. Princess Louisa and Prince Arthur accompanied the Queen; and Sir T. Biddulph, General Seymour, Major Elphinstone, and several ladies were in attendance. Her Majesty was received by General Wilbraham, C.B., the commandant; Dr. Muir, C.B., principal medical officer; the professors of the Army Medical School; and the whole medical staff and other officers attached to the hospital. As on her former visits, Her Majesty spoke to a number of the invalids, inquiring into their ailments, asking if they were comfortable, and expressing wishes for their recovery. Dr. Muir, C.B., Professor Longmore, C.B., and Dr. Fyffe (acting for Professor Maclean) had the honour of calling Her Majesty's attention to various men, some of whom were invalided in consequence of wounds received in New Zealand and India. The Queen spoke to one man who was shot through the lungs at Lucknow so long ago as 1858, but who had managed to do his duty, and was only now invalided for a wound received nearly nine years back. After spending nearly an hour in the wards, the Queen expressed a wish to see the quarters lately erected for the married men, and for the wives and children of the invalids in the hospital. These form a range of cottages in the rear of the main building, and appear very comfortable. Her Majesty entered several of the rooms—much to the astonishment and pleasure of the inmates—and appeared satisfied with all the arrangements. The Queen, on leaving, expressed to General Wilbraham and to Dr. Muir her gratification at the visit.

— FATAL RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—A fearful railway accident occurred at Bray, near Dublin. As the up-train from Enniscorthy, due at Bray at 9.30, was proceeding round the head, the engine and two carriages got off the line at one of the wooden bridges connecting the cliffs, and fell down the chasm, a height of 100 feet.

The engine left the rails near the middle of the second wooden bridge, a mile from Bray station. It broke down the side of the bridge and fell into the ravine on the land side, dragging down a third-class carriage, which was shattered. The next carriage, a third-class one, fell on end and supported another third-class carriage, which hung half over the bridge. The rest of the train, composed of four composite carriages, remained on the line.

Mr. Murphy, of Tinahely, a trader, was killed on the spot. Patrick Murphy, the engine-driver, had his leg broken. William Lane, the stoker, was seriously injured. Twelve others were hurt.

There were 100 passengers in the train. The accident would have been more serious if it had happened on the sea side of the bridge.

The line was cleared in the afternoon. The train was going slowly, and the rails were said to have been newly laid.

17. DEPARTURE OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES FOR THE CONTINENT.—The Prince and Princess of Wales, their family, and suite took their departure from Marlborough House, and drove down the lower road to Woolwich, entering the Royal Arsenal gates shortly after two o'clock. They proceeded to the T-pier, whence they embarked on board the royal yacht "Osborne." The two young princes and the infant princess, in charge of their nurses and attendants, occupied the first carriage, which, after a few minutes, was followed by that containing the Prince and Princess of Wales. The Prince alighted at the foot of the pier, and the horses having been detached, the carriage was brought up by hand to the T-platform. A heavy curtain was stretched across the entrance. The small invalid carriage in which the Princess was seated was then removed by a couple of bearers, and carried sedan fashion into the "Osborne's" saloon. The hawser was then slackened, and the yacht, which lay with her head down the river, having the Prince's flag flying at the main, was in a few minutes at full speed under weigh. A royal salute was fired from the broad-side guns of the flagship "Fisgard," and also from the B Battery, B Brigade Royal Horse Artillery, drawn up for the purpose in the Royal Arsenal marsh, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Reilly, C.B. Their Royal Highnesses were attended by Lieutenant-General Sir W. T. Knollys, K.C.B., Controller of the Household; Captain Ellis, Equerry; Dr. Paget, and the Hon. Mrs. Hardinge. There were likewise about thirty male and female servants. Before the yacht had been unmoored, the Prince, seeing Captain Biddlecombe, the master attendant, then present with Commodore Edmonstone, and recognizing him as the former master of the "Osborne," introduced him to the Princess as "his old shipmate;" and, turning to Captain Gordon, he desired him to say on their behalf "that the whole of the arrangements, as well as the regulations of the police, were very satisfactory." Mr. Carnelly, the chief inspector at the Arsenal, had taken the precaution of mustering some additional constables from the dockyard, whom he had stationed along the thoroughfares, in case of any attempt to crowd; but no obstruction was in any instance made, and the most perfect order was observed.

20. VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO THE SCOTTISH BORDERS.—Her Majesty, accompanied by Princess Louisa, Princess Beatrice, Prince Leopold, Prince and Princess Christian and Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, left Windsor Castle at ten o'clock this evening for Balmoral. The suite in attendance included Lady Churchill, Lady Susan Melville, Lord Charles Fitzroy, Sir T. M. Biddulph, Colonel Gordon, the Hon. Mrs. Gordon, &c. A special state train, consisting of an engine and fourteen carriages, includ-

ing the royal and six other double and single saloons, was provided by the directors of the London and North Western Railway, for the conveyance of the Queen and royal family to the North. Her Majesty's saloon and the other carriages were richly furnished and equipped, and the whole of the train was fitted with the system of electric communication invented by Mr. Martin, the company's electrician, who was in attendance. The arrangements for the journey were ably carried out by the chief officers of the several companies whose lines were passed over.

At fifteen minutes past eleven the next morning a gun from Roxburghe Castle indicated that the royal train had passed Maison Dieu, about a mile west of Kelso. This set the public on the *qui vive* throughout the whole length of the line, and a hearty cheer burst from the assemblage in the square and at other points. In a minute or two the royal train drew up at Kelso station, where Her Majesty was received in a very neat pavilion open at one end to the line, and at the other to the road. It was hung with red and white calico with green fringe, with tartan hangings outside. It was lined with rich conservatory plants, sent for the occasion by the Duke of Buccleuch. Mats of heather were spread over the crimson carpeting for Her Majesty alighting from the train and ascending to her carriage. On Her Majesty stepping out, the Duchess of Roxburghe knelt; and, as her Grace rose up, Her Majesty most affectionately kissed her. The Queen then turned to the Duke of Roxburghe, to whom she held out her hand, which his Grace kissed; and then turning to the Duke of Buccleuch did him the same honour. The Queen was attired in a rich silk dress with deep flounces, and with the black tulle bonnet and veil thrown back. Her Majesty was in good spirits, and evidently in excellent health. The Princess Christian was dressed also in black, but the younger princesses wore light dresses trimmed with mauve, and white crinoline bonnets trimmed with blue. The little Princess Beatrice had her beautiful golden hair *au naturel*. A ringing cheer arose from the assemblage as the royal party left the station to go to the castle, the route thither lying through the town. Her Majesty's procession to Floors Castle was a truly triumphal one, and nothing could exceed the heartiness of the greeting every where. At the bridge a beautiful scene was witnessed, when fifty young ladies and girls dressed in white, and wearing chaplets of ivy, scattered the road with exquisite bouquets of flowers.

The great gathering took place in the Market-place, where Her Majesty received the address of the magistrates. Several thousand persons were assembled, and the cheering was tremendous.

The Queen, on receiving the address, said—"I thank you, Mr. Craig, and the town of Kelso. An answer will be sent to your address." At this point the little daughter of the Baron Bailie of Kelso (Mr. Tait) was lifted up to the royal carriage, and presented to the Queen an immense and most beautiful bouquet, which Her

Majesty received with an expression of great delight; and, bowing repeatedly in acknowledgment of the hearty cheers of the assemblage, the Queen drove off amidst a renewed and ardent expression of loyalty. Her Majesty reached Floors Castle ten minutes before twelve o'clock, where she was received by the family of the Duke of Roxburghe. Her arrival at Floors was announced to the town by a royal salute fired from Roxburghe Castle, and answered by a small battery in the grounds of Sir George Douglas, Springwood Park.

The illumination in the evening at Kelso fulfilled the highest expectations. The night was fine, and at intervals the abbey was lighted up with alternating red, blue, and white lights. The bridge on the side facing Floors Castle was outlined with padelle, and the illumination was highly effective. The dome of the Town Hall was lighted with paraffin lamps, and the cornice with padelle. The Free Church spire was lit up in an ingenious manner. Edham House and other residences shared in the display, and Floors Castle was also brilliantly lighted up. On a signal being given, the beacon-fires on the hill-tops over a wide extent of country were lit up, there being no fewer than thirteen bonfires on the Duke of Roxburghe's estates, and the fires may be said to have ranged from the Eildons to the Cheviot. Shortly after nine o'clock Her Majesty drove through Kelso in a close carriage to witness the illuminations. All the evening the streets were crowded to excess, excursion trains having come from Hawick, Jedburgh, and other places, each adding its quota to the throng.

On the 22nd the Queen paid a visit to Melrose Abbey and Abbotsford. She was accompanied by Princess Louisa, Prince and Princess Christian, the Duke and Duchess of Roxburghe, and Lady Charlotte Russell. The royal party left Floors Castle about two o'clock. Four horses belonging to the Duke of Roxburghe drew the carriage occupied by the Queen. The streets of Kelso were well lined with spectators, who loudly cheered. The drive to Melrose, along the right bank of the Tweed, is nearly sixteen miles in length. It is through a highly interesting district, and the route commands several of the most picturesque views of the Tweed. After passing Kelso Bridge, the royal party drove along Springwood Park, the seat of Sir George Douglas. The ruins of Roxburghe Castle, between the Tweed and the Teviot, were next passed. A few fragments of walls are all that now remains of the fortress. It is believed that it was first erected by the Saxons while they held the sovereignty of the Northumbrian kingdom, of which Roxburghe was at that time a province. After leaving those ruins the Queen passed Mackerston House; and, proceeding by Maxton, St. Boswell's Green, Newtown, and Newstead, Old Melrose was reached. Horses were changed at Ravensworth Lodge, and the Queen's own horses were harnessed to her carriage. After a short delay the party went by Newstead, along the Anna-road, to the Priory. Here the Queen and party alighted

and walked through the Priory. They passed what is called the Brewery-lane, and entered Melrose Abbey grounds by the Alms Gate, not passing through the town before reaching this magnificent ruin. The Queen was here received by the Duke of Buccleuch, proprietor of the ruins and lord-lieutenant of the county. The Queen appeared to be deeply interested in what remains of this beautiful structure, which is one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture and sculpture in Scotland. It was twenty minutes past five o'clock before the Queen arrived at the Abbey. The keeper was present, and answered any questions asked. The Duke of Buccleuch walked by the side of the Queen as she went over the ruins. The cloisters were first visited, then the transepts, the chancel, the exterior, and the nave. The Queen desired to have views of the ruins, and the keeper handed to Her Majesty all that she happened to have in her possession. The Queen remained nearly half an hour in the abbey, and then left by the west or principal entrance. A detachment of the 14th Hussars formed a guard of honour, and Abbey-street was lined on either side by the Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire Rifle Volunteers. The procession moved up Abbey-street and down High-street to Abbotsford by way of Darnick. Abbotsford is two miles from Melrose, and stands near the road leading to Selkirk.

Refreshments were provided at Abbotsford for the Queen and party by Mr. and Lady Victoria Hope Scott, who occupy the mansion. The return journey to Floors Castle was along the left side of the Tweed, by way of Melrose Bridge, Getton Side, Leaderfoot, and Gladswood House. A splendid viaduct on the Berwickshire Railway was an object of great attraction at Leaderfoot. The Berwickshire Volunteers attended at this place, and presented arms to Her Majesty. Horses were changed at Gladswood. The Queen was loyally received all along the route, and she appeared gratified by the enthusiasm shown by her subjects. Flags, banners, and mottoes were displayed on every house and prominent position near to which Her Majesty passed, and not a few beautiful triumphal arches, some adorned with ancient armour, had been erected.

The Queen visited Jedburgh on the 23rd. For this visit an early start was made. The carriages, three in number, left Floors before eleven o'clock, being occupied as follows:—First carriage: The Queen, the Princess Christian, the Princess Louisa, and the Duchess of Roxburghe. Second carriage: Prince Christian, the Princess Beatrice, the Duke of Marlborough, and Lady Churchill. Third carriage: The Duke of Roxburghe, Sir Thomas Biddulph, Lord Charles Fitzroy, and Lady Charles Innes-Ker. The Duke of Buccleuch, Colonel Roche, and other gentlemen rode beside the carriages of the royal party. The royal party passed through Kelso about eleven o'clock, and were heartily cheered on their way. Proceeding by way of Kelso Bridge and Maxwellheugh, the carriages took the Jedburgh-road by Heiton Crailing and Monte-

viot, about seven miles of the route lying up Teviotdale. At Heiton there was a pretty triumphal arch erected, and a turn-out of the villagers, who very loyally greeted their Sovereign. The party then ascended the prettily-wooded hill, on which the property of Sunlaws is situated, and whence a splendid view is obtained of Teviotdale and Tweedside, as well as of the Merse. Descending again, and still keeping the right bank of the Teviot, the road crosses the Kale water, and a pretty peep is obtained of the picturesque valley in which the ruined castle of Cessford stands. Soon afterwards the village of Crailing was reached, where another triumphal arch marked the royal progress, and where the villagers were no less delighted than their neighbours with the view they got of royalty. Near the village of Nisbet, the road crosses the Jed directly in front of the gate of Monteviot, one of the seats of the Lothian family. Near the lodge an extremely pretty archway was erected. It bore on the arrival side the inscription, "Welcome to the banks of the Jed," and on the departure side the invitation, "Will ye no' come back again," mottoes which well expressed the hearty feelings of the district. At the gate of Bonjeward House, occupied by Admiral Elliot, the Earl of Minto and party were waiting to pay their loyal respects to Her Majesty.

The drive up Jedside gave the royal party a fine view by anticipation of the town, radiant with flags and streamers, highest of all being the royal standard, which waved from the Castle. The first carriage passed the railway station a little way out of town about a quarter past twelve. A salute of guns from the Castle announced the Queen's approach, calling forth an anticipatory cheer. On crossing Bongate Bridge into the High-street, Her Majesty was received with a thrilling cheer, which speedily ran up the lines, and found at the foot of the High-street a very pretty triumphal arch; and at the top of the High-street, entering upon the Market-place, another arch of Oriental design.

Her Majesty was received in this ancient borough with every demonstration of rejoicing and loyal enthusiasm. An address was presented by the Town Council. Her Majesty afterwards visited Hartrigge.

Shortly before eleven o'clock the Queen and royal party left Floors Castle, and reached Kelso station in a quarter of an hour. The town was illuminated even more effectively than on the former evening. The streets were crowded with spectators, and at the station there was a large assemblage. The Duke and Duchess of Roxburghe accompanied the royal party to the station, where farewell was taken. The royal train left the station at 11.22, and after a brief stoppage at Eskbank, the train passed through Waverley Bridge station, Edinburgh, at 1.16 a.m. on the 24th. The various stations on the line were closed, in order that the royal party should be undisturbed, but a good many people assembled on the bridges to see the train pass.

The Queen and suite reached Ferryhill station at 6.30, and after a stay of a few minutes, proceeded by the Deeside Railway to Ballater, where they arrived at eight o'clock. After an hour's posting, the royal party arrived safely at Balmoral Castle.

21. TRIAL OF THE MONT CENIS SUMMIT RAILWAY.—The line of railway which had been in the course of construction for the last eighteen months over this pass, and which follows in the main the great road of the first Napoleon, was successfully traversed over its whole length of forty-eight miles by a locomotive engine. A train, composed of an engine and two carriages, left the St. Michel station at 6.30 a.m. There were present the Duke of Vallombrosa; Mr. Fell, the inventor of the system; Mr. Brogden, a Director of the Company; Mr. Brunlees, the engineer, and his assistant, Mr. Bell; Mr. Blake, the agent of the Company; Mr. Alexander and Mr. Barnes, locomotive engineers; Signor Copello, chief engineer for the Modane section of the tunnel; Captain Beaumont, R.E., Mr. James Brogden, Mr. Jopling, Mr. Morris, and Captain Tyler, R.E., on the part of the British Government.

Mr. Fell's system consists of the application of a central double-headed rail placed on its side in the middle of the way, and elevated about fourteen inches above the ordinary rails. There are four horizontal driving-wheels on the engine, under the control of the engine-driver, which can be made by pressure to grasp the central rail so as to utilize the whole power of the engine, and so enable it to work up incredible gradients without slipping. The carriages also have four horizontal wheels underneath, which, with the central rail, form a complete safety-guard. In addition to the ordinary break, there are breaks upon the central rail. It would appear, therefore, impossible for the engine or carriages to leave the rails where the central one is laid.

The morning was admirably adapted for the trip, the sun shining with great brilliancy upon the Alpine peaks and the numerous glaciers which are visible in different parts of the route. After leaving the deep valley in which St. Michel is situated, the line passes by a gradient of one in thirty to the Pont de la Denise, where an iron bridge spans the river Arcq near the site of that which was carried away by the inundations of last year. As the little train passed the village of Fourneau, the workmen of the Grand Tunnel of the Alps turned out *en masse*, and, as at all other parts of the route, they were observed stooping down and even endangering their lives for the purpose of inspecting the novel mechanism of the engine for working on the central rail. The first very steep gradient of one in twelve was seen in passing Modane, and, foreshortened to the view, appeared on the approach as if impossible to surmount; but the engine, the second constructed on this system, had already proved equal to the task on the experimental line, and, clutching the central rail between its horizontal wheels, it glided quickly up, under a pressure of steam not more

than 80lb. to the square inch, without apparent effort. The progress was purposely slow, because no engine or carriage had previously passed over the line, and also to give opportunity for examining the works. The damages to the road on which the line was chiefly laid were found to be substantially repaired by the French Government. The magnificent scenery around, and the waterfall near Fort Sessaillon, were much admired as the sharp curves afforded different views while passing on the edges of the deep ravines. The train entered Lanslebourg station under a triumphal arch, having accomplished twenty-four miles of distance, and attained an elevation of 2100 feet above St. Michel.

From this point the zigzags of ascent commence, and the gradients over a distance of four miles were for the most part one in twelve. Looking down from the train near the summit, as if from a balloon, four of the zigzags were visible at the same instant to a depth of 2000 feet. The power of the engine was satisfactorily tested in this ascent, and the summit was reached under salvos of artillery from an improvised battery, and amid the cheers of French and Italians who had gathered to welcome the English on the frontier. The engine again came to a stand under a triumphal arch, at an elevation of 6700 feet above the sea. Flags of the three nations, and a silk flag specially presented by Signor Ginaoli to Mr. Fell, waved over a sumptuous breakfast, also provided by that gentleman. The hospice, the lake, and the plateau of the summit, surrounded by snow-clad peaks and glaciers, rising to an elevation of from 10,000 feet to 13,000 feet were passed, and the portion of the descent commenced from the Grand Croix. The railway here follows the old Napoleon road, which was abandoned long since for diligence traffic on account of the dangers from avalanche. Masonry-covered ways of extraordinary strength had here been specially provided for the railway.

The descent to Susa was a series of the sharpest curves and steepest gradients, on which the central rail had been continuously laid. The Valley of the Dora, with Susa and the convent of San Michel, and even the Superga above Turin, visible for thirty miles in the distance, presented a magnificent panorama, as the train wound through a clear atmosphere round the mountain side. The confidence of the party on a trip which would, under ordinary circumstances, have been most dangerous, was manifested by their crowding round all parts of the engine, from which, under a feeling of the security afforded by the central rail, they thoroughly enjoyed the ever-changing scenes as they passed round the edges of the various precipices. Susa was entered amid the acclamations of multitudes of spectators, and the party adjourned to dine at the Hôtel de France.

Thus was completed a journey unexampled in its character both as respects the steepness of gradients, the elevation of the summit level, and the difficulty with which the curves and precipices were overcome.

26. EXECUTION AT NORWICH.—Hubbard Lingley, convicted at the Norfolk Assizes of the murder of his uncle, Benjamin Black, at Barton Bendish, near Downham Market, underwent the extreme penalty of the law in front of Norwich Castle. A crowd, estimated at about 12,000 persons, assembled; their behaviour was, upon the whole, orderly. The convict, a few days after his condemnation, began to make admissions to the prison chaplain (the Rev. J. L. Brown). As the day fixed for the execution drew nigh, these admissions increased; until at last, with the convict's full concurrence, they were reduced into a connected statement by the governor of the gaol, on the understanding that they should not be made public until after the criminal's death. This understanding was strictly adhered to, and it was not until this morning that the prisoner's confession was known to any one besides the chaplain and the governor. The prisoner died penitent and professing deep contrition for his crime.

29. EXECUTION AT TAUNTON FOR MURDER.—George Britten, the Wolverton murderer, was executed in front of the county gaol at Taunton. Notwithstanding the secrecy which was observed on the part of the officials as to the day of execution, people began to take their places outside the prison at an early hour in the morning. Though there were amongst the crowd many respectably-dressed persons, probably residents of the town of Taunton, it was chiefly composed of the lower classes, a large number of agricultural labourers helping to swell the gathering. The prisoner, who was upwards of fifty years of age, was sentenced to death on the 12th of August, for the wilful murder of his wife, Martha Britten, of Wolverton, Somerset, on the 18th of July. He confessed his crime.

SEPTEMBER.

4. MEETING OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT DUNDEE.—The British Association opened its thirty-seventh session in Dundee. The President for the year was the Duke of Buccleuch. Amongst those who were present at the first meeting were Sir W. Armstrong, Professor Ansted, Professor Allman, Mr. Spence Bate, Sir John Bowring, Sir Edward Belcher, Sir David Brewster, Sir Samuel Baker, Professor Bentley, Rev. C. Cholmeley (Vice-President of Magdalen College, Oxford), Sir Wm. Fairbairn, LL.D., Mr. Grant Duff, M.P., Colonel James, the Earl of Enniskillen, Mr. Glaisher, Mr. Geikie, Mr. A. Herschel, Mr. Hull, Rev. Professor Kingsley, Sir John Lubbock, Professor Leone Levi, Professor Martin (Montpelier, France), Sir Roderick Murchison, Lord Neaves, Rear-

Admiral Ommanney, Rev C. Pritchard, Professor Simpson, Dr. Tyndall, Sir W. Thomson, Professor Wheatstone, &c., &c. The following were the sections, with their presidents:—A. Mathematical and Physical Science; Professor Sir W. Thomson. B. Chemical; Professor Thomas Anderson. C. Geology; Mr. Archibald Geikie. D. Biology; Professor Sharpey. E. Geography and Ethnology; Sir S. Baker. F. Economic Science and Statistics; Mr. G. Duff, M.P. The inaugural meeting in the Kinnaird Hall was attended by about 2000 persons. Just before the President rose to deliver his address, Sir David Brewster, oppressed by the heat of the room, fainted, and had to be removed. Later in the evening every one was pleased to learn that he had completely recovered. The retiring president, Professor Grove, was also suffering from illness, and Sir Roderick Murchison officiated for him, and in a speech referred to the original formation of the Association thirty-six years before, at the suggestion of Sir David Brewster, and to the various meetings of the Association since that period. He concluded by resigning the President's chair, and requested the noble Duke to take it, being sure that he did so with the warm approbation of the inhabitants of Dundee, who, as well as his friends on the platform, would give him the heartiest welcome.

The Duke of Buccleuch having been formally installed in the chair, said, that in a certain sense he was bolder than those of his ancestors, who had been known as the "Bold Buccleuchs," in undertaking the duty of presiding over a scientific congress like that of the British Association, especially as he should deviate from the course pursued by his predecessors by delivering an extempore, instead of reading a written address. But he believed he was acting more frankly in doing so, inasmuch, as a well-composed essay must have come from some other pen than his own. The noble Duke then referred to the nature and intention of the Association. He dwelt on the peculiar direction which the intellectual power of its members had taken, each seizing on one particular subject congenial to his spirit, with the view of conferring benefit on the community at large; as an instance of which he pointed to the late Professor Faraday, whose great intellectual powers had rendered him supremely eminent in his own department of science. He expressed his concurrence in the recommendation made that day by the general committee, that science should form part of the *curriculum* of public schools, and he thought that a more enlarged system of scientific instruction was required in the Universities. He lamented the failure of a recent attempt to establish a professorship of geology in the University of Edinburgh, and called attention to meteorology, a science in which he took particular interest, and said that great and successful efforts had been made at Kew to give form and substance to that science; and although he did not desire that the meteorological department of the Board of Trade should assume to be weather prophets, it was possible to ascertain the prevailing winds and storms in this country and

over Europe. After some further observations, he concluded by thanking the Association for placing him in the chair, which he felt was no slight honour, and he promised faithfully to perform his duties, and hoped that they would be so performed, although they had selected a person for that high and onerous position who was quite unworthy to be in the chair. The report of the general committee was brought up and unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. Grant Duff, M.P., seconded by Sir John Lubbock, and supported by Sir J. Browning.

The reading of papers in the several sections, and the discussions which followed upon them, were carried on in the usual form, and with quite as much as the usual spirit, during the ensuing week. An account of some of the principal matters which occupied the attention of the Association will be found in another part of this volume. The excursions taken by the members of the Association were nine in number, namely, to Airlie Castle, Dura Den and Kilmarnock, Newburgh and Errol Park, Balruddery, Lochleven, Arbroath, Montrose, Perth, and Brechin. On the 11th, the concluding meeting was held in the Kinraid Hall, the Duke of Buccleuch presiding.

Professor Hirst read the list of proposed grants for the year; also the recommendations which had passed the general committee, and were now to be approved by this meeting.

Mr. Griffiths made a statement as to the number of tickets issued and the amount of money received, the tickets being 2444, and the payments 2613*l*.

Professor Ramsay claimed to himself the credit of a "minor prophet." At the Nottingham meeting he had had the duty of seconding the motion that the meeting for this year should be held in Dundee, and he then ventured to say, from his knowledge of his native country, that the members of the Association would all be delighted with the kind hospitality they would receive. He was sure that all who had come to this meeting from a distance would feel that his predictions had been amply fulfilled, and that they had great cause for rejoicing that they had come to this northern town. He begged, therefore, to move a vote of thanks to the Provost, magistrates, and town council, and to the other public bodies at Dundee, for the excellent accommodation they had provided for the meeting of the Association.

Dr. Odling seconded the motion, remarking that the arrangements at Dundee had been better than they had been for many years.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Professor Rankine said he believed all who had attended the meetings, and especially the strangers, must have been struck with the admirable arrangements made by the local office-bearers for the meetings. He believed there had been no instance where all these details had been better carried out. He moved a vote of thanks to the executive committee, to the local secretaries,

and to the local treasurer. They could not forget the kindness and public spirit of those firms which had afforded them an opportunity of inspecting those remarkable manufactures that constituted the industry of Dundee. They had also to return their thanks to the railway authorities for the facilities they had given to visitors coming from a distance. Lastly, he would propose a vote of thanks to the press; for he believed that never on any former occasion had their proceedings been more accurately and faithfully reported.

Mr. Napier seconded the motion, which was also carried.

Sir John Ogilvy, M.P., said he had to propose a hearty vote of thanks to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, for having been kind enough to preside over this most successful meeting of the British Association—he believed one of the most successful ever held by the Association. Most of those present had had an opportunity of listening to the able and admirable address of his Grace in opening their present meeting, and also of reading the noble and Christian sentiments he had expressed on various occasions, which had given a tone to this meeting that must have been most gratifying.

Sir Roderick Murchison seconded the motion, remarking that he felt from the first that if they could secure the services of a nobleman so distinguished in Scotland as the Duke of Buccleuch, and so beloved throughout the land, their meeting could not fail to be a great success. Sir Roderick then referred to the services of the Vice-Presidents, particularly Sir David Brewster, a man of whom not only Europe, but the world, was proud; Lord Kinnaird, a nobleman much beloved by them all, and Sir John Ogilvy, the member for the town, to whose persevering exertions it was mainly due that the Association had accepted the invitation from Dundee. He deeply regretted the absence, from precarious health, of Principal Forbes, of St. Andrew's, one of the Vice-Presidents on this occasion, and one of the three Scotchmen—Sir David Brewster and himself being the other two—who had gone to York in 1831 to found the British Association. Sir Roderick concluded by proposing a hearty cheer for the Duke of Buccleuch, to which proposal the audience, rising, responded in a body.

The Duke of Buccleuch cordially acknowledged the compliment.

In the evening a grand dinner was given in the hall of the Albert Institute by the Provost, Magistrates, and Council, to the President and chief office-bearers and eminent members of the Association attending the present meeting at Dundee, the Judges attending the Dundee Circuit about to open, and the principal merchants and manufacturers of Dundee. Provost Hay presided, and on his right sat Lord Deas, the Senior Judge on Circuit, and on his left the Duke of Buccleuch. The Provost was also supported on the right by Sir David Brewster, Sir Roderick Murchison, Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee (Bombay), Sir John Bowring, Pro-

fessor Wheatstone, Professor Sir William Thomson, Professor Sharpey, Mr. Moncreiff, M.P., Hon. C. Carnegie, M.P., Rev. Dr. Watson, &c., and on the left by Lord Neaves, Sir John Ogilvy, M.P., Professor Phillips, Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. Dyce Nicol, M.P., Admiral Sir E. Belcher, Sir George Ramsay, General Sir Andrew Waugh, Professor Rodgers, Sir David Baxter, &c.

The Provost gave the usual loyal and national toasts. For the various services Admiral Belcher, General Waugh, and Colonel Allison replied. The next toast was "The Health of the Earl of Dalhousie," Lord-Lieutenant of Forfarshire, after which the Provost gave "Both Houses of Parliament," for which toast Sir John Ogilvy, member for the town, responded, taking occasion to notice the claim of the town to additional representation. The Provost then gave "Her Majesty's Judges of Justiciary," for whom Lord Deas, in an elegant and short speech, responded. Lord Neaves was also called for, and expressed the hope that some remote undulations of the wave set in motion by this meeting would go through the better cultivation of man's intellectual nature, to the diminution of crime.

Provost Hay then said,—I crave a bumper to the health of our noble President, his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch. On the present occasion, his Grace has, with great ability, judgment, and acceptability, discharged the duties of chairman of the British Association. I have so recently, in doing him honour on behalf of the Corporation, spoken in commendation of his kindness, goodness, and worth, that I shall only here repeat the hope that a nobleman, so distinguished for his probity, his intelligence, and sense of justice, may be long spared to be an honour to his country, the patron of science, and the friend of his fellow-countrymen. We part with him with regret, but we shall ever remember with pleasure this auspicious occasion. I give "The Health of the Duke of Buccleuch," with all the honours.

The Duke of Buccleuch, who was loudly cheered, responded in expressions similar to those he had used in the afternoon. He had to thank the inhabitants of Dundee and neighbourhood for the liberal hospitality and courteous bearing with which all who had visited the town on this occasion had been received. The generous hospitality which they had received was, if not peculiar to Dundee, certainly most remarkable. His Grace concluded by expressing his hearty wishes for the prosperity of the town.

The Provost then gave "The Vice-Presidents," for whom Sir Roderick Murchison responded, observing that he had attended thirty-four out of the thirty-seven meetings of the British Association, and he never remembered any meeting at which they had been received with more cordial hospitality, and as a Scotchman he felt intensely gratified with the success which had attended this meeting.

There were also loud calls for Sir David Brewster, who very briefly responded.

The Duke of Buccleuch then gave "The Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Dundee," and the Provost, in reply, gave "The Health of Sir William Thomson," who, in response, attributed the success of the Atlantic cable mainly to the spirit of hope and determination in the breast of Mr. Cyrus Field, who had, while others were discouraged and disappointed, stimulated them to repeated exertion, happily at length successful.

The Provost gave "The Health of the Presidents of Sections," for whom Mr. Geikie and Professor Rankine replied. After several other appropriate toasts, Provost Hay gave "The cause of education," with the name of Mr. Moncreiff, M.P.

Several other toasts were given and acknowledged. Upon the whole, the Dundee meeting was generally pronounced to be a very successful one. The meeting of the Association for 1868 was appointed to take place at Norwich.

14. EXECUTION FOR MURDER AT KIRKDALE.—Henry Farrington, convicted of murdering his wife at Leigh, suffered the extreme sentence of the law at Kirkdale. He was very penitent, and acknowledged the heinousness of the offence for which he suffered.

18. RESCUE OF FENIAN PRISONERS AT MANCHESTER.—One of the most audacious outrages that have occurred in this country for many years was perpetrated in open day, within the limits of the City of Manchester, by a party of Irish desperadoes, who had prepared themselves to carry out the object of their enterprise at any cost to themselves or others. The object was to effect the rescue of two persons believed to be leading members of the Fenian Conspiracy, who were on their way to the city gaol in the police-van, after being committed by the Magistrates. The circumstances connected with the apprehension of these two persons were rather singular. About a week previous to the event about to be related, the Manchester police apprehended two men, who spoke with Irish-American accent, and who were loitering about the streets in a suspicious manner, at between three and four in the morning. They gave names which were believed to be false, and claimed to be American citizens. They were supposed to be plotting the robbery of a shop, and on being taken into custody offered great resistance, trying to get their hands into their pockets, where each had a loaded revolver. They were brought up under the Vagrant Act, and remanded. From communications with the Irish police, some of whom visited Manchester, it appeared probable that these men were two notorious Fenians, known as Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasey. On their being brought up a second time at the Manchester police-court on the 18th, they were again remanded for further inquiry, and were placed in a cell, with a view to removal to the city gaol, Bellevue. About three o'clock the van was drawn up in front of the police-court to remove all the prisoners, and among them the two Fenians. At this time the police noticed two men hanging about, whom they suspected to be Fenians, and a policeman made a rush at one of them to arrest him.

in which he succeeded, but not till the man had drawn a dagger and attempted to stab him. The blow was avoided. The other suspected person made his escape. In consequence of this, Kelly and Deasey were put in irons before being taken to the van. When the van left the city, it had to proceed over Ardwick-green and along Hyde-road, a fine, open street leading to the gaol, and nearly a mile in length; it was drawn by two horses. The van is similar to all others used for the conveyance of prisoners. The interior is divided into two compartments, the one being appropriated to women and the other to men, each secured by a separate door. Between these doors and the outer door is a space in which an officer sits. The doors of the inner compartments having been locked, police-sergeant Brett took his seat inside the van; the outer door was then locked, and the keys returned to Brett through a small aperture at the top of the door. Upon this occasion, besides the two Fenians, there were three or four women and one or two boys locked up in the van. When the vehicle drove off seven police-constables accompanied it, in addition to the driver. Police-constables Shaw and Yarwood, with detectives Bromley and Taylor, rode upon the box, while police-constables Knox and Connell rode on the step behind. In addition to these, four more officers followed in a cab; these were sergeant Hartley and constables True-man, Schofield, and Thompson. Of the whole number, Brett only was armed with a cutlass, but from the position in which he was, it was perfectly useless. The route the van would take was well known in Manchester; while it was on its way it was preceded by a cab containing several men who had been seen about the police-court during the day, and who afterwards took part in the attack upon the van. About midway between the city and the gaol the van had to pass under a railway arch which crosses the Hyde-road, adjacent to which there are a number of clay-pits. There is a large hotel near this bridge, called the Railway Hotel, and here throughout the day several men of military appearance were noticed drinking and lounging about. As afternoon drew on, the number of these men increased, and at three o'clock there were upwards of fifty collected. Amongst them was one taller than the rest; he was a fair-complexioned man, wore a black coat and cap, and seemed to be the leader. This man was subsequently identified as William O'Meara Allen. About four o'clock these men appeared to become restless and excited; they kept walking across the roadway in front of the hotel, and from the summit of a bank of clay looked very intently down the roadway towards the city. At length Allen took up his position on the clay-bank, and one by one ten or twelve gathered round him. The rumble of the prison-van was heard in the distance. Allen held up his hand, and from different points men glided towards him. A few were dressed in fustian clothes, but the majority wore cloth, and were evidently men above the lowest rank in life. When the van came in sight Allen held up both hands, and two revolvers glistened in the light.

His associates, following his example, raised their hands, and the few spectators of the scene who were present noticed that they were all armed with new revolvers. The moment the van approached the arch, Allen stepped into the roadway, and presenting a revolver at the driver, called upon him to stop. Immediately, before the driver had time to decide what to do, a volley of pistol-shots was fired at him. Then followed a scene as extraordinary as it was unexpected. One of the horses was shot and commenced plunging, and the second horse, frightened, turned aside; and from that moment the Fenians were masters of the situation. When the pistol-shots were fired, the officers upon the top of the van scrambled down as quickly as they could, and the driver was knocked off by a large stone. The second horse was then shot. One of the leaders climbed to the top of the van; and, at a signal from him, about twenty labourers, who had been hiding in the clay-field, clambered up after him. The armed men formed a circle round the van, and menaced every one that approached with their pistols. Shots were fired in quick succession, some of which took effect. Detective Bromley was shot in the thigh; a young man amongst the bystanders named Sproom was shot through the ankle, and police-constable Trueman was shot in the back, but only slightly hurt. Those on the roof were supplied with huge stones, with which they began to pound away at the vehicle, in the hope of smashing it. The roof, however, seems to have resisted their efforts more than they had expected. Allen therefore directed men, who were armed with hatchets and iron bars, to break in the door of the van. The constables bravely united together, and, joined by a number of men who had been attracted to the spot by the shots, rushed upon the armed enemy, and in the *mêlée* bore them away; but the Fenians firing point blank at the officers and civilians drove them again and again from the van. While all this was going on, there were heard screams proceeding from the inside of the van. The women in the interior must have been terribly frightened. Sergeant Brett sat still with the keys of the van in his pocket. The men on the roof gradually pounded it to chips. They saw Brett below; and in answer to their demands he refused to deliver up the keys. Stones were thrown upon him, which injured his head and face, but still he refused to betray his trust. Then a panel of the door was broken open; Allen presented a pistol at Brett's head, and demanded the keys. They were still refused. Allen immediately placed his revolver to the lock of the door, and firing, blew it open. There was Brett, bleeding and wounded in his seat, the doors of the two compartments still locked. Allen once more demanded that the keys should be given up to him. Brett's answer was a flat refusal, whereupon Allen deliberately fired at him, and Brett rolled mortally wounded on to the roadway. The shot entered one eye, and passed out through the crown of his head. His keys were taken from him, the inner compartments unlocked, and the prisoners released. First there cam

out a woman, then Deasy appeared, and, following him, Kelly. The whole of the armed mob then dispersed as quickly as possible, the major portion running across the clay-fields in the direction of the Ashton-road. Those wounded in the affray were put into cabs, and taken to the infirmary. Brett died within an hour and a half of being shot. As the Fenians ran off, Allen was heard to say to the Colonel, "Kelly, I will die for you;" he made vigorous efforts to escape notwithstanding. In this, however, he was not successful. A powerful young man named Hunter, who had seen the part Allen took, chased him, and succeeded in running him down. When Hunter laid hold of Allen, he presented a revolver, threatening to shoot his captor. Hunter, however, wrested the weapon from him, and secured him. Three were in a similar manner run down and made prisoners. Kelly and Deasy were subsequently seen going into a cottage near Clayton Bridge, about two miles from the scene of the outrage. They were handcuffed when they went in, but their hands were free when they came out. A porter at the railway-station called out to them, but they did not stop. As soon as the news of the affair reached Manchester, the most prompt measures were taken to apprehend the rioters, and recapture Kelly and Deasy. A number of the 8th Hussars and a detachment of the 57th Foot were called out, and the prisoners were safely locked up in the Albert-street police-station. Here fifty men from the 57th foot, under Captain Halstead, remained on duty all night. Arrests of persons suspected continued to be made during the greater part of the night, and next morning it was ascertained that twenty-three men had been apprehended.

The persons thus captured, together with some afterwards taken, altogether twenty-nine in number, were brought before the Magistrates next day under a strong guard. The inquiry affecting the identity of so many individuals occupied many days, and the prisoners were repeatedly remanded. Ultimately, the five men who were proved to have taken the most conspicuous part in the rescue and violence, together with eighteen others, were committed for trial for the murder of Brett. In consequence of the serious character of the outrage, and the number of persons concerned, the Government resolved on appointing a Special Commission to sit at Manchester for the trial of the prisoners; and on the 27th October Mr. Justice Blackburn and Mr. Justice Mellor arrived in that city, and the Commission was formally opened the next day. A full report of the proceedings which took place on the trial of the five ringleaders, their sentence, and the execution of three of their number, will be found in other parts of this volume¹.

19. OPENING OF THE BARROW-IN-FURNESS DOCKS.—The town of Barrow, in the district called Furness, on the north-eastern coast of Lancashire, has grown with a rapidity that has no parallel in England. A few years ago it was a small place, thinly popu-

¹ See "Chronicle," page 156 post, and "Remarkable Trials" in the Appendix.

lated, and of no commercial importance. The development of the hematite iron ore trade has, however, attracted to it a large population, and it is fast becoming an important town. Much of what has been done is owing to the wise policy of the Furness Railway Company, at whose expense the docks have been built. Ten years ago Barrow had a population scarcely exceeding 1000 persons, and those chiefly engaged in fishing or seafaring pursuits; there are now about 17,000 inhabitants. Communication has been established between Barrow and Belfast by a daily service of first-class steamers; and these being connected with through trains to all parts of England, are found highly advantageous both for merchandize and cattle, but particularly the latter. Steamers also ply regularly between Barrow and the Isle of Man. In order to enhance the interest of the ceremony of the Dock inauguration, the directors of the Furness Railway issued invitations to a very large circle of visitors, including all the members of Parliament for the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, the Mayors of all the corporate towns in those counties, the directors, managers, and secretaries of all the railways in the kingdom, the members of the Mersey Dock Board, the presidents of the various Chambers of Commerce (including in the case of Liverpool the Secretary and the Members of the Council), and the leading commercial men of the district. There has seldom taken place a local or commercial festivity in which the representative element was so conspicuous and influential. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., was one of the invited guests, and amongst all classes of residents and politicians in the district his visit was regarded with great interest and pleasure. Barrow had just been incorporated; and Mr. Ramsden, the Mayor, most cordially co-operated with his brother directors and the inhabitants generally to give as much *éclat* as possible to the proceedings.

By arrangement of the Furness directors, and through the courteous and prompt assent of the various railway companies, the invitation cards sent to each guest franked him from any part of the country to and from Barrow, as well as to the proceedings of the inauguration, and to the banquet which followed.

In accordance with the wish of the Mayor, the day was observed as a general holiday in Barrow. The streets, which were gay with flags, were thronged with people.

The guests of the railway company, as they arrived by successive trains from various parts, were conducted to the Town Pier, where special steamers were provided for them, and about two o'clock, a procession of vessels having been formed, the visitors were conducted through the docks, the various features of which were explained by the directors, the Secretary (Mr. H. Cook), and other gentlemen acquainted with their character and construction.

The docks and the various works attached to them will, when thoroughly completed, cost about 200,000*l.*; a smaller sum, it is believed, than ever was expended upon a similar amount of dock

accommodation elsewhere. The engineers are Messrs. M'Lean and Stileman, of London, and the contractors Messrs. Brassey and Field. The Devonshire Dock comprises thirty acres; and the Buccleuch Dock, which is not yet completed, will have a water area of thirty-three acres. To the north-east of the last-named dock is a timber-pond of thirty-five acres and a half. The docks extend from Crow's Nest to Cunninger Point, and divide the town of Barrow from Old Barrow Island. The docks are entered from Piel harbour, within the south end of Walney Island, where there is a railway-pier, and where the largest vessels may ride in five fathoms of water. The entrance to the docks is sixty feet in width, and, being well sheltered by Walney Island, is adapted for the safe admission of vessels of all sizes. Near to, and parallel with the entrance, is a commodious graving-dock. The total water area of the docks and timber-ponds is 105 acres in extent, and the warehouses so far erected have a floorage accommodation of 17,000 square yards. The depth of water maintained in the Devonshire Dock is twenty-two feet. Hydraulic capstans are provided at the entrances, and hydraulic cranes on the quays and in the warehouses. The Railway Company's land adjoining the sidings, which is available for private shipbuilding yards, timber-yards, and works, amounts to 230 acres, and it is expected that ere long a large business will be done here in iron shipbuilding. Around the island there will be in all about ten miles of sidings. The facilities for bringing railway waggons alongside the ships form a conspicuous feature at Barrow.

After the Dock celebration the bulk of the visitors inspected the Barrow Hematite Steel Works, which were thrown open by the Directors of the Company, and the operations of which were explained by the manager. These works were originally established, in 1859, by Messrs. Schneider, Hannay, and Co., for the production of pig-iron from the red hematite ore of the district. Previously the mines of the neighbourhood had only been worked on a very small scale, the ore being carried for smelting purposes to Lancashire, Wales, and Staffordshire, while the red hematite was merely used to mix with other ores. The adoption of the Bessemer process caused an almost unlimited demand for pure hematite iron; and in 1866, when the Barrow Iron Works were taken over by the present Company, there were ten blast-furnaces in constant operation, the other appliances being of a kindred magnitude.

There are now eleven blast-furnaces arranged in a straight line with the seashore, the pig-beds being on the land side, and the slag deposits accumulating on the shore.

The Company raise all their own ore, and the produce of the mines this year will be about 400,000 tons. The amount of pig-iron made weekly is about 4000 tons, and about 800 tons of this quantity are taken to the steel-works, and there converted into rails, plates, tires, and forgings of Bessemer steel. The number of men employed at the works is near 2000. These are the largest Bessemer

steel-works in the country, and when the plans for extension are completed they will be the largest in the world. The buildings so far erected in connexion with the steel-works, comprise two sheds 735 feet in length, with a width of eighty-five feet and 105 feet respectively, the sheds being covered in by arches.

In the evening the guests assembled in the carriage-shed attached to the railway-station, where a grand banquet was given by the Directors of the Furness Railway, the Duke of Devonshire presiding, and the Duke of Buccleuch filling the vice-chair.

A ball given by the Mayor wound up the day's festivities.

At nightfall the principal streets were illuminated by transparencies and various designs in gas jets, and a gigantic bonfire blazed from "Old Barrow," a slightly elevated ground close to the town.

24. CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.—An assembly of the Bishops of the Anglican Church, holding sees in the British Dominions and the United States, was convoked on the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and met this morning at Lambeth. The proceedings were formally opened at eleven o'clock, with the celebration of the service of the Holy Communion in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. A few minutes after ten, the gates of the palace were thrown open, and for the next hour the Bishops who intended to take part in the conference, seventy-six in number, continued to arrive in close succession, some in carriages, while the Bishop of Labuan and a few others walked to the place of meeting. The Epistle for the day, which was prefaced by some introductory observations from the Archbishop of Canterbury, was read by the Archbishop of Dublin; the Gospel, by the Archbishop of Armagh. When the service had terminated, the whole of the Bishops retired into the hall in which the Conference was to be held. Permission to attend their deliberations was refused to the representatives of the press; and the only persons allowed to be present were two shorthand writers, engaged to take notes of the proceedings. The Archbishop of York was not one of the number of Bishops composing the Conference. Some other English prelates were absent from its meetings.

An address was delivered at the opening of the Conference by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It commenced with a statement that it was at the request of the Bishops of Canada, strengthened by the representations of the Bishops of the United States, that the Conference was called. The result had more than justified expectation. It was never intended to assume the functions of a general Synod, and enact new Canons; but it was purposed merely to discuss matters of general interest, of which the Archbishop specified ten, beginning with the promotion of the reunion of Christendom. On this point the Archbishop spoke at some length, urging that the desire for reunion was "but the echo of the petition which the Saviour of the world offered in behalf of His Church when He prayed the Father that those who should believe

in Him might all be one in the Father and the Son." The Archbishop referred to the position of the Colonial Churches, which had been rendered uncertain by recent decisions, and had caused a good deal of anxiety in the minds of many. He added that legislation on this subject had been postponed until the view taken by the Conference had been declared. Various subjects were to be referred to Committees. The Archbishop asked that every one present at the Conference would exhibit toleration and charity, in the event of opinions being expressed opposed to his own; and said: "Though it be not our purpose to enter upon theological discussion, yet our very presence here is a witness to our resolution to maintain the faith, which we hold in common as our priceless heritage, set forth in our Liturgy and other formularies; and this our united celebration of offices common to our respective Churches in each quarter of the globe is a claim, in the face of the world, for the independence of separate Churches, as well as a protest against the assumption by any Bishop of the Church Catholic of dominion over his fellows in the Episcopate."

The proceedings of the Conference having been conducted, as already stated, with closed doors, the public had no knowledge of the deliberations of the Prelates, except from their results. These were embodied in two documents which were issued under the authority of the Conference. The first was an Address to the members of the Anglican Communion, which was signed by three Archbishops and seventy-three Bishops, and was in the following terms:—

"We, the undersigned Bishops, gathered under the good Providence of God for prayer and conference at Lambeth, pray for you, that ye may obtain grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

"We give thanks to God, brethren beloved, for the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love towards the Saints, which hath abounded among you; and for the knowledge of Christ which through you hath been spread abroad among the most vigorous races of the earth. And with one mouth we make our supplications to God, even the Father, that by the power of the Holy Ghost He would strengthen us with His might, to amend among us the things which are amiss, to supply the things which are lacking, and to reach forth unto higher measures of love and zeal in worshipping Him, and in making known His name: and we pray that in His good time He would give back unto His whole Church the blessed gift of unity in Truth.

"And now we exhort you in love that ye keep whole and undefiled the Faith once delivered to the Saints, as ye have received it of the Lord Jesus. We entreat you to watch and pray, and to strive heartily with us against the frauds and subtleties wherewith the Faith hath been aforetime and is now assailed.

"We beseech you to hold fast as the sure word of God all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that by

diligent study of these oracles of God, praying in the Holy Ghost, ye seek to know more of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, very God and very Man, ever to be adored and worshipped, whom they reveal unto us, and of the will of God which they declare.

“Furthermore, we entreat you to guard yourselves and yours against the growing superstitions and additions with which in these latter days the truth of God hath been overlaid; as otherwise, so especially by the pretension to universal sovereignty over God’s heritage asserted for the See of Rome; and by the practical exaltation of the blessed Virgin Mary as mediator in the place of her Divine Son, and by the addressing of prayers to her as intercessor between God and man. Of such beware, we beseech you, knowing that the jealous God giveth not His honour to another.

“Build yourselves up therefore, beloved, in your most holy faith; grow in grace and in the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ our Lord. Show forth before all men by your faith, self-denial, purity, and godly conversation, as well as by your labours for the people among whom God hath so widely spread you, and by the setting forth of His Gospel to the unbelievers and the heathen, that ye are indeed the servants of Him who died for us, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

“Brethren beloved, with one voice we warn you; the time is short; the Lord cometh: watch and be sober. Abide stedfast in the communion of saints wherein God hath granted you a place. Seek in faith for oneness with Christ in the blessed sacrament of His body and blood. Hold fast the Creeds, and the pure worship and order, which of God’s grace ye have inherited from the Primitive Church. Beware of causing divisions contrary to the doctrine ye have received. Pray and seek for unity among yourselves, and among all the faithful in Christ Jesus; and the good Lord make you perfect, and keep your bodies, souls, and spirits until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

The other documents consisted of a series of Resolutions which were adopted by the Conference on the various matters entertained by them. They were these:—

INTRODUCTION.—We, Bishops of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church, in visible communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, professing the faith delivered to us in Holy Scripture, maintained by the Primitive Church, and by the fathers of the English Reformation, now assembled, by the good Providence of God, at the Archbishopal Palace of Lambeth, under the presidency of the Primate of all England, desire: First, to give hearty thanks to Almighty God for having thus brought us together for common counsels and united worship. Secondly, we desire to express the deep sorrow with which we view the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world, ardently longing for the fulfilment of the prayer of our Lord, “That all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in

Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me ;" and, lastly, we do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the Faith in its purity and integrity—as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils—and by drawing each of us closer to our common Lord, by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the Lord's appearing."

Resolution I.—"That it appears to us expedient, for the purpose of maintaining brotherly intercommunion, that all cases of establishment of new Sees and appointment of new Bishops be notified to all Archbishops and Metropolitans, and all presiding Bishops of the Anglican Communion."

Resolution II.—"That, having regard to the conditions under which intercommunion between members of the Church passing from one distant diocese to another may be duly maintained, we hereby declare it desirable :

"(1) That forms of letters commendatory on behalf of clergymen visiting other dioceses be drawn up and agreed upon ;

"(2) That a form of letters commendatory for lay members of the Church be in like manner prepared ;

"(3) That his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury be pleased to undertake the preparation of such forms."

Resolution III.—"That a committee be appointed to draw up a pastoral address to all members of the Church of Christ in communion with the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic, to be agreed upon by the assembled Bishops, and to be published as soon as possible after the last sitting of the Conference."

Resolution IV.—"That, in the opinion of this Conference, unity in faith and discipline will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican Communion, by due and canonical subordination of the Synods of the several branches to the higher authority of a Synod or Synods above them."

Resolution V.—"That a committee of seven members (with power to add to their numbers, and to obtain the assistance of men learned in ecclesiastical and canon law) be appointed to inquire into and report upon the subject of the relations and functions of such Synods, and that such report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that, if possible, it may be communicated to any adjourned meeting of this Conference."

Resolution VI.—"That in the judgment of the Bishops now assembled, the whole Anglican Communion is deeply injured by the present condition of the Church in Natal ; and that a committee be now appointed at this general meeting to report on the best mode by which the Church may be delivered from the continuance of this scandal, and the true faith maintained. That such report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of

Canterbury, with the request that he will be pleased to transmit the same to all the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, and to ask for their judgment thereupon."

Resolution VII.—"That we who are here present do acquiesce in the Resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury, passed on June 29, 1866, relating to the diocese of Natal, to wit:

"If it be decided that a new Bishop should be consecrated—As to the proper steps to be taken by the members of the Church in the province of Natal for obtaining a new Bishop, it is the opinion of this house, first, that a formal instrument, declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of South Africa should be prepared, which every Bishop, Priest, and Deacon to be appointed to office should be required to subscribe; secondly, that a godly and well-learned man should be chosen by the Clergy, with the assent of the lay-communicants of the Church; and, thirdly, that he should be presented for consecration, either to the Archbishop of Canterbury—if the aforesaid instrument should declare the doctrine and discipline of Christ as received by the United Church of England and Ireland—or to the Bishops of the Church of South Africa, according as hereafter may be judged to be most advisable and convenient."

Resolution VIII.—"That, in order to the binding of the Churches of our Colonial Empire and the Missionary Churches beyond them in the closest union with the Mother Church, it is necessary that they receive and maintain without alteration the standards of faith and doctrine as now in use in that Church. That, nevertheless, each province should have the right to make such adaptations and additions to the services of the Church as its peculiar circumstances may require, provided that no change or addition be made inconsistent with the spirit and principles of the Book of Common Prayer, and that all such changes be liable to revision by any Synod of the Anglican Communion in which the said province shall be represented."

Resolution IX.—"That the committee appointed by Resolution V., with the addition of the names of the Bishops of London, St. David's, and Oxford, and all the Colonial Bishops, be instructed to consider the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal, to which questions of doctrine may be carried by appeal from the tribunals for the exercise of discipline in each province of the Colonial Church, and that their report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who is requested to communicate it to an adjourned meeting of this Conference."

Resolution X.—"That the Resolutions submitted to this Conference relative to the discipline to be exercised by Metropolitans, the Court of Metropolitans, the scheme for conducting the election of Bishops, when not otherwise provided for, the declaration of submission to the regulation of Synods, and the question of what legislation should be proposed for the Colonial Churches, be referred to the committee specified in the preceding Resolution."

Resolution XI.—"That a special committee be appointed to consider the Resolution relative to the notification of proposed Missionary Bishops, and the subordination of missionaries."

Resolution XII.—"That the question of the bounds of the jurisdiction of different Bishops, when any question may have arisen in regard to them, the question as to the obedience of chaplains of the United Church of England and Ireland on the Continent, and the Resolution submitted to the Conference relative to their return and admission into home dioceses, be referred to the committee specified in the preceding Resolution."

Resolution XIII.—"That we desire to render our hearty thanks to Almighty God for His blessings vouchsafed to us in and by this Conference; and we desire to express our hope, that this our meeting may hereafter be followed by other meetings, to be conducted in the same spirit of brotherly love."

After a resolution of hearty thanks to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for having convened the Conference, and for having presided at it, the Archbishop solemnly offered up the prayer for the Church militant. The "Gloria in Excelsis" was then sung by the assembled Bishops, his Grace the President pronounced the Benediction, and the Conference came to its close.

In connexion with the Conference, a series of public services took place at the Church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, one of the largest and handsomest of the City Churches. These services proved very attractive to members of the Church, there being among the preachers, during the several days they lasted, English, Irish, Scottish, American, Colonial, and Missionary Bishops. The scheme was of a most comprehensive character; and the offertory at each service was devoted to whatever object the Bishop who might preach thought fit, generally towards the furtherance of Church work abroad. The Bishop of London was announced for the first sermon; but he was prevented from being present, and the pulpit was occupied in his place by the Bishop of Louisiana.

28. MURDEROUS OUTRAGE IN HOLBORN.—Between two and three o'clock a.m., three of the performers in the band at Weston's Music-hall left that establishment on their way home. They belonged to the Guards, and were not in uniform. As they were going along Vernon-place, Bloomsbury-square, Holborn, they were met by a party of Irishmen, who, it appears, had been at a public-house, kept by a widow named Byrne, in Southampton-row, Holborn, suspected by the police to be the haunt of members of the Fenian Brotherhood. These Irishmen, probably imagining that the bandsmen were three detective policemen in plain clothes, attacked them, and in the struggle that ensued, fire-arms being used, one of the bandsmen was wounded. The others were unhurt, but unfortunately the murderous ruffians escaped. The bandsman was conveyed to the University College Hospital. His name was Edwin M'Donald, a bandsman in the 2nd Life Guards, a fine young man, twenty-three years of age. The wound was caused

by a bullet entering the chest, passing thence through the lungs, and then taking a lateral course through the back. It appeared that the assailants in Vernon-place were imitating the sounds of the instruments upon which the bandsmen performed. Some observations were made by the latter, when one man struck one of them, and the other drew his pistol and deliberately shot M'Donald. In the confusion occasioned by the sad fate of their friend the other two suffered the ruffians to escape. The next day, in consequence of the wounded man's state being very precarious, it was deemed advisable by the Magistrate, Mr. Flowers, that his deposition should be taken, which was accordingly done at the University College Hospital, Gower-street. The patient appeared very faint, and spoke so low that his voice could with difficulty be heard. The oath was administered to him by Mr. Flowers. He said, "I entered a public-house in Southampton-row about one o'clock this morning, and asked for something to drink, which was refused to be served. I then left, and saw some persons having words outside. Neither I nor those with me said any thing to those persons. My friends and I walked up Southampton-row to Vernon-place, and passed the two men who were outside the public-house at the time of the noise. While passing by they made a noise at me and my friends, and they crossed the road to the right. They came back again, and one of them knocked a man named Furber's hat off. Furber was with me, and the man who knocked off his hat fired at me. I am quite certain that I saw the two men outside the public-house." (Here followed a description of the two men).

In reply to Mr. Flowers, the witness added that he lived at 12, William-street, Regent's-park, and was a musician in the 2nd Life Guards. He could not sign his deposition, and requested his mark to be put to it.

Mr. Flowers having read the deposition over, held it before him so that he could see it distinctly, and made a cross in the usual place of the signature, M'Donald watching the operation, and nodding with an air of satisfaction when it was done, but not speaking.

After lingering for some days the unfortunate man died from the effect of his wound.

OCTOBER.

1. CHURCH CONGRESS AT WOLVERHAMPTON.—The proceedings of the Church Congress of the present year were opened at Wolverhampton, under the presidency of the Bishop of Lichfield. The place of meeting was the Agricultural Hall, which is capable of accommodating nearly 2000 persons seated. The Bishops, Deacons, and Clergy met at eleven o'clock in St. Peter's School-room, and proceeded thence in their robes to the Town Hall, where they were joined by the Mayor, Sir J. Morries, and municipal authorities. These united bodies then went in procession to the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, where a full choral service was performed. The lessons were read by the Bishops of Lichfield and London. The remainder of the service was intoned by the Rev. T. B. Mundy. The Dean of Norwich preached the sermon, taking for his text Romans iii. 28. Referring to the Ritualists, he regretted the differences which unhappily existed. But differences had existed amongst the Apostles themselves, and a conciliatory policy ought to be pursued. The great progress made in religious matters during the last half-century was in great part attributable to the exertions of the Ritualistic portion of the Church. At the afternoon meeting of the Congress, the Right Rev. President delivered an address, after which papers were read on "The State and Progress of the Church in Staffordshire," by Archdeacon Moore and Mr. R. Kettle, Judge of the Worcestershire District of County Courts. Mr. Kettle submitted that the time had come when the Church should be relieved from collecting alms for educational purposes, and that the area of the geographical divisions of parishes should be extended. Addresses were delivered on the subject by the Earl of Harrowby and the Rev. J. H. Isles, which were followed by a discussion, in which Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, the Rev. Dr. Fraser, and Mr. Winter, Q.C., took part.

The proceedings on the 2nd were not inferior in interest to those on the opening day. The questions before the assembly were Church Patronage, and the position of Stipendiary, or Assistant Curates. The Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Beresford Hope, and the Rev. J. J. Halcombe, of the Charterhouse, were among the speakers. A side meeting of High Churchmen was held at the School of Art, where the Ecclesiastical Vestment Exhibition was opened. Archdeacon Denison took the chair, and among the speakers were Bishop Twells, of Orange River Free State; the Hon. and Very Rev. Dr. Duncombe, Dean of York; Mr. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's; and several other gentlemen. It was resolved to call an aggregate meeting of High Churchmen in London,

to memorialize the Ritual Commission on the subject of ceremonial observances. In the evening there was a large meeting, at which Earl Nelson and the Rev. Charles Marson read papers on Church Missions. Amongst the other speakers were the Bishops of Cape-town, New Zealand, and Iowa.

On the 3rd the proceedings were resumed. The Bishop of Lincoln presided, and there were on the platform the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, Earl Nelson, Lord Hatherton, the Bishops of Oxford and New Zealand, Archdeacon Denison, &c. As on the preceding days, the hall was crowded. Several papers were read on "The Bible and Science." Archdeacon Denison delivered a pungent address. The afternoon sitting was devoted to the question of "The Appropriation of Seats in Churches," upon which Mr. E. Harford, of Manchester, read a paper; the Rev. Dr. Wilkinson and others spoke; and it concluded with "The Offertory," upon which the Rev. G. Fraser, Rural Dean of Wolverhampton, read a paper. Mr. J. G. Talbot and others addressed the meeting.

The Congress was considered to have been a successful one; and, considering the presence of a considerable variety of controversial element, its proceedings were very harmonious. The influence of the mild and tolerant prelate who presided, and who now appeared almost for the last time in public before his lamented decease, probably contributed much to this result.

5. THE OAKS COLLIERY ACCIDENT—DISCOVERY OF THE MISSING BODIES.—The search for the bodies of the persons who lost their lives in the second explosion of December the 13th, 1866, produced the discovery of the remains of four of the victims, one of whom was Mr. Parkin Jeffcock, the Mining Engineer. The workmen employed in the ruins discovered the pockets of the above lamented gentleman in the box-hole, which led to the belief that his body might be there also; though this was contrary to expectation, as he was known to be at some distance in the workings shortly before the blast went off. Be this as it may, after great exertions the men who conducted the search were rewarded by finding the remains of the unfortunate gentleman, and his body was brought to land and conveyed to the dead-house. It was easily recognized by his flowing beard and his clothes. It appeared that he had felt the full force of the blast, as both his feet were blown off, but these have been also recovered; in all other respects the body was perfect. His remains were interred at Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, of which place he was a native. During the early part of the same day, the body of Mr. John Smith, late manager of the Lund-hill Colliery, and also a volunteer, was recovered. A few minutes before the blast went off, the above two gentlemen had been seen some distance in the working, when the other volunteers were running for their lives to get out of the mine, having felt the terrible "suck" which is the precursor of an explosion. It should, however, be remembered, that after the last draw of the volunteers and the second explosion a period elapsed of seven minutes, and

it is just possible that these gentlemen received the awful warning in time to get into the box-hole, but not to escape death. The other bodies found in the box-hole were those of Christopher Siddons and Alfred Haylars, both deputies. In addition to the bodies, two human legs were found.

16. EXECUTIONS IN LONDON. — This morning John Wiggins, who had been convicted at the last Sessions of the Central Criminal Court, of the murder of Agnes Oakes, was hanged in front of the prison of Newgate. Two hours later Louis Bordier, a Frenchman, convicted at the same Sessions of the murder of Mary Ann Snow, expiated the crime with his life at Horsemonger-lane Gaol. Happily in these days it is rare for two executions to take place in the Metropolis on the same day, and the circumstance gave rise to much excitement.

Wiggins was thirty-four years of age, and a lighterman by trade. The unfortunate young woman, for whose death he suffered, had cohabited with him for some time. On the 24th of July, a neighbour coming into the house in which the prisoner lived at Limehouse, saw the unfortunate woman lying dead on the hearth-rug, with her head on a pillow under a chair and her throat cut. The prisoner was also sitting on a chair with a knife near him, and his own throat bleeding from a cut. He said, "She has been and cut my throat and her own too." On the trial before Mr. Justice Lush, the jury, after three hours' deliberation, found the prisoner guilty of murder, but recommended him to mercy, on the ground that they thought the act was not premeditated. The case for the prosecution was, that he had committed the fatal act at a very early hour in the morning, when some persons outside the house had heard cries of "Murder," apparently uttered by a female voice; that the wound on the prisoner's neck and throat was self-inflicted; and that the assertion by him, three hours afterwards, that the deceased had first tried to take his life, and failing in that had taken her own, was an after-thought to screen himself. On sentence being passed, the convict said, as he left the dock, he should die an innocent man. Between that and his execution he lost no opportunity of protesting his innocence, and he died asserting it. Just before he ascended the scaffold, he solemnly declared that he was entirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and for which he was about to suffer the penalty of the law. He declared on his dying oath that he never did it, and that he could go before his Maker with a clear conscience. It was she, he added, who cut his throat and then cut her own, and he declared with his dying breath, that he never lifted hand or finger to her. A very painful scene occurred at the last. While the noose was being put round the convict's neck, though his arms were firmly pinioned at the elbows, he managed to clutch with both hands the rope attached to the beam, and for the moment to resist the efforts of the executioner to release his hold and to place him on the drop. Four or five warders, from behind, sprang to the scaffold, one after

another, to the assistance of the executioner, and it was only by main force that the rope was adjusted and the convict was held under the beam. While he was being so restrained, he swayed himself about, and shouted with all his might, "Cut my head off, but don't hang me; I am innocent." He resisted to the last; the drop at length fell, and the convict soon ceased to live.

The convict Louis Bordier, who was executed at Horsemonger-lane, was thirty-two years of age, and by trade a currier. He had cohabited for about thirteen years with Mary Ann Snow, who was about the same age as himself, and had three children by him, of the ages of twelve and nine years, and of eighteen months. At the time of the murder they lodged in the house of a relative at Camberwell. They quarrelled occasionally, chiefly about a man named Wood, an engine-driver, and she intimated her intention to leave him. Bordier and the deceased slept in a front room on the ground floor, and the three children in a room behind. On the morning of the 3rd of September, shortly before six o'clock, the deceased rushed upstairs in her night-dress to her aunt's room with her throat cut, saying, "Look what Bordier has done." She never spoke again, and died in a few minutes afterwards. Bordier, who had followed her there, did not attempt to conceal that he had inflicted the wound, adding that he could not bear to part from her. From a letter which was found in his room, and addressed to his brother, it was clear that he had for some time meditated the murder, and that it had been his intention to take the lives of all the three children as well, and then to make away with his own. On his trial at the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Justice Montague Smith, the defence of insanity was set up in his behalf, but it signally failed. For some time after his conviction he appears to have cherished the hope that he might still be reprieved on that ground, but in vain. He had an interview with his three children, which, with the final parting, was painful in the last degree. After that he calmly resigned himself to his fate, and died deeply penitent. The greater part of the night preceding his execution he spent in writing letters to his relatives. He was a Roman Catholic by religion, and was attended in his last moments by the Rev. Mr. Faure, a priest of that communion. The execution took place on a scaffold erected over the entrance of the prison, and in the presence of an immense crowd.

29. DESTRUCTIVE HURRICANE IN THE WEST INDIES. — St. Thomas and the surrounding islands were visited by a severe hurricane. At St. Thomas, great damage was done among the shipping, about eighty vessels being sunk or blown ashore. In the town, houses were unroofed, and in many cases thrown down, by the gale and by three shocks of earthquake, which occurred at the same time. Business was completely at a standstill for several days. Tortola was also visited by the hurricane, and several houses were blown down. The captain of the "Solent," which vessel lay about two miles from the town, stated his belief that

about 100 lives were lost on that island, chiefly by the fall of houses. The vessels belonging to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company underwent great loss and damage. Their steamship "Wye" was totally wrecked on Buck Island while attempting to put to sea. Out of seventy men only thirteen of her crew were saved. Among them were five whites, including the captain, the chief officer, and the boiler-maker; all the rest were drowned. The captain was on board the "Tyne" at the time. The "Rhone" was wrecked off Salt Island, about twenty-five miles from St. Thomas, while endeavouring also to get out to sea. She was driven on to a reef, and broke up. The captain and all the officers were lost, and only one passenger and twenty-three of the crew were saved. The "Conway" was blown ashore at Tortola, where she lost her funnels and masts, but was otherwise uninjured. The "Derwent" was blown ashore from her moorings in St. Thomas's harbour, and much damaged. The "Tyne" and "Solent" rode out the gale at Paper Island at anchor, with their engines working ahead. The "Tyne" lost her foremast, and the "Solent" all three masts. None of the crews of the "Conway," "Derwent," "Tyne," and "Solent" perished. During the hurricane the "Vasco Nunez de Bilbao," a Spanish war-vessel, was dismasted in St. Thomas's harbour, and otherwise damaged; but was able to steam about the harbour, saving as many lives of the other damaged vessels as possible.

Captain Vesey, senior officer of the Barbadoes Division, reported as follows to the Admiralty:—

"With reference to the hurricane, I can only say now, that it occurred after the season was supposed to be over, as the first full moon in October was on the 13th. It was the fourth hurricane, or indication of one, which we have had during this peculiar season. After the storm experienced by the "Doris," at St. Kitts, on the 28th and 29th of July, reported to their Lordships through the hydrographer, I informed the Commander-in-Chief that I considered we could not be sufficiently careful, as the hurricanes appeared to be increasing in intensity. The season has been wet and very sickly. Seven inches of rain fell during the night of the 7th of October, at Barbadoes; and on another night five inches fell. On the 29th ult. the "Douro," outward bound, experienced a heavy swell and a southerly set. We, also at sea, off Guadaloupe, had a heavy northerly swell, but nothing more. Where the hurricane passed, the barometer gave no warning, though the weather did, and all thought it was to be a norther. The barometer fell and rose during the breeze, and the vortex passed directly over these places. It seemed to be travelling slowly to the westward; the thunder was terrific; shocks of earthquakes were felt, and the electricity was so intense that compasses were useless; darkness set in, and vegetation was destroyed. The sea-water was caught up; the particles here called 'hail' have injured people, but this perhaps may be thought improbable. It will be observed, that

vessels' masts were literally blown out of them, and that a fourteen-knot steamer was blown astern and wrecked when steaming full speed ahead. I need not cite further instances of the power of the gale; all the vessels that tried to go to sea were lost, with nearly all hands; and an American ship, blown out of this harbour, has foundered. The whole of this ruin and devastation occurred in the brief space of two hours.

"I earnestly submit for their Lordship's consideration, whether the system lately adopted of keeping Her Majesty's ships at sea during the hurricane season is a good one; and can only say, that my own opinion, after fourteen years' experience in the West Indies, is, that no man-of-war could have weathered such a blow if caught at sea; and that these islands, for the next two years, will be liable to similar visitations. As far as I can learn, this hurricane has caught Anguilla, Virgin Islands, Tortola, St. Thomas, Calebra, and the north-west end of Porto Rico. It was going direct for Turk's Island and the Bahamas.

"I transmit herewith a list of ships lost or damaged, as near as can be ascertained at present. The lighthouse at the battery has been blown down.

"I have just heard a rumour that Boigne, or Crab Island, has been struck, and that part of the hurricane passed south of Porto Rico. I believe that fever is still very bad here. I wish to call attention to the enclosed list of vessels lost, &c., which is as correct as possible. I have, &c.,

"C. VESEY, Captain and Senior Officer,
"Barbadoes Division, North America and West Indies."

Enclosure No. 5, in Captain Vesey's Letter.

"Particulars respecting the Hurricane of October the 29th.—Royal Mail Company's steamship 'Rhone,' at nine a.m., barometer 30, wind from S.S.E.; Royal Mail steamer 'Conway,' at 9.30 a.m., barometer 29.30. 'Conway' left the 'Rhone' at 11.10 a.m., barometer 29.88; at 12.15 a.m., barometer 28.60. Calm came on at 12.30 a.m., barometer 28.10; at 12.50 a.m., wind from south, barometer rising; at five p.m., barometer 29.45. Wind before calm came on, N. by W.; after calm, S. by E. Terrific thunder and torrents of rain. Observations of barometer on shore at Tortola: fell from 29.75 to 29.

(Signed) "C. VESEY, Captain and Senior Officer.

"British Steamships.—'Rhone,' a total loss off Peter Island, nearly all hands drowned; 'Wye,' a total loss off Buck Island, nearly all hands drowned; 'Conway,' ashore, but got off; 'Derwent,' ashore, much damaged; 'Tyne,' partially dismantled; 'Solent,' partially dismantled; 'Columbian,' sunk in the harbour; 'Robert Todd,' ashore, damaged, but may be got off; tug-boat 'Itchen,' sunk in harbour. Ship 'British Empire,' sunk in the harbour, a wreck. Barques:—'Agnes Lamb,' dis-

masted and much damaged; 'Howard,' dismasted, much damaged. Brigs:—'Her Majesty,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'Onesiphorus,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'R. Scoles,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'Wild Pigeon,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'Princess Alice,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'Ida Abbott,' ashore, complete wreck, saving cargo; 'Hope,' ashore, complete wreck, part of cargo saved. Schooners:—'Proctor,' sunk in the harbour; 'Ocean Gem,' sunk in the harbour; 'Waterwitch,' ashore, complete wreck; 'Elizabeth,' sunk in the harbour; 'Norman,' sunk in the harbour. Sloop:—'Nimble,' sunk in the harbour. There were also lost, Danish, American, French, Prussian, Dutch, Spanish, Venezuelan, Norwegian, German, and Bremen vessels."

The following particulars were furnished by survivors:—

Mr. Whitmarsh, purser of the "Rhone," narrates: "The ship tried to proceed to sea under full steam. In going out a terrific blast of wind struck her and carried her on to Salt Island, her stern first taking the rocks. Shortly after, an explosion occurred in her engine-room, which, it is supposed, blew out her bottom. She directly parted amidships, doubled up, and went down in deep water, so suddenly that all below went down with her. The last seen of Mr. Morrish, the purser, was at the wheel with Captain Wooley, endeavouring to bring the ship up to wind. There were about twenty-two passengers on board the 'Rhone;' two only of this number were saved. . . . Within forty-eight hours, 300 bodies were washed ashore, recovered, and buried. They presented a fearful spectacle, from the fact that they had been partially devoured by sharks and other fish. The smell in the harbour was most offensive."

Mr. Holdeman, a warrant-officer belonging to the "Rhone," stated: "We had been steaming about two hours, when I reported to the captain that there was land very close, indeed nearly abreast of us, midships on the port hand. With that the ship went ashore immediately. The captain said to me, 'Good Lord, is it ever possible?' and I replied, 'Yes, sir, the ship's ashore.' The captain never spoke to me again, and shortly afterwards a sea struck him in the side, and washed him over to the top of a sky-light. The next sea took him between the ship's side and the rocks, and I saw no more of him. A sea struck me, and finding I was getting exhausted and could hold on no longer, I loosed my hold. The chief officer, Mr. Darby Topper, was killed by a spar, about an hour before this, and I saw no more of any one, for I was washed overboard myself. I and five other men were saved by clinging to a hammock-bin, which contained seamen's hammocks, and floated. About eleven o'clock at night, as near as I can suppose from the darkness, I was washed ashore; all my clothes were washed clean off me, and I had nothing but a pair of drawers and a shirt on when I landed on Beef Island."

The following despatch was received at the Colonial Office from Sir A. Rumbold, President of the Island of Tortola:—

“Virgin Islands, Tortola, Oct. 31st, 1867.

“MY LORD DUKE,—It is my most painful duty to acquaint your Grace that a terrific hurricane burst over these islands yesterday. The storm lasted from eleven a.m. to three p.m., but the greatest force was from twelve to two. In that brief space of time two-thirds of the miserable tenements of the town were blown down, and the gaol destroyed. The church, the hospital, pier, school-house, Wesleyan chapel, and poor-house are also destroyed, and my own dwelling unroofed and rendered uninhabitable. The loss of life cannot as yet be correctly ascertained. I have, however, already been officially informed of above twelve deaths in the town; two at Peter’s Island, two at West End; while I hear that a quantity of people are killed in other parts of the country, and scarcely a hut or habitation is left standing. All was bright and verdant; the withering blast has passed over it, and not a fruit or other tree remains. The works of the few remaining estates are all totally destroyed. It is impossible for any pen to convey an accurate account of the appalling misery. There is not 50% in the public chest, and the chief tax, the house-tax of the year, is just falling due, and of course cannot be collected. If ever any calamity appealed to public sympathy, I am confident this will awaken it, and I trust your Grace will be able to point out some hope of relief, as we cannot levy any taxes from this impoverished community. I shall send down to St. Thomas as soon as I can get a boat to go; but all the sloops and canoes belonging to the place are either destroyed or very much damaged, and I do not know how soon I may be able to do so; and I trust, from charity and other sources, we may be able to obtain some flour and corn meal; meanwhile, starvation, or very like it, appears to be impending, for nearly all the small store of flour in the town was damaged by the tremendous sea which swept in and carried away houses and individuals.

“I forgot to add, that the doctor’s house is destroyed, the clergyman’s very much damaged, and I and my family are compelled to take refuge in the public offices, where the paupers and police are also sheltered. I have, &c.,

(Signed) “ARTHUR RUMBOLD.

“P.S.—The deaths in Road Town amount to twenty-two; one-twentieth of the population.

“His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, &c.”

NOVEMBER.

4. RIOTS IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND.—Serious riots took place in Exeter and other towns in Devonshire in connexion with the dearness of provisions. The riots began with the breaking of the windows of some bakers' shops, and threatening assemblages before the shops of some butchers. Between ten and twelve o'clock the rioters became very daring; and nearly every baker, and several butchers, were visited, and their shops broken into. The shop fronts were destroyed, and the houses were gutted. Much damage was done, and in some cases the tills were robbed. The rioters were principally lads. The Militia were called out, and a telegram was sent to Plymouth for assistance, whereupon 200 soldiers of the 20th Regiment were forwarded by special train by the military authorities of that town. The corn-dealers' premises at Exminster were burned down the same night. The city authorities were at first paralyzed; but several arrests were effected, and attempts were made to clear the streets. The Mayor addressed the mob in High-street, advising them to go home, and telling them that riots could do no good. Special constables were then sworn in. On the 5th, arrangements were made to endeavour to stop the usual firework display made in the cathedral-yard by a number of the roughs, which is very distasteful to the inhabitants, but the efforts proved fruitless. At seven o'clock in the evening the excitement began to increase, and at nine the rioting recommenced. Several prisoners were made, and conveyed to the Guildhall amidst groanings and yellings, but no attempt was made at rescue. The Mayor headed the Yeomanry Cavalry with drawn swords, and marched to the cathedral-yard, followed by the roughs, who hissed and yelled, but made no attempt to stop the fireworks. A disturbance occurred at the Exe Bridge, and the rioters were charged by the military. More arrests were made, and at one o'clock a.m. the streets appeared quiet. At Crediton, a number of roughs made a sudden attack about ten p.m. on the shop of Mr. Cleave, a baker, and battered in the shutters. They then proceeded to the other bakers' shops in the East Town, and acted in a similar manner; and as most of the police had been draughted off to Exeter, they pursued their work of devastation unchecked. They were met at the West Town by the portreeve and his officers, at the sight of whom they beat a hasty retreat. At midnight a number of roughs in masks were letting off fireworks in the street, and the mob was afterwards harangued by a notorious demagogue. At Newton, the same night, the roughs amused themselves by burning tar-barrels and letting off fireworks, and at midnight they

assembled outside the shop of Mr. Eisdon. Two men with iron bars wrested the shutters down. They then went into the shop, and threw the loaves of bread to the mob outside. Special constables were at once sworn in, and the mob at length dispersed. The streets were not quiet till past two in the morning. At Torquay the magistrates took the precaution to swear in a number of special constables, and the shops were closed early; but, after dusk knots of labourers and other working men assembled at the street corners, evidently bent on mischief. About ten o'clock attacks were made on some of the bakers' shops in the town, and the menaces of the crowd assumed a serious aspect. The shop of Mr. Skinner was selected for the first demonstration, and it was utterly sacked, the contents being thrown into the street. The Riot Act was then read, and the special constables proceeded vigorously to work to suppress the disturbance. Up to midnight no outrages of a more serious character were committed. At Teignmouth the disturbances were resumed on the 5th. The next day in Exeter all was quiet.

9. FRIGHTFUL EXPLOSION AT THE FERNDAL COLLIERY.—The Ferndale Colliery, the scene of the accident about to be described, is situated near Rhondda Fach, in the Rhondda Valley, seven miles from Pont-y-pridd, and twenty-one miles from Cardiff, and is worked by Messrs. David Davies and Sons, extensive colliery proprietors in the Aberdare Valley.

For some days previously the weather had been foggy. So dense was the mist, that nothing could be distinguished half a dozen yards off; and in the neighbourhood of the colliery, which is situated at the bottom of a valley, between two ranges of lofty hills, the fog was particularly thick. No doubt this state of the air interfered with the ventilation of the pit, and caused an accumulation of fire-damp. The explosion occurred at half-past one o'clock; and such was its terrific force, that the concussion shook the whole mine. The report was heard throughout the valley. Flames almost burst up the shaft of the pit, with a cloud of ashes and stones. It was evident at once to those above, that a frightful accident had occurred; and steps were instantly taken to descend the pit, as soon as the state of the air rendered it safe. Messengers were sent down the valley to the neighbouring pits, and over the mountains to Aberdare and Merthyr; and from all parts of the district workmen rushed to the scene of the disaster. The manager of the colliery, Mr. J. Williams, was down in the workings at the time of the explosion; and efforts were first made to find him, if alive, so that his assistance might be had in directing operations for the rescue of the men. He was among the first found, but unhappily quite dead, having been suffocated with the choke-damp. Exploring parties were rapidly formed, and sent into all the workings; but the air was very foul, and they had to proceed cautiously, for fear of another explosion, the pit having been so shaken, that large quantities of gas had escaped. They

were also met by heavy falls in the airways; and in many instances the men had to be dug out with pick and shovel. The process was excessively slow; and it was found that almost all had been suffocated by the carbonic acid gas before the men could descend the shaft to their assistance. By seven o'clock in the evening only three persons had been rescued, and about twenty bodies recovered. Of the three hitchers employed at the bottom, two had been blown violently into the sump, and killed by bruises, the third miraculously escaped with slight injury. Relays of workmen were continually sent down; but the obstacles were more formidable than they anticipated, and the delay which took place—sometimes several hours elapsing before any body could be got at—was productive of the most intense and painful anxiety in the people who crowded round the pit, waiting the arrival to the bank of their hapless relatives. The work of recovery went on without intermission during the whole night, many of the volunteers remaining at work until they could scarcely stand with fatigue. The bodies were generally recovered in batches of twelve or fifteen at a time, as the falls were removed, and then there was the prolonged interval of heartrending suspense. By four o'clock next morning four or five persons had been received above, almost all frightfully injured. Fifty-three dead bodies were recovered. Seven valuable horses were also found dead in the drift, and brought out. At this point the work of recovery was brought to a stand; for the force of the explosion was such that the walls and roofs of the pit had been loosened, and enormous quantities of rubbish kept falling in all parts of the mine, choking up the airways, and absolutely cutting off all the communications. Tramload after tramload of rubbish and masses of rock, that had to be broken up with quarrying tools, had to be removed, and this added to the delay. Thus the whole of this day was spent in clearing a fall in the Duffryn level, behind which it was believed there were some twenty-five workmen. Mr. Curnew, the manager of the Plymouth Collieries, Merthyr, and formerly manager of this very pit, went down about eleven o'clock, with Mr. H. Lewis, of Merthyr, and remained with a working-party in the foul air until six o'clock. He then thought that in the course of twelve hours the obstructions would be removed sufficiently to get at the bodies. The crowd at the bank—two or three thousand in number—who had pressed up close to the pit's mouth, were then sent back by the police, and barricades put up, so as to have an open space about the shaft. A stream of water was also sent down the shaft; and about an hour after this had been done, the report was received that the air was greatly improved. Mr. Wales, Her Majesty's Inspector of Mines for South Wales, arrived about three o'clock p.m., and went down the pit immediately. Mr. Davis, the principal proprietor, was present soon after the explosion, and went down the pit. He was also down nearly the whole of that day; and the pit was visited by many viewers of the collieries in the

adjoining valleys. The levels appeared to have been injured to an extent beyond any other pit in this district which had been subjected to a similar calamity ; so that, in addition to the awful sacrifice of human life, the proprietors incurred a heavy loss in property.

The coroner for the county of Glamorgan, Mr. G. Overton, empanelled a jury, and inspected the bodies of the dead. A visit to the desolate homes where they lay disclosed cases of the most distressing character, whole families having been swept off. In one house a father and three sons lay stretched in death, as though they were calmly sleeping, and the fourth son lay dead a few doors off, leaving a young widow in an agony of grief. In another family of six that went out well and hearty in the morning, only one had been brought back alive ; and he will be a cripple for life, should he survive his injuries. In some houses the poverty of the occupants was so great, that they were destitute of the means of laying out the bodies ; and consequently the corpses, in all their ghastly disfigurement, lay on the stone floor covered with sacks. Orders were given by Mr. Davis for an unlimited supply of every thing requisite for the injured from the shops in the place. An old and experienced manager who was in the pit for many hours said, that although it had been his lot to witness the effects of many explosions, he had never during the whole of his career beheld such a sight as that which he witnessed below. He was also of opinion, that unless very great care was taken, other explosions would follow. Many of the bodies brought to the surface were frightfully burnt, the clothing completely destroyed, and in some cases portions of the body literally burnt away, the charred remains presenting a sickening spectacle. At the time of the explosion thirty-five horses were working in the pit, and every one of them was killed. Some of them had portions of their harness still on, but every vestige of hair was burnt off. It is difficult to conjecture what was the cause of the accident ; but it was feared that long immunity from accidents in the Rhondda Valley had made the colliers reckless of their safety. Some of the lamps were found open, though this may have been caused by the force of the explosion. In the colliery was a new stable, in which it was said that four carpenters were working with naked lights. This was believed to have been the cause of the accident, as a large quantity of gas was said to be constantly in the pit. At the time of the accident there were 328 men and boys in the pit. Of those in the south districts all escaped alive, the fire having spent its violence before it reached that part of the pit ; some twenty of them were slightly injured, but they all came up alive. Of the others, in the east and west, not more than five were brought up alive ; and of those, three afterwards died.

The total number of persons who were ultimately ascertained to have lost their lives by the explosion was 178. At the inquest a great deal of evidence was taken. The inquiry lasted eleven days,

and no less than forty witnesses were examined. The jury returned the following verdict :—" We have come to the conclusion that deceased met their deaths, on the 8th of November last, by an explosion of gas in the Ferndale Colliery. We believe this explosion took place—first, in consequence of a great accumulation of gas in certain workings of the colliery, and this accumulation we attribute to the neglect of Mr. Williams, the manager, and his subordinate officers; and secondly, this gas being fired by one or more of the colliers carelessly taking off the tops of their lamps, and working with naked lights. We must regret that the proprietor of the colliery did not permit the deputation from the Miners' National Association to go into the pit, especially as the coroner gave them a letter of recommendation, with a view of their being allowed to go down. We are of opinion that the inspection of collieries, as hitherto practised, has entirely failed as a preventive to accidents of this kind; and we recommend that all collieries should be henceforth inspected by a competent person at least once in every three months. We further recommend that all collieries should be provided with scientific instruments for measuring the quantity and quality of the air passing through the colliery, and that a daily record of the same be kept; also that a register of the daily reports of the firemen be kept in the office of each colliery, and that a register of the names of all persons who descend into the pit be kept."

The coroner said he quite approved of the verdict, and this terminated the proceedings.

23. EXECUTION AT MANCHESTER FOR THE MURDER OF BRETT, THE POLICE CONSTABLE.—The capital sentence against Allen, Gould, and Larkin, three of the five men convicted of the murder of police-sergeant Brett, on the occasion of the rescue of the Fenian prisoners Kelly and Deasy, took place at Manchester. The daring nature of the crime of which these men were convicted, and the connexion of the convicts with the Fenian Brotherhood, invested their fate with unusual interest, which, added to the fact that three men were to be hanged together, served to create an excitement that for some time occupied the mind of the inhabitants, to the exclusion almost of all other matters. The scene of the execution, on the walls of the New Bailey Gaol, being in a locality similar to what St Giles's of London used to be, and in a narrow street, the civil authorities were called upon to make more complete arrangements for the safety of the multitude and the preservation of order; and to the credit of the corporation and Captain Sylvester, the Chief Constable of Salford, their precautions were in every respect complete. The whole street area from which a view of the proceedings could be obtained was protected by strong barricades. On the Manchester side of the river there were six or eight of these formidable obstructions, with a view to prevent the spectators crushing unduly against each

other. Barricades were also erected in various other situations where pressure of the crowd was apprehended. A portion of the prison wall was pulled down a few feet from the top, and a platform so constructed that that part of it which constituted the drop overhung the street. Following out a custom that has prevailed on these occasions for two or three years, black drapery was so arranged round the platform of the gallows, that little of the convicts could be seen after the withdrawal of the bolt. The day before the execution it was found necessary to stop the pedestrian traffic in New Bailey-street entirely; and the civil authorities, who were especially instructed from the Home Office, took possession of the thoroughfare. About 500 policemen from Manchester, Salford, and the County force were placed upon duty, the whole under the direction of Captain Sylvester. The Manchester force, which was more immediately under the control of Captain Palin, occupied the city side of the river, Stanley-street, Albert Bridge, and a short distance along New Bailey-street. The area between the two bodies of spectators was occupied by a number of policemen and a large body of special constables; and at the north end of New Bailey-street there was another strong body of police. In order to assist the civil power in case they were needed, it was deemed advisable to have about 500 soldiers in and about the prison. The latter were under the command of Colonel Warre, C.B., of the 57th Foot. A strong detachment of that regiment had been on duty at the prison since the prisoners were committed there by the magistrates, and that force was considerably increased. There was also a large number of the 72nd Highlanders. A squadron of the 8th Hussars was stationed in a street at the rear of the prison; and at the front, in Stanley-street, there was a battery of artillery; another battery was in reserve within the prison. In the course of the night, a strong body of infantry occupied the railway viaduct overlooking the north side of the prison, the only point from which the building or the scaffold could be attacked. The reserve of that force was stationed in the Salford railway station, the traffic to which was entirely stopped.

The Mayors of Manchester and Salford issued notices, cautioning all well-disposed inhabitants to keep away from the scene of the execution. All the public buildings in Salford were placed under protection; and to avoid any attempt to carry out the threats that had been made to fire both Manchester and Salford, men were stationed to watch the sources of the water and gas supply. Similar precautions were adopted by the Mayor and Chief Constable of Manchester. The whole of the fire-brigade were on duty at all the fire-stations; and adopting similar steps to those taken during the Chartist disturbances here, many of the warehouses were lighted up, and guarded by men armed with revolvers. In short, between midnight and six o'clock this morning, a walk through the streets produced the impression that the city was in a state of siege. In

addition to a reserve of military at the barracks, 100 men of the 72nd Highlanders, under the command of Captain Stockwell, spent the night in the Albert-street A Division police-station. Precautions were also taken to defend the militia and volunteer stores, and gunsmiths were advised to remove their stocks to places of safety.

The spectators began to assemble as early as five o'clock p.m. on the 22nd, and by ten o'clock Albert Bridge was crowded. From that hour, however, till midnight there was a gradual diminution, and by one o'clock a.m. all had left the scene, excepting those who intended staying throughout the night. Within the barriers to which the public were not admitted there were more than 2000 special and ordinary constables. The specials formed a motley group, of all ages, all sizes, and all kinds of dresses, yet all exhibiting a firm desire to assist the authorities. They were recognized by the ordinary white sleeve-badge and short truncheon, and many of them evidently performed their duty with no little gusto. The few thousands who constituted the mob increased very slowly throughout the early hours of the morning, and till after six o'clock there was no difficulty in securing what they would term a good position. At three o'clock not more than 3000 had settled into their places, to wait through the remainder of the cold and dreary night. The composition of this crowd was certainly no credit to the places whence the people came. Deansgate and its by-streets contributed largely to the mob. Some of the spectators were evidently pitmen, others were mill-hands, and there were a few factory-girls and women.

At six o'clock the crowd began to increase rapidly; one continuous stream of men, principally, but also including women, boys, and girls, poured from all parts of the city towards the neighbourhood of the prison. The vicinity of Albert Bridge, from which the best view of the horrid spectacle could be obtained, was the principal centre towards which all were wending. The flaring ginpallaces in Deansgate and the neighbourhood of the bridge, supplied an early stimulant to the eager throng; and the army of street coffee-sellers offered a safer beverage. The crowd was evidently much more English than Irish; in fact there were very few countrymen of the convicts present. There was also a marked absence of sympathy for the convicts; a few regrets were expressed that the gallows had to be resorted to; but there was nothing whatever to show that any present sympathized with the movement in which the three men about to meet their doom had been concerned. Their demeanour, as the morning advanced, was as peaceable as a large crowd could well be. There was excitement; but no mischief, no terrorism, and no attempt to annoy the police or those whose duties required them to be present.

As the day dawned, soon after seven o'clock, a slight mist, which had begun to set in about two hours before, began to thicken into a yellow, murky fog. The crowd rapidly increased in number; but

as eight o'clock approached it became evident that very few indeed would be able to see the spectacle. Standing upon Albert Bridge, the massive dimensions of the prison loomed through the fog, which magnified it into the appearance of a huge fortress. The bartizans, or turrets, at the angles were occupied by soldiers. Half-way up New Bailey-street, could be seen the dim outline of the scaffold, and the street below was occupied by a dense mass of special constables and public officers. To the spectators at the Manchester side of Albert Bridge nothing was visible, even the prison walls could not be seen; and when the cry of "hats" was raised by those in the front, the excitement among the many who were unable to witness the proceedings became intense. There was a universal straining of necks and eyes, but it was all of no avail; and of the 10,000 or 12,000 who were on the bridge and on the Manchester side of the water, not half the number could see what took place. Considered as a whole, the conduct of the crowd was unexceptionable: there was even less excitement than when Burrows was executed in August, 1866, and the number of spectators was also fewer.

The last penalty of the law was exacted punctually to the appointed time. The condemned, clinging to hope, believed for some days after sentence was passed, that they would not be hanged. There can be little doubt, from their demeanour in the dock, and expressions which dropped from them in their cells, that they had persuaded themselves into the belief that their crime was a political one, and that, following the precedent which was set in the case of Burke, the Government would commute their sentences. The assurances which they received from without, however, dispelled this feeling; latterly the men were fully resigned to their fate. The parting interviews of Allen and Larkin with their friends took place on the 22nd, and after their final severance from earthly ties, the doomed men devoted themselves with increased fervour to their religious duties. They were locked up at the usual hour at night, about half-past six o'clock. At a quarter to five o'clock next morning, Mr. Holt, the warder in charge, went to their cells and awoke them. The priests in attendance, the Rev. Canon Cantwell and the Rev. Fathers Quick and Gadd, celebrated mass at half-past five, and administered the Holy Communion. After partaking of the sacred rite, the convicts spent their time in prayer until nearly seven o'clock, when they breakfasted. The last preparations were then begun. At twelve minutes to eight o'clock the executioner and his assistant were introduced to the cell in which the convicts were placed, and the process of pinioning their arms was gone through. The priests stood by the side of the unhappy men, administering the consolations of religion, and exhorting them to firmness to meet the last dread ordeal. The convicts at this time manifested a remarkable fortitude. Not one of them flinched in the least.

They had severally expressed an intention to address the crowd

from the scaffold; but at the urgent entreaty of the priests, they abandoned that intention.

At a quarter to eight o'clock, the interior court of the gaol presented a striking spectacle. Behind the wall in New Bailey-street was erected the long staircase leading to the scaffold; and by its side were platforms for the use of the military. The fog was so dense, that objects could be but faintly distinguished at a distance of thirty yards. Suddenly the words of military command were heard, and a company of the 72nd Highlanders marched round the Round-house, and took up a position in line at the foot of the staircase. Simultaneously, small detachments of the same regiment ascended to the platform, and crouched there, with their loaded rifles slightly projecting over the prison wall. At almost the same moment the heads of a line of soldiers arose above the parapet of the railway viaduct. A line of warders was formed in the gaol court. The sentries on duty ceased their walk; magistrates and reporters stood aside, and a dead silence prevailed for a few moments, as a signal was given from the corner of the Round-house. At three minutes past eight o'clock the solemn voice of a minister repeating the Litany of the Roman Catholic Church was heard; and the head of the procession became visible through the thick fog, about thirty yards from the foot of the staircase. The Rev. Canon Cantwell walked first, by the side of Allen. The convict was deadly pale; his eyes wandered alternately from the priest to the individuals standing round, and then he uplifted his gaze, in a vain endeavour to pierce the dense canopy which hung above him. He walked with a tolerably steady step, and uttered the response, "Lord have mercy upon us," in a firm voice. As he ascended the staircase, he seemed to summon all his courage; and he succeeded so far, as to be able to confront the crowd with an unshrinking countenance. Gould also manifested much firmness and self-possession. Not so with Larkin, in whose appearance confinement and anxiety of mind had wrought a striking change. He walked with difficulty, and required the support of the warders as he mounted the staircase. He seemed to join mechanically in the responses; and as he neared the head of the stairs, he gave one hasty glance at the black beams overhead, and seemed about to faint.

About five minutes past eight o'clock the door leading from the gaol yard to the scaffold was opened, and the same instant almost every head in the crowd was uncovered. Allen was the first to appear. He was deadly pale, and closely clasped a crucifix. The hangman at once placed the white cap over his face, and adjusted the rope. Meanwhile the unhappy youth continued in fervent prayer. Then followed Gould, who walked with a firm step. On coming to the drop, he shook hands with Allen, and kissed his right cheek. He, too, was forthwith capped, and placed in the noose. Larkin was the last to mount the scaffold, and, like the others, he submitted unresistingly to the usual preliminaries.

They all joined loudly and earnestly in the responses, "Jesus, have mercy upon me," "Jesus, receive my soul." While on the drop, Larkin's firmness left him, and the wretched man fainted, and had to be supported. Gould was still unmoved; he looked imploringly towards Larkin (for the caps were very thin), and then turned his head, as though to see if the executioner was ready. Larkin again fainted, and had again to be supported by one of the executioners. All this occupied but a minute or two, at the end of which time the bolt was drawn, and the three bodies dropped. Allen was dead in about a minute; but the death of his fellow-criminals was more painful, both Larkin and Gould appearing, from the vibration of the ropes, to struggle. Gould was the next to yield, and about two minutes later the stillness of the rope showed that Larkin had ceased to live.

As soon as the drop had fallen, a temporary cause of slight alarm occurred on the Manchester side of the river. The rear portion of the crowd, supposing that those at the front were rapidly retreating, in order to leave the scene, rushed back upon the barriers; and, but for their protection, the series of rushes that then took place might have ended in personal injury. By half-past eight o'clock the tide of spectators had fairly begun to ebb; and though some few pressed their way to the front, there was a general dispersion, and by the time the bodies were cut down there were not half the number present who had been there an hour before.

The crowd at the Salford end of New Bailey-street also rapidly dispersed. When at that point it was surmised that the execution was about to take place, there, too, the cry of "hats off" was raised. A minute or two afterwards the tide turned, and in a quarter of an hour the street beyond the railway barriers was emptied of more than half the crowd.

By two o'clock every barrier was cleared away, and the district of Salford resumed its wonted and business-like aspect.

29. TERRIBLE EXPLOSION IN THE MERSEY.—The Greek Government recently purchased two steamers built for and employed for a short time in running the American blockade. These vessels, christened by them the "Amphitrite," late the "Penguin," and the "Bubulina," late the "Colonel Lamb," were lying in the Mersey, opposite the extreme south end of Liverpool, outward bound for Piræus, the port of Athens. This morning, shortly after four o'clock, Captain Sartorius, of the "Bubulina," gave orders to be ready to sail at half-past six. Steam was got up accordingly. All went well until a few minutes past six, when a terrible boiler explosion occurred, blowing the vessel completely asunder, and leaving bow and stern afloat, some hundreds of feet apart. There was at this time on board a crew of seventy-three, consisting of thirty-two firemen, chiefly English, seven or eight officers, and the rest Greek seamen; and also one passenger. The captain was in the house on deck; and he states that he felt a

concussion, and the next thing he knew was that he was in the water, being picked up by a boat. The chief engineer, Mr. Elliott, also had a narrow escape. In the stern of the ship were the chief officer, the second and third officers, and the passenger, who were all rescued. A number of the crew and firemen were in the forecastle, and they, too, were taken off. Many of them had received severe cuts and bruises. The centre part of the vessel appears to have sunk at once; and the whole of the persons in that part of her appear to have been lost, including the second and third engineers. Immediately after the explosion, the Rock Ferry steamer "Ant," Captain Joseph Kay, arrived on the spot, and took off between twenty and thirty firemen and seamen, and the fourth engineer, Mr. O'Hara. Other boats put off from the "Amphitrite," and also from Her Majesty's ship "Donegal" and the "Great Eastern," and took off the officers and some of the crew. The stern part continued to float for about two hours, and then sank. The bow remained floating end up, with her forward funnel just above the level of the water. The captain of the "Ant" stated that he was just about to raise anchor, to commence running, when he was startled by hearing a heavy triple explosion, each report following close upon the other. The morning was just breaking, and he observed a heavy bank of steam rise some little distance up the river. At the same moment he heard piercing shrieks and cries coming from the same direction, and at once steered for the spot. On approaching, he found the two ends of the vessel floating some distance apart, each covered with men; and there were others in their boats. These he took on board, and the boats afterwards brought away the others who were on the bow. He would have gone alongside, but was warned not to do so, as the magazine was in the bow. The men he rescued were taken to Liverpool, and those among them who were injured were taken to the Northern Hospital. The "Ant" was the same boat which rescued the crew of the "Lotty Sleight" some years ago.

The "Bubulina" was originally known as the "Ariel," and then as the "Colonel Lamb," her original destination being blockade-running in the southern ports of America during the war. She was built of steel in 1864 by Messrs. Jones, Quiggin, and Co., of Liverpool, for Messrs. Fraser, Trenholme, and Co., her cost being about 50,000*l.*; no expense was spared, in order to make her one of the fleetest and strongest steamers afloat. Her tonnage was 689, the full register being 1132. She was 279 ft. long, 35 ft. broad, and 15 ft. deep. Her engines were made by Messrs. James Jack and Son, of Liverpool, and were of 350 horse-power, and were designed on the most recent and most approved principles. She made but one voyage to and from America, when her speed frequently averaged 16½ knots. At the close of the war, the "Bubulina" was laid up in dock for a long period; but she was recently sold by Messrs. C. W. Kellock and Co., shipbrokers, to

the Greek Government, the local agents for whom—Messrs. Gian-nacopulo and Co., Greek Consuls—placed her in the hands of Messrs. G. R. Clover and Co., of Birkenhead, by whom she was put in thorough repair at an expense of upwards of 5000*l*. The “Bubulina” had on board about 350 tons of Powell’s Duffryn steam coal, a large quantity of provisions, and a quantity of Whitworth guns, gunpowder, and other warlike materials. The hull of the vessel was insured for about 20,000*l*. There was also an insurance upon the cargo.

DECEMBER.

1. **FUNERAL PROCESSIONS IN HONOUR OF THE FENIANS EXECUTED AT MANCHESTER.**—The sympathy felt by the members of the Fenian Confederacy in various parts of England and Ireland, was manifested by demonstrations which took place in some of the large towns, especially in Manchester, Cork, and Dublin. Funeral processions were got up in honour of the three convicts executed at Manchester, for the murder of the police-sergeant on the occasion of the rescue of Kelly and Deasy, and were attended by great multitudes of persons, who marched through the streets, giving vent, in various forms, to their hostility to the law and to the Government under which their friends had suffered in the cause of Fenianism. The first of these processions took place at Manchester, on Sunday the 1st. The placard convening the demonstration was on a green ground in black letters, with a mourning border. Throughout the morning the rain fell heavily and almost incessantly, but the elements had no deterring effect upon the demonstration, as an immense crowd assembled. By two o’clock, some two or three thousand men, women, and children, had collected in Stevenson-square, and every street running into it was literally filled with people. Men and women wore green ribbons or favours. The number in the procession was from 2500 to 3000 persons of both sexes. A band was with the procession, and played the “Dead March.” The number of spectators lining the route between London-road railway-station and Lever-street, which is opposite to the Infirmary, could not have been less than 5000 or 6000. Both the crowd and procession were orderly. As the procession marched past the New Bailey, where the gallows had been erected, they gave cheers for Allen, Larkin, and Gould, and one cheer for Old Ireland. The band played the well-known tune, “Adeste Fideles.” The processionists eventually quietly dispersed. The Mayors of Manchester and Salford were at their respective town halls in

readiness. Large bodies of police were held in reserve, and the military in their barracks were kept in readiness. The processionists assisted the police against thieves when needful.

At Cork, on the same day, twelve or fifteen thousand people walked in funeral procession, in honour of the men executed at Manchester. They were accompanied by bands playing the "Dead March in Saul," and wore crape and green ribbons. The procession passed off quietly, and the city was perfectly tranquil.

But the most remarkable of the demonstrations which took place was at Dublin, on Sunday the 8th. A prodigious mass of people assembled to join the procession. It was said, that any stranger visiting the city on that day, and seeing the emblems that were displayed, might have supposed that Dublin was in the hands of the Fenians. As a political demonstration, the procession was imposing only in regard to numbers, and even in that respect not to such an extent as was expected in a metropolis containing nearly 260,000 people, and recruited as it was from the surrounding districts. No citizen of any social position or influence, except one or two interested parties, was engaged in it. There was not a private equipage to be seen, not even a town-councillor's carriage to lend the semblance of civic dignity to the display. No Roman Catholic clergymen took part in it. The procession was composed chiefly of well-dressed young men, women, and children—the men belonging to the classes of drapers' and grocers' assistants, clerks, mechanics of various kinds, labourers, sailors, and coalporters. Their comfortable appearance showed that they received good wages, and were able in their class of life, to prosper under British misrule. Of the young women who graced the array by their presence the same observation might be made. Most of them were girls who worked in factories, workshops, or warehouses, who were able to dress respectably for their rank in life, and who seemed in excellent spirits.

The weather was most unfavourable for the occasion; a drizzling rain began to fall at an early hour, and as the day advanced it came down in heavy showers. Before they started, many of the processionists were in a pitiable plight, and when they had completed their funeral march they appeared sincerely miserable. Before twelve o'clock the place of muster was filled with the materials of the procession collected in chaotic confusion. They extended for some distance up Gardiner-street and down Abbey-street. There were temperance bands in showy military garb, with gold lace and green facings; men bearing white wands, some with white plumes at the end, others tipped with yellow, and having streamers of green riband. Crape and green ribands were on the hat or arm of every man, and hundreds of the fair sex displayed the "national" hue on their bonnets; many of them were profusely decked in green. Numbers wore green sashes, many of them embroidered with shamrocks and other national devices, and some with the Irish harp, of course without the crown, swung at

the ends. From the faded appearance of the latter, it was evident that they had long been in the service, and paraded on other occasions. Green was every where the prevailing colour. A few mounted men, with wands extended, rode here and there; while others on foot went about picking up the threads of the tangled mass. At twelve o'clock, a movement of the crowd indicated that the head of the procession had passed through into Abbey-street, and the rest gradually became unravelled and fell into its place. The programme was substantially followed. In front was a body of "picked men," eight abreast, intended to give steadiness and solidity to the array. After these came some hundreds of the "youth of Dublin," boys from six to sixteen years old, ten deep. These were succeeded by a regiment of women, respectably attired, who represented the "ladies" of the city. They displayed the green profusely in their dresses. Three hearses, followed by mourning coaches, hackney-carriages, and cabs, with masses of men, women, and children between, were prominent features in the procession. Behind the first, Mr. John Martin walked with Mr. A. M. Sullivan, as chief mourner, for part of the route; but before it was finished, his age and feeble health obliged him to enter one of the carriages. The first hearse had the name "W. P. Allen" printed in sepulchral characters on a cloth suspended at each side. The other hearses bore the names of O'Brien and Larkin. As the line of processionists coiled through the streets, the end received accessions from fresh bodies of men who fell into the ranks. No fewer than eleven bands marched with it at long intervals between. They played in truly agonizing style the "Dead March," "Adeste Fideles," "The Sicilian Mariners' Hymn," "Savourneen Dheelish," and other pathetic airs. Men were stationed at various points to see that the instructions for the order of the array were strictly observed, and the procession moved with considerable regularity and steadiness. Had the day been fine, it might have had an imposing appearance. The men marched in tolerably good order, and some of them with military precision, halting at the word of command and beating time. It was extremely difficult to form any thing like a correct estimate of the numbers, but counting the waves of the human tide as it flowed past at one spot, where it was fully developed, multiplying by the files, and estimating the whole time occupied in passing at an hour and twenty minutes, it might with tolerable confidence be stated, that the number actually in the procession was under 16,000, of whom between 3000 and 4000 were women and children. In passing up Sackville-street, it was reinforced by some collateral processions, which marched on the foot-paths, and thousands of others similarly attired were in the streets as spectators. Along the route they were saluted by waving of handkerchiefs and green scarves from the windows.

About three o'clock, the head of the procession reached the open space of ground in front of the cemetery gates. It would be impossible to conceive a more dejected and miserable appearance than

it now presented. The gaudy finery of the women was all destroyed by the rain, their dresses covered with mud and torn, and in many instances they seemed scarcely able to totter another step. The ranks of the men, too, had become disorganized and broken, and they sought in vain to protect themselves beneath the shelter of umbrellas. As soon as the carriage containing Mr. Martin drew up in the centre of the ground, he was received with vociferous applause, and conducted to the upper room of a cottage, from which he was to address the assemblage. Not a tenth of the procession could assemble on this spot, and the others proceeded through the cemetery to the gate on the Finglas-road. As soon as the least degree of attention could be secured, Mr. Martin presented himself at the window, and was greeted with complimentary ejaculations.

Mr. Martin then addressed the assembly in a speech, in which he eulogized the three convicts, Allen, Gould, and Larkin, as glorious martyrs in the cause of Ireland, and characterized their execution as "legal murder." He dilated also on the well-known topics of English misgovernment and Irish suffering. After he had finished, a scene of riotous confusion took place in the cemetery. A mass of youths and boys scampered about the place in the wildest confusion, trampling down the shrubs, breaking the trees, destroying the plants, and in many instances injuring the railings. Some of the graves were trodden down, and the ornate devices of stone and flowers, which the hand of affection had planted and cherished, were ruthlessly thrown about.

At length, as the shades of evening came on, the assemblage gradually dispersed. Fortunately no occasion for the interposition of the civil or military authorities occurred. The troops stationed in the city were confined to their barracks, but were kept in complete readiness to act if required, and the artillery and cavalry had their horses and pieces prepared for action at a moment's notice.

On the same day, processions took place at Limerick, Middleton, Skibbereen, and Mitchelstown. Many similar demonstrations were announced; but the Government becoming alive to the danger likely to ensue to the public peace from the manifestation of the spirit of disaffection, now took the decided step of prohibiting such assemblages; and, to the great satisfaction of the peaceably disposed subjects of Her Majesty, they were prevented from taking place. It should be mentioned, to the credit of some of the Roman Catholic clergy, that they used their best efforts to prevail upon their flocks to abstain from these menacing exhibitions.

6. DESTRUCTION OF HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE BY FIRE.—The spacious and beautiful Opera House at the corner of the Haymarket and Pall Mall, called Her Majesty's Theatre, and formerly the King's Theatre, was entirely destroyed, in less than an hour, by a fire which broke out about eleven o'clock this evening.

This theatre was built in 1792, on the site of the old Opera House, which was also destroyed by fire in 1789. The architect was Michael Novosielski. It was the largest in England, its internal dimensions being within a few feet of those of the Grand Opera of La Scala, at Milan. From the curtain to the back of the boxes the length was 102 ft., the extreme width to the back of the boxes was 75 ft., the width at the curtain was 40 ft., the width of the pit was 65 ft., and the height to the ceiling 56 ft.; the stage measured 60 ft. from the orchestra to the back wall, and 80 ft. between the side walls. The building was of brick, covered with Roman cement, the entablature being of Bath stone, and the surrounding columns of cast iron coloured to represent stone, and 17 ft. in height. The east, or principal, front was 283 ft. in length and 64 ft. in height. The exterior colonnades and façades were completed by Messrs. Thomas Nash and Repton, architects, in 1818, at a cost of 50,000*l.* One characteristic of the theatre was its acoustic quality, which was unequalled by any building of its class.

Until the establishment of the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, in 1847, the house in the Haymarket enjoyed a monopoly of Italian Opera in England, and was the means of introducing to this country the most famous operas and singers of the Continent. Upon the accession of Queen Victoria, it took the name of "Her Majesty's."

Lord Dudley held the lease of the theatre, about twenty-six years of which were still to run; and it was sub-let to Mr. Mapleson for twenty-one years, seven of which had expired, at a rent of 8000*l.* a year, payable in advance. The interest of his lordship in the premises was fully covered by insurance; but, unfortunately for Mr. Mapleson, he was not insured, and his loss was estimated at not less than 10,000*l.* All his stock of costumes and other properties; the grand organ, which cost nearly 800*l.*; the costly chandeliers; the scores and music library, which was esteemed the finest in Europe, containing invaluable manuscripts by Rossini, Handel, and others; all the musical instruments and pianofortes, draperies, gold and silver embroideries; 400 stalls and fittings, worth nearly 1000*l.*, of very rich fabric; all the *matériel* of operas which had delighted the public for so many years; scenery of the most elaborate and beautiful kind, from the hands of Augustus Welby Pugin, William Grieve, Charles Marshall, Marinari, William Telbin, William Calcott, and other accomplished artists, —all perished. Mr. Mapleson at the time was at home, entertaining some friends; the painful news was rapidly conveyed to him, and he was soon on the spot, but only in time to witness the devastation. No distinct account of the origin of the fire has been given to the public. The general belief is, that it broke out either on or under the stage. There had been no workmen on the premises during the day, nor any work beyond the ordinary preparations for the coming performance on the following evening.

The gas at the meters for the supply of the theatre had been turned off, and the man whose duty it was to look to that had gone home from his work. There were only five persons in the building at the outbreak—namely, the two firemen, the hall-keeper and his wife, both of whom had gone to bed, and Mr. Jennings, secretary and auditor to the theatre, who was engaged in his room auditing accounts. It was the duty of the firemen to go round the theatre every hour, and a “tell-tale” clock indicated the performance of that duty. At nine o’clock, according to Mr. Mapleson, they went their accustomed round, and reported that all was safe; upon which, the hall-keeper went to his room, which was on the Pall Mall side of the building immediately above the colonnade, crossing the stage on his way. The account of Mr. Jennings was that he was alarmed by the red glow of fire in his room, which was on the ground-floor, adjoining that of the manager, suddenly rendering the light of a gas chandelier pale. He went out immediately, and, making his way to the hall through a dense smoke, gave an alarm. Before he could leave the room, part of the ceiling fell, and he had not time to save any thing. Smoke and flame were then issuing from the roof. It was further stated, that at half-past ten the firemen again went their round, and found all safe. Shortly before eleven they had their attention called to a glimmering light at the back of the stage; and on going to the place, they found the floor of the stage burning with great fury, apparently from the bottom. Under that part of the building there were large receptacles for the stowage of old scenery, properties, and the like, which were all more or less inflammable. The flames, seizing them, spread with almost incredible rapidity. The hall-keeper and his wife, who slept in an apartment over the dressing-rooms, were awoken by cries of “Fire!” and, getting up, attempted to make their escape across the stage; but finding that impossible, they made for the roof of Madame Epitau’s restaurant, on the Pall Mall side of the building, through a window of which they crept, and thus saved their lives. There had been a morning rehearsal of “Fidelio;” but at the time when the flames first broke out, the house had been left for hours in the custody of the watchmen and the two firemen usually on duty within the premises. The hall-keeper stated that he passed round the place as usual before retiring, and all was right. He went to bed shortly after ten o’clock; and the first news of the fire that reached him came from the noise of the people in the streets, who had discovered the flames. It seemed to him that the fire must have broken out in the cellars; and yet it had already reached the back of the roof. The two firemen were equally at a loss to account for the catastrophe.

The alarm of the fire was rather slow in reaching the headquarters of the brigade in Watling-street. Even at the Chandos-street station, the nearest to the scene of the fire, the alarm was not until about twenty minutes past eleven, and the flames

were then issuing from the roof. The first intimation the brigade had was by telegraph from their station in King-street, Regent-street, and that at first had the effect of rather misleading them as to its locality; for it called their attention to "light over the water," meaning on the Lambeth side. Little delay, if any, however, was caused; for almost simultaneously with the receipt of the telegram from the King-street station arrived another from the brigade-station in Farringdon-street, that Her Majesty's Theatre was on fire. Captain Shaw, with eight men and a powerful engine, started forthwith from Watling-street, and arrived at the scene shortly after eleven. The telegraph, communicating with all the fire-stations in the metropolis, was instantly set in motion; and eventually seventeen steam and seven hand-engines, worked by upwards of 200 men, were playing upon the fire from various points.

By the exertions of the police and of a detachment of the Grenadier Guards, the streets around the theatre were kept clear, and the fire-mains all round Regent-street, Haymarket, and Pall Mall turned fully on. The supply of water was ample, and fire-engine after fire-engine as they came up were rapidly got into the best positions for checking the spread of the flames. The glare at this time was seen all over the metropolis, and tens of thousands flocked from all points towards the scene of the disaster, while cabs, carriages, and even waggons, blocked the thoroughfares which led to it. In a short time the steam fire-engines were in full work, and threw volumes of water with tremendous force. Where their jets fell they seemed to explode in clouds of steam. Not so with the hand engines, which required thirty soldiers to work them, and emitted a feeble dribble which was easily directed by one man. The exertions of the firemen were beyond all praise. They climbed along parapets and copings, dragging great lengths of leathern hose, with which to play upon the flames at any point of consequence, no matter what the risk to themselves. In spite of flame, and smoke, and burning fragments, they kept their places on the roof, their comrades below turning now and then jets of water around the men to keep the spots cool on which they stood.

The scene continued to grow more and more terrible, and by about twelve o'clock was one of fearful grandeur. The roof of the theatre fell, amid a shower of sparks and burning fragments, leaving a gigantic mass of white flame in the centre, the heat of which alone was charring up and burning building after building around it. All the steam fire-engines were at full work, and the monotonous noise of those worked by hand was the only sound that broke upon the hoarse roaring of the crowd, except the heavy flap of the great sheets of flame, which seemed to jeopardize the existence of every building near the place. Over the front of the clubs in Pall Mall the burning fragments fell thick as hail; it was impossible at times to pass along that thoroughfare without danger. The theatre was the main seat of the fire; but it created a mass of

flame and heat, which worked quickly into the surrounding buildings. House after house around it was gutted, in spite of all the efforts of the firemen. The flames, however, then were well within control, and the engines were principally used to keep the walls of the main building cool, for in many places they were bulging ominously. Still, from this work they had every now and then to be diverted, as fresh flames appeared in the houses around. It had always been said that Her Majesty's Theatre was so provided with large water-tanks on the roof, that any thing like danger to the building from fire was impossible. The water-tanks themselves, however, burnt rapidly, seeming to have little or no water in them. About one o'clock the fire began to die literally for want of fuel; and the position of the theatre was only indicated at a distance by a great pillar of red smoke. Seldom has a fire effected a more complete clearance in the interior of a great edifice. A clean sweep was made of every thing within the walls. The arcade at the back of the theatre was partly burnt, and the shops on the west side of it suffered considerably, their contents being much injured by fire, water, and removal.

The chief sufferer by the fire in the buildings adjacent to the theatre was Mr. Graves, the engraver and Printseller, in Pall Mall. His spacious picture-galleries were stored with a rare collection of ancient and modern works of art, collected during a period of forty years, a large part of which, along with the galleries containing them, were destroyed.

9. SMITHFIELD CLUB ANNUAL CATTLE SHOW.—The Cattle Show of the present year was very successful, throwing many of its predecessors into the shade, more especially in regard to the number of its visitors. There were, however, other causes to which that success may be traced. In the first instance, the prestige which the name of the Queen had given the show by becoming an exhibitor in her own name, had much to do with it. Secondly, the fame of Mr. M'Combie's extraordinary prize ox had preceded it from Birmingham, also the fact of its having been sent to Windsor for Her Majesty's inspection. Another cause was Lord Hill's fatted Eland, or African Elk. These combined had the effect of sending considerably over 100,000 people to visit and pay for admission to the Agricultural Hall.

The 8th was the judging and the private view day, a five shilling admission fee being charged after two o'clock. Every one anticipated that Mr. M'Combie's ox would attain the first prize of the show, and they were not disappointed. It soon also became known that Her Majesty had become a successful competitor, and had obtained the first prize in Class 1 for her very beautiful little Devon steer, and a third prize in Class 4 for her Devon heifer, besides two prizes in the pig classes. The Prince of Wales obtained no prize. In the sheep classes, Lord Walsingham and Earl Berners beat the Duke of Richmond and all others. The Queen also obtained a second prize in the Here-

ford classes. The show generally was an average good one, and there were some six or eight more cattle exhibited than last year. One of the great improvements was the increased space afforded in the implement galleries. On the 10th—the first shilling day—over 20,000 persons paid for admission; but the third day, when the weather changed from frost to rain, produced some 8000 visitors in excess of the corresponding day last year, the number being upwards of 37,000. The 12th gave 34,069 payments at the turnstiles; and at times the building, capacious as it is, became exceedingly crowded.

The closing day of the show (the 13th), though usually the most slack day, on this occasion quite equalled the first shilling day, over 20,000 persons having paid for admission. This brought the aggregate number up to considerably over 120,000, or some 25,000 more visitors than in 1866. During the day, in consequence of the large amount of poking and pulling about which the grand prize of the show had received, Mr. M'Combie's poor Scot was so dead beat, that nothing could induce him to rise from his haunches; and subsequently, by direction of the Government veterinary inspector, as a sheer matter of humanity, he was hurdled in, to save him as much as possible from the not very tender manipulations of the pretended judges of ox flesh. The general management of the show was so exceedingly good, that notwithstanding the large number of persons who visited it, there was throughout no accident of any kind; and the company, as well as the public, derived much benefit from the enormous circular gaseliers put up by Messrs. Defries for the purpose of lighting the hall, which not only imparted cheerfulness, but a genial warmth to the building, which was wanting on previous occasions. The use of Sir William Burnett's Disinfecting Fluid was another great feature; and no case of rinderpest or illness amongst any of the stock was reported during the exhibition.

During the show the pieces of plate by Messrs. Thomas and Co., of New Bond-street, presented as prizes, were exhibited under a glass case in the centre of the hall. They consisted of six parcel-gilt cups, two of the value of 40*l.* each for cattle, and four for sheep and pigs. The designs of the larger ones were taken from the Hamilton collection of Etruscan vases, the subjects engraved thereon being copied from the Elgin marbles. The smaller were from the Englefield collection, and were very chaste works of the silversmith's art.

13. ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP CLERKENWELL HOUSE OF DETENTION.—A most audacious and nefarious attempt was made this afternoon, between three and four o'clock, to blow up the outer walls of the House of Detention at Clerkenwell, in which at that time two persons, named Burke and Casey, charged with being implicated in the Fenian conspiracy, were confined, with a view, as it afterwards appeared, to effect their deliverance. The news of this outrage spread alarm, mingled with indignation, through the metropolis;

and when it was known how many innocent lives had been sacrificed, and how much suffering inflicted in the attempt, which entirely failed, to release the accomplices of the perpetrators, a feeling of horror at the wickedness of the design, mingled with deep sympathy for the unfortunate victims of the calamity, took possession of the public mind. The utter recklessness of human life which this outrage exhibited, and the determination it evinced on the part of the conspirators to disregard all scruples and sacrifices, in order to carry out the objects of their lawless undertaking, brought home to all loyal and well-disposed minds a conviction of the necessity of strengthening, by every legitimate means, the hands of the authorities, and asserting in the most emphatic manner the supremacy of the law. The particulars of this extraordinary attempt at prison-breach were ascertained to be as follows :—

The explosion, which sounded like a discharge of artillery, occurred at exactly a quarter to four o'clock in the afternoon, when there was still some daylight, and was heard for miles round. In the immediate neighbourhood it produced the greatest consternation ; for it blew down houses, and shattered the windows of others in all directions. A considerable length of the outer wall of the prison was levelled with the ground. The windows of the prison, of coarse glass more than a quarter of an inch thick, were, to a large extent, broken, and the side of the building immediately facing the outer wall in which the breach was made, and about 150 feet from it, showed the marks of the bricks which were hurled against it by the explosion. The wall surrounding the prison was about 25 ft. high, 2 ft. 3 in. thick at the bottom, and about 14 in. thick at the top.

The scene of the explosion was Corporation-row, which runs parallel with the prison wall on its northern side, and consisted of houses three stories high—some of them let out in tenements, and others used for various manufacturing purposes. A very circumstantial account of the transaction was given by an intelligent boy named John Abbott, thirteen years of age, who happened to be an eye-witness, and who was removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but, happily, not much injured. The boy lived with his parents at No. 5, Corporation-lane.

About a quarter to four o'clock he was standing at Mr. Young's door, No. 5, when he saw a large barrel close to the wall of the prison, and a man leave the barrel, and cross the road. Shortly afterwards, the man returned with a long squib in each hand. One of these he gave to some boys who were playing in the street, and the other he thrust into the barrel. One of the boys was smoking, and he handed the man a light, which the man applied to the squib. The man stayed a short time, until he saw the squib begin to burn, and then he ran away. A policeman after him ; and when he arrived opposite No. 5, "the thing off." The boy saw no more after that, as he himself was
! with bricks and mortar. There was a white cloth over

the barrel, which was black ; and when the man returned with the squib, he partly uncovered the barrel, but did not wholly remove the cloth. There were several men and women in the street at the time, and children playing. Three little boys were standing near the barrel all the time. Some of the people ran after the man who lighted the squib.

All the houses in Corporation-lane overlooking the prison-yard were more or less damaged by the concussion ; and two or three of them so seriously, in front of the part of the wall where the breach was made, that members of the Fire Brigade, under the direction of Captain Shaw, immediately began pulling them down, in anticipation of their falling by their own weight. About 500 of the Metropolitan Police were on duty keeping off the crowd and preserving order ; and 100 of the Fusilier Guards, under the command of Colonel Moncrieff, Captain Gosling, Lieutenant Moray, and Lieutenant Inigo Jones, were posted as a guard inside the prison throughout the night. Many of the county magistrates were also in attendance, including Mr. Pownall, the chairman, Lord Ranelagh, and Mr. Frederick Pownall, the county surveyor. The police on duty were under the command of Captain Labalmondiere, from their head-quarters in Scotland-yard. Throughout the whole evening great excitement prevailed in the neighbourhood.

The result of the explosion upon the unfortunate inmates of the houses in Corporation-lane and the adjoining buildings was most disastrous. Upwards of forty innocent people—men, women, and children of all ages, some of whom happened to be passing at the time—were injured more or less severely ; one was killed on the spot, and three more died shortly afterwards. Thirty-six of the sufferers were removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and six to the Royal Free Hospital in Gray's-inn-road. Three or four of the wounded were members of the same family, some were mere infants ; and the husband of a woman, who died of the injuries she sustained, was taken to St. Bartholomew's, shockingly bruised and prostrated. Others were missing. The living, on being taken to the hospital, received the prompt and humane attentions of Mr. Holden, one of the senior surgeons ; Mr. Edward McClean, the house surgeon ; and, indeed, of the whole medical staff. The treasurer (Mr. Foster White) was also conspicuous for the aid he rendered in promoting the comfort of the poor sufferers.

Two men and a woman were promptly taken into custody, charged with being implicated in the crime. One of the men gave the name of Timothy Desmond, and described himself as forty-six years of age, and a tailor by trade ; the other, Jeremiah Allen, is thirty-six, and a bootmaker. The woman, whose name is Ann Justice, is about thirty years of age. On the night after her apprehension she made a determined attempt to strangle herself in a cell in which she was confined in the House of Detention, but it was

frustrated. She had been in the frequent habit of visiting the prisoner Casey while he was confined there.

As in the case of other movements of the Fenian fraternity, there were traitors in their camp on this occasion; and information of the intended operation was secretly conveyed to the authorities, although they failed, for some reason as yet unexplained, to take full advantage of the notice which they received, so as to frustrate the design. In consequence of an intimation given to him on the previous day, Captain Codd, the governor of the prison, determined not to exercise the prisoners in the usual manner, either as to time or place. The wall which was blown down enclosed a large open space in which the prisoners were accustomed to take exercise. The governor, therefore, had them exercised between nine and ten in the morning, instead of the usual time, which was between three and half-past four in the afternoon; and to this precaution it is probably owing that the diabolical attempt was unsuccessful. A communication was also made to the police authorities, who set some of their men to watch outside the walls, perambulating the immediate neighbourhood of the prison. Six warders from the House of Correction were sent to the prison on the day previous to act as a night-guard; but the governor, not thinking they were necessary, dispensed with their services, and called in the aid of six or eight of his own warders as an additional force during the night. Shortly before the explosion, the prisoner Burke appeared much excited, and went often to the window of his cell.

In the course of the day, a policeman on duty outside the prison had his suspicions so strongly aroused, by seeing the woman Justice and a man frequently conversing together, that he communicated with one of the prison authorities, who, in consequence, made arrangements for giving an alarm, if it should become necessary. During the day, a warder on duty inside had his attention directed to a man at a window in the upper part of a house in Woodbridge-street, overlooking the prison-yard. He went to bring another warder, and on their return the man had vanished, but was shortly afterwards seen talking to the woman Justice near the entrance to the prison, and to the man who had been seen loitering with her. Later in the day, the warder had his attention called to the same window in the opposite house in Woodbridge-street, overlooking the prison-yard; and there he saw a woman leaning out, and several men inside the room. He distinctly counted five men; but there seemed to him to be more, and they were all looking anxiously in the direction of the place where the explosion occurred almost immediately afterwards.

On the day after the explosion, the Queen, with her accustomed humanity, sent a telegram through Sir Thomas Biddulph, from Windsor Castle, to the secretary of the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's-inn-road, expressive of Her Majesty's sympathy with the

sufferers, and inquiring as to their condition. A similar communication was received by Mr. Foster White, the treasurer of St. Bartholomew's. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also despatched his private secretary, Mr. Montagu Corry, accompanied by Mr. John Lambert, of the Poor Law Board, to make inquiries on the spot as to the distress consequent upon the explosion, and with unlimited powers to relieve it at their discretion. After visiting the House of Detention, they forthwith put themselves in communication with the local Poor Law authorities, and with their assistance and local knowledge at once administered such relief as appeared to them to be necessary, Mr. Corry carrying with him a bag containing money, and visiting the poor homeless people in the neighbourhood for the purpose.

A reward of 400*l.* was promptly offered by the Government; together with Her Majesty's pardon to any one not being the actual perpetrator of the crime, who should give such information as should lead to conviction of the offenders.

A committee was formed for the purpose of soliciting contributions from the public, and applying them to the relief of the sufferers from the explosion, and a considerable sum was raised for this purpose. The Lord Mayor also consented to receive subscriptions at the Mansion House. Dr. Jenner, physician to the Queen, was commissioned by Her Majesty to visit the patients in St. Bartholomew's and the Royal Free Hospitals, and to offer to them any comforts that they might require. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Arthur personally visited the sufferers at those institutions. On all hands, great sympathy was manifested for the unhappy persons who had been the innocent victims of the atrocious outrage.

Proceedings were immediately instituted against the parties who had been apprehended, under suspicion of being concerned in the plot. Six men, named William Desmond, Timothy Desmond, Nicholas English, John Mullany, Jeremiah Allen, and John O'Keefe, and the woman, Ann Justice, were brought up for examination before Sir Thomas Henry, the Chief Police Magistrate at Bow-street, on the charge of treason-felony. Many remands took place, for the purpose of enabling the Crown to adduce fresh evidence, which from time to time was brought to light by the police. Eventually the persons who were shown to have been connected with the transaction were committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court. An account of the proceedings in that Court will be given hereafter.

The formidable and unscrupulous character of the Fenian Confederacy, evinced by this and similar outrages, produced a deep impression on the public mind, and prompted the Government to make an appeal to the loyalty of the well-disposed members of the community, to strengthen the hands of the guardians of the law, by enrolling themselves as special constables. This appeal met with a prompt and cordial response. Many thousands of the inhabitants

of the metropolis of all classes were at once sworn in at the several police-offices and other public places, and a spirit of loyal attachment to the Crown and Government was aroused, which must have convinced the disturbers of the public peace, that whatever wanton mischief or injury to individuals they might inflict, their efforts to shake the social fabric or seriously endanger the cause of law and order were absolutely futile.

17. FATAL EXPLOSION OF NITRO-GLYCERINE AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Great consternation was caused throughout this town and district by the intelligence of a terrific explosion on the Town Moor which had caused the loss of several lives. It appeared that on the previous evening Inspector Amos and Sub-Inspector Wallace, of the Newcastle police, received information that a quantity of nitro-glycerine was stored in a cellar in the White Swan-yard, in the Cloth-market, immediately behind the Branch Bank of England, and that it belonged to an auctioneer named Spark. They examined the place, and found that it was contained in nine square canisters, in baskets packed in straw; and they immediately sought the owner of it, in order to have it removed to a place of safety. They found him at his place of business, and represented the matter to him. He said that he would have it sent back to the person who consigned it to him; and, in company with the officers, he tried the railway company, but they refused to carry it. An application was then made to Mr. Nesham, who has a gunpowder store, to have it put into a magazine, but he also refused to take it. The case was then represented to the magistrates, who upon consultation gave instructions to have it destroyed. The Sheriff of Newcastle (Mr. John Mawson) being a well-known practical chemist, the police applied to him, as to the best method of dealing with this deadly liquid; he, after consulting with other chemists, advised that it should be buried in some of the creeps or crevices of some old pit-workings in the neighbourhood; but while these discussions had been going on, the nitro-glycerine had been removed from the White Swan-yard to Spark's office in the Town Hall, just over the Council Chamber. This being discovered, a policeman was immediately sent to watch it; and between two and three in the afternoon a cart was brought, and the canisters were put into it, and taken to the Town Moor. The Sheriff and Mr. Bryson, the town surveyor, with Sub-Inspector Wallace, and a policeman named Donald Bain, accompanied the cart to the Town Moor. They found a crevice or creep near to the Cholera Hospital, into which the liquid from the nine canisters was poured; but after this was completed it was found that a quantity of crystallized matter was adhering to the bottoms of three of the canisters. The Sheriff then instructed Wallace to put some earth over the liquid that had been poured into the crevice, and ordered the other men to bury the three crystallized canisters in the earth at some distance off. While Wallace was shovelling the earth into the crevice, he was startled by a frightful explosion,

in the direction where the men had gone; and running to the scene, he found that a sad catastrophe had occurred. The three canisters had exploded. Donald Bain, the policeman, was nearly blown to pieces; Shotton and Appleby, two carters, were also killed; Mr. Bryson was dreadfully mangled about the face, and apparently dying; and the Sheriff was shockingly hurt. A boy named Samuel Wadley was lying in a hole, dreadfully injured. Mawson, Bryson, and Wadley were taken, with all despatch, to the infirmary; and the bodies of the other three were removed to the Cholera Hospital. On the 17th, both Mawson and Bryson died from the effects of the injuries they had received, making in all seven persons whose lives were sacrificed. An inquest was held on the body of Mr. Mawson, and the facts which have been stated above having been detailed by the witnesses, and the nature of the injuries described by the surgeon, some interesting evidence as to the nature and properties of the substance which had produced such destructive effects was laid before the jury.

Mr. Isaac Lowthian Bell, of the Hall, Washington, in the county of Durham, and an Alderman of Newcastle, said he was the proprietor of large chemical works and collieries, and had paid some attention to chemistry for many years. He was acquainted with the properties of nitro-glycerine. The existence of nitro-glycerine had been known to chemists for twenty years, but it was only in the year 1864 that it was brought into public notice as a substitute for gunpowder; consequently, all our practical acquaintance with its effects had been gathered within the last three years. The elements of nitro-glycerine separate with immeasurable velocity, and hence the violence of the explosion, which has been calculated to be ten times that of gunpowder. Nitro-glycerine, particularly if impure, is liable to spontaneous decomposition at ordinary temperatures. The gases given off, if confined to the vessel containing the nitro-glycerine, exercise pressure on the remaining liquid; and a vessel containing nitro-glycerine under such pressure was found by Kopp to be liable to explosion under the least shock or slightest movement. Again, if this substance were brought from a cool place, and exposed to a temperature of from 68 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit, decomposition took place, pressure ensued, and on removing the vessels containing it, explosion might be the consequence. A continuous exposure to a temperature of 46 degrees caused nitro-glycerine to crystallize, and the resulting solid matter was liable to explosion on the slightest disturbance. Nitro-glycerine, when exposed to a temperature sufficient to cause ebullition, was very prone to explode. It was alleged that the presence of wood spirit deprived nitro-glycerine of its explosive qualities. To separate the wood spirit from the nitro-glycerine, water was added, and the nitro-glycerine resumed its explosive character. If, as he was informed, the "blasting oil" manufactured by Nobel, of Hamburg, was diluted with wood spirit,

it would appear from the evidence they had heard that cold—congelation—was capable of separating the nitro-glycerine from the accompanying wood spirit. He had a copy of the instructions with respect to the use of Nobel's nitro-glycerine which were issued by the manufacturer of the nitro-glycerine now under consideration, and were intended for those who had to use the substance. The instructions state that the nitro-glycerine "can be stored for an indefinite time without loss in weight or deterioration in quality." Such an intimation was likely to mislead persons in the habit of using it, because the nitro-glycerine used in commerce was more or less liable to spontaneous decomposition, and to explode. The instructions stated that "the peculiar property of the blasting oil not to explode by mere contact with fire rendered its carriage, storing, and handling very safe, even when in an explosive state." So far from that statement being true, the compound was liable to explode if brought into contact with heat. And so far from being safe in transit, it was liable, from its specific gravity (which is 1.6), to explode from mere movement, and was consequently a very dangerous compound for a railway company to carry. The quantity of nitro-glycerine contained in the thirty canisters originally brought to the town would have been equal to four tons and a half of gunpowder; and it was stored where percussion, motion, or a moderate temperature might have caused its explosion. Such a quantity of pure nitro-glycerine would have been sufficient to have blown down 115,000 tons of solid rock. Nitro-glycerine was in fact gun-cotton, glycerine being used as a medium instead of cotton. In the opinion of the witness, the explosion was caused by the crystallized nitro-glycerine exploding spontaneously, occasioned by some of the pieces moving or slipping. The pieces might slip one on the other, and the pieces exploding in one canister would explode the rest. He believed it was not made in Britain as an article of commerce.

The Coroner having summed up,

The jury retired, and, after an absence of fifteen minutes, returned and gave the following verdict:—"The deaths have been caused by the explosion of nitro-glycerine, accidentally; and the jury are unanimously of opinion that the law in reference to the storing of nitro-glycerine in this case has been grossly violated."

26. A MARTELLO TOWER ATTACKED BY FENIAN INSURGENTS.—The Martello Tower at Fota, near Queenstown, county Cork, was attacked in the night by an armed band with blackened faces, who surprised the gunners in charge, and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition. It was supposed that the party landed on the strand near the tower. There are two towers at Foaty Bay, which is at the north side of the Lee, opposite Passage. One of them is situated at Reivelly, commanding a bridge which connects an island, called the Great Island, with the mainland. The other, which was the object of the attack, stands on a tongue of land near Marino,

at the entrance to the bay. Its garrison consisted of two gunners, who had wives and children living with them. About five o'clock p.m., one of the artillerymen was sitting with his family at tea, his comrade being in an adjoining room, when five men quietly entered, three of whom had their faces concealed with large mufflers round them, and their caps pulled down, while the other two were undisguised. It is supposed that a more numerous party remained outside. The usual means of communication with these forts is a ladder, which is let down during the day and drawn up at dusk. Whether the visitors obtained admission by this ladder, which the gunners may have neglected to raise, or climbed up on the shoulders of their confederates, is not known. Their object was soon revealed. The leader of the gang, advancing to where the gunner was sitting at the table, presented a revolver at his head, and told him not to stir, that they did not want to harm him or his family, but to take the "stuff" that was in the tower. The other gunner, on coming into the room, was seized, and prevented from communicating with his comrade. His wife was alarmed, and begged that their lives might be spared, but was calmed by the assurance that she need not be afraid. The party then rifled the tower; taking the guns and swords which were suspended on the walls, and placing sentries with revolvers to keep the gunners in check, while they searched for ammunition. They removed a number of 8 lb. cartridges, containing altogether about 250 lb. or 300 lb. of explosive materials, besides a lot of fuses and other appliances connected with the working of artillery. They coolly made an analysis of the shells, and seemed much interested in examining their construction. After obtaining all the information and stores they could in the magazine, they proceeded to the armoury, the state of which disappointed them, as it only contained two old carbines with sword-bayonets, which they took possession of. After remaining in the tower over two hours, and administering a form of oath to the soldiers, that they would not identify them in case of their being arrested, at the same time warning them not to leave the spot until daybreak, as they would be in the neighbourhood and would shoot them, the gang withdrew. The artillerymen, finding they had gone, brought up some reserve cartridges, which had escaped notice; and, after securing the entrance to the tower, fired five shots from their gun on the roof, and waved a light as signals for assistance; but although passengers on the Queenstown Direct Railway, which was near, heard the firing, no attention was paid to it. Several shots were afterwards heard in the locality, which appeared to be discharged by persons practising with small arms. In the morning, the police were communicated with; and a party of constabulary, under the command of Mr. Richards, sub-inspector, proceeded to the tower. Reinforcements were also sent up from the harbour forts. In the afternoon a detachment of the 81st Regiment was despatched from Cork, to occupy the Martello towers.

— ATTEMPTED EXPLOSION AT THE DUBLIN POST-OFFICE.—A man passing the sub-post-office in Church-lane, observed a bright light in the letter-receiver, and gave an alarm. On opening the box, four tin packages were found, about the size of a pen or match-box, tied with twine, and having two postage-stamps on each. They were directed to Colonel Lake, Police Commissioner, Superintendent Ryan, the Hon. G. Dillon, and another member of the Vice-regal Court. The police were sent for, and one of the packages being opened by one of them, exploded and burnt his hand. The others were brought to the College-street station, and means taken to prevent further damage.

28. FATAL EXPLOSION AT THE FAVERSHAM POWDER-MILLS.—A fearful explosion occurred at these powder-mills, by which eleven men were blown into the air and killed instantly, and a great quantity of valuable property destroyed.

The gunpowder-works belonging to the Messrs. Hall, are situated about a mile from the town of Faversham, and are completely isolated from any other buildings. To this circumstance may be attributed the safety of the town; for the force of the explosion was tremendous, and had there been any habitations near, a much greater sacrifice of life would have been inevitable. The force of the explosion was so great, that it shook all the windows and broke some glass in the city of Canterbury, about ten miles distant. At the powder-works the explosion carried every thing before it. Trees of great size were uprooted and thrown a distance of several hundred yards; and the boiler of the engine, weighing about half a ton, was found deeply imbedded in one of the fields on Ham Farm, a considerable distance off. The fields near the works were strewn with fragments of bricks, and the young trees near the scene of the explosion were cut off as with a scythe. In fact the whole neighbourhood presented the appearance of having been visited with a terrible convulsion of nature.

The works were opened as usual in the morning, and all went well till close upon eleven o'clock, when a fearful explosion occurred in what is called the "corning-house." This was followed almost immediately by two other explosions, equally severe. Measures were at once taken to ascertain the extent of the disaster, and it was soon found that there was not one left alive to tell the tale of how it originated. The three houses which were blown into fragments were large and substantially built, and stood at a distance of about 300 feet apart. They were all thought to be completely isolated, and were protected from lightning and from the danger of one communicating fire to the others, by high mounds of earth which surrounded them, and, as was supposed, isolated all three places from each other. The powder was finished in its manufacture in these houses, and it was, therefore, all the more necessary that extra precautions should be taken to insure their safety. The raw material is brought from the green powder-houses to the press-house, where it is squeezed into cakes by a screw worked by steam.

Thence it is conveyed in cakes to the corning-house, where it is separated and grained; and from this place it passes in all but a finished state to the glazing-house, where it is packed in bags or barrels as may be required. There was, it is admitted, a large quantity of gunpowder in a manufactured state in this part of the works at the time, but not more than Messrs. Hall are allowed to have in stock at one time. Enough powder, however, was there to do incalculable damage, and the loss to the Messrs. Hall was very great.

At the time the explosion occurred, there were twelve men at work in the portion of the manufactory which was destroyed. Of these, eleven were blown up with the houses in which they were at work, and scarcely a fragment of any of their bodies could be discovered. A portion of a leg or of a trunk was found among the ruins, but this is all that remained of the unfortunate men. The fragments of the building and timbers were cast up in the air to a height of about 200 feet, and the heavier portions of the structure were thrown to distances which might seem incredible to any but an eyewitness. When the explosion occurred, every one was for the moment paralyzed, but in a few minutes abundant help was at hand; but every soul had been blown away with the houses in which they were working. The manager, the foreman, and all the available strength of the works were on the spot in a few minutes, but all they could do was to look on in dumb dismay at the miserable wreck. Later in the day, the huge gaps which had been made in the fences by the blowing away of the trees were boarded up, and a detachment of coastguardsmen and county police posted at all the available points of entrance to prevent intrusion. Many of the friends of those who were known to be working in the mills came up to learn the fate of the workmen.

All the workmen killed were married men. There were thus eleven widows and twenty-nine children left to mourn the loss of their natural protectors; and what aggravated the calamity was, that many of the children were very young. Every thing was done by the Messrs. Hall to alleviate, as far as kind consideration could, the force of the blow to the relations of the sufferers.

Besides the damage done to the works, a good deal of property was destroyed in the town of Faversham by the concussion of the atmosphere consequent on the explosion. A great number of windows were shattered, and on Ham Farm, about a quarter of a mile from the works, the farmsteading was rent from end to end, some stacks of produce tossed about as by a whirlwind, and other damage done to the house and buildings.

31. ROBBERY OF ARMS FROM A GUNSMITH'S SHOP AT CORK.—At a quarter past nine a.m., eight fellows armed with revolvers entered the shop of Mr. Allport, gunmaker, Patrick-street, Cork. Five presented revolvers at Allport, his brother, and gunsmith, and threatened to shoot them if they interfered, while the other three deliberately loaded two sacks with sixty revolvers and 1500 rounds

of ammunition, which they carried away. The five accomplices then left in different directions. There was no disguise. Much excitement was caused in Cork by the daring character of the outrage, but the perpetrators of it, notwithstanding all the efforts of the police, managed to escape discovery.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1867.

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

SIR Archibald Alison, Baronet, of Possil House, in Lanarkshire, Sheriff of that county, an eminent lawyer, historian, and writer, who died, on the 23rd May, at his seat, Possil House, near Glasgow, from an attack of bronchitis, was a scion of the eminent family of Alison, of New Hall, in Angusshire. He was the second son of the Rev. Archibald Alison, Prebendary of Sarum, Rector of High Ercall, and minister of Kenley, Shropshire, author of "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste," by his wife, Dorothea, a descendant, maternally, of Edward I. and Robert Bruce, and daughter of Dr. John Gregory, Professor of the Theory of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, and author of "A Father's Legacy to his Daughter," and other works. The subject of this notice, was born at Kenley, December 29, 1792, and was educated at Edinburgh University; he was, in 1814, admitted an advocate at the Scottish Bar. During the succeeding eight years he travelled on the Continent, and had the opportunity of witnessing many of the important public events, which he has since recorded, of that stirring time. On his return, in 1822, he was appointed Advocate Depute, and continued to hold that post for a period of eight years, during which he was carefully classifying and digesting the materials that subsequently formed his standard work on the Criminal Law. In 1830 Alison was appointed Sheriff of Lanarkshire; in 1845 he was elected Lord Rector of Mareschal College, Aberdeen; and in 1851, Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. He was created a Baronet on the 25th of June, 1852; and in the following year the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.C.L. It was in 1832

that he commenced publishing his treatises on the Criminal Law of Scotland, and concluded them in 1833, in which year he brought out the first volumes of his popular "History of Europe," and continued that work with great industry, till that portion of it which closes with the Battle of Waterloo was finished. In 1852 he carried on the narrative down to the accession of the present Emperor Napoleon. His other principal productions were "Principles of Population in their Relation to the Welfare of Humanity," "Free Trade and Protection," "England in 1815 and 1845," and a "Life of the Duke of Marlborough."

The deceased baronet married, in 1825, Elizabeth Glencairn, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Patrick Tytler (sometime Assistant-Quartermaster-General for Scotland), and granddaughter of Lord Alva (the Hon. James Erskine), Judge in the Court of Session, by whom he left issue two sons and one daughter.

The deceased was buried in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, the funeral being attended by a large concourse of the county gentry, the magistrates of Glasgow, the Faculty of Procurators before the Sheriff's Court, the Juridical Society, Volunteers, Freemasons (of whom Sir Archibald was P.G.M.), and other public bodies.

MRS. SARAH AUSTIN.

This accomplished lady, whose death occurred on the 8th of August, was the last survivor of the Taylors of Norwich, a

family which has in several generations produced men and women distinguished by literary and scientific ability. She was born in 1793, and received in her father's house an education of more than common range. In 1820 she married Mr. John Austin, then a barrister on the Norfolk Circuit, and came to reside next door to Mr. Bentham and Mr. James Mill, in Queen-square, Westminster. Although that house could boast of none of the attractions of luxury, for the fortune of its owners was extremely small, it soon collected within its walls as remarkable an assemblage of persons as ever met in a London drawing-room. There might be seen, Jeremy Bentham and his two disciples, James and John Stuart Mill, the Grotes, the rising lawyers of that day, whose success has justified the promise of their dawn, Bickersteth, Erle, Romilly, and Senior; and all this talent and learning was enlivened in later years by the wit of Charles Buller, by the hearty sallies of Sydney Smith, by the polished eloquence of Jeffrey, the courteous amenity of Lord Lansdowne, and the varied resources of foreign visitors who found a home by Mrs. Austin's hearth.

Mrs. Austin, with the exception of some articles in the *Edinburgh Review* and in various magazines, never aspired to original literary composition. In some of the prefaces to her translations, she disclaimed all right to address the public in her own person. She therefore devoted the singular power of her pen to reproduce in English many of the best contemporary works of German and French literature. Her translations from the German, more especially, were of the highest excellence; and among these her version of Ranke's "Popes of Rome" has been commended by the best judges as deserving to retain a place in English historical literature. She also wrote many foreign travel-sketches in the *Atheneum*, to which periodical she contributed some of its best obituary notices.

Much of Mrs. Austin's life was spent abroad, and not a few of the most eminent persons in continental society enjoyed her friendship. She lived for many years in Paris, where her social qualities were held in high estimation. After the year 1848, she resided at Weybridge with her husband, whose death took place in 1859. After that event she devoted herself to a task of no small difficulty, that of preparing for the press his Professional Lectures, which had been left by him in manuscript. With the aid of one or two legal friends she succeeded in completing, out of the fragments thus remaining, a work on Jurisprudence which is unques-

tionably the noblest monument that could have been raised to the memory of her husband.

E. H. BAILY, R.A., F.R.S.

This eminent sculptor, who died on the 22nd of May, aged seventy-eight, was the eldest son of Mr. William Hillier Baily, of Bristol, by Martha, daughter of Edward Hodges, Esq. He was born at Bristol on the 10th of March, 1788, and was educated at the Grammar School of that town. His father was a ship carver, and displayed so much taste and ability in his production of ships' heads, that on one occasion he attracted the notice and commendation of Flaxman. The business of the father doubtless awakened a love of art and of the beautiful in the son's mind, who, on leaving school at fourteen years of age, was placed in a merchant's office, with the view of following commercial pursuits. Here he remained about two years, devoting his leisure hours to the study of the rudiments of art. A gentleman of Bristol kindly lent him a volume of Flaxman's designs in illustration of Homer, and gave him a commission for two groups modelled after Flaxman's conceptions. The same patron afterwards introduced him to Flaxman, who took him into his studio, and watched over the improvement of his pupil with careful solicitude. His progress henceforward was rapid. In 1807 he gained the silver medal of the Society of Arts and Sciences, and in 1809 the first silver medal, and in 1811 the gold medal and a purse of fifty guineas at the Royal Academy; the subject of the gold medal was the "Rescue of Alcestis from Orcus by Hercules."

At the age of twenty-four, Baily produced his "Eve at the Fountain," a work which added greatly to his reputation. In 1817 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and became R.A. in 1821, being the only sculptor who attained that position during the presidency of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Mr. Baily's best works are usually considered to be, "Eve listening to the Voice," a companion to his "Eve at the Fountain," "The Graces," "The Fatigued Huntsman," "The Sleeping Nymph," and a colossal statue of Sir Robert Peel for Manchester. Among his other works are—"Hercules casting Lycus into the Sea," "Apollo discharging his Arrows," and "Maternal Love," as well as statues

of Lord Egremont, Sir Astley Cooper, Earl Grey, at Newcastle; the Duke of Sussex, for Freemason's Hall; and a monument to Lord Holland, in Westminster Abbey; with many others. The statue of Nelson which surmounts the lofty column in Trafalgar-square is also one of his works.

THE RIGHT HON. F. BLACKBURNES.

Francis Blackburne, late Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, one of the most distinguished and respected lawyers of his day, was the eldest son of Richard Blackburne, Esq., of Great Foot's Town, county of Meath, and was born at that place in 1782. He received the rudiments of his education at a school in Dublin, and in 1788 entered the University of Dublin as a student, where he won a scholarship, a gold medal, and other distinctions; he graduated B.A. in 1803, and proceeded M.A. in 1806; he was also a member of the old Historical Society. In 1805 he was called to the bar, made a successful start, and in 1822 became king's counsel. In 1823 he was appointed to act as judge in the counties of Limerick and Clare, under the administration of Lord Wellesley, to enforce the Insurrection Act, and so continued until 1825, gaining the respect of all parties by the impartiality of his conduct. Under the Ministry of Earl Grey, he was made attorney-general in 1830, a period of great excitement and peril. He proved himself in all respects equal to the emergency, and vindicated the law with firmness and vigour, tempered by judicious moderation. He remained in office under the brief Administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1834-5, but retired with his chief in 1835. On the return of the Conservative Ministry to power in 1841, he was reinstated in the office of Attorney-General; and in the following year, on the death of Sir Michael O'Loughlen, was promoted to the office of Master of the Rolls. In 1846 he was transferred to the Chief Justiceship of the Queen's Bench, and in that capacity presided at the Special Commission which tried Mr. Smith O'Brien and his associates in the rebellion of 1848. In February, 1852, the Derby Administration came into power, and he was then promoted to the office of Lord Chancellor, which he vacated on the retirement of his friends. Mr. Blackburne continued unattached until 1856, when the office of

Lord Justice of Appeal in Chancery was created, and the government of Lord Palmerston did not allow political considerations to outweigh their sense of his eminent fitness for it. He retained it until the return of the Derby Ministry to power, when he was induced to accept the great seal again, although it involved a serious sacrifice. Early in the present year, owing to his failing health, he resigned the office, and retired into private life. He was distinguished at the bar and on the bench for the clear, calm, and terse style of his arguments and judgments. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of extracting the essence of law or fact, divesting a case of extrinsic and embarrassing matter, and presenting it in a concise, simple, and convincing form. He retained his mental faculties in full vigour to the close of his judicial life.

Mr. Blackburne married, in 1809, Jane, daughter of William Martley, Esq., of Ballyfallen, county Meath, by whom he left issue. He died on the 17th of September, aged eighty-five.

Few public men have had so long and so varied an experience of official life, and retained to the close of it so large an amount of confidence and respect. He played an active and distinguished part in the history of this country for a period of extraordinary duration, and his name is associated with the recollection of some of its most remarkable incidents.

ANTOINE FRANCOIS CLAUDET, F.R.S.

This artist, who acquired a wide reputation for his improvements in the processes of photography, was born at Lyons in 1797. Shortly after the discovery of the daguerreotype, M. Claudet communicated to the French Academy of Sciences a paper on the discovery of a new process for accelerating the production of the daguerreotypic image by the addition of bromide and chloride of iodine to the iodide of silver; thus permitting a portrait to be obtained in fifteen or twenty seconds. This discovery was, with the fixing of the image by chloride of gold, the completion of Daguerre's invention. In 1849 M. Claudet communicated a paper to the Académie des Sciences upon the use of a new instrument, called the "Focimeter," the object of which was to secure the good focus of photographic portraiture. At the Exhibition of 1851,

M. Claudet obtained the Council Medal for his improvements in photography. In 1853 he was elected F.R.S., and was appointed Photographer in Ordinary to Her Majesty. In 1865 he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and he had tokens of honour presented to him by the late Emperor of Russia and King Louis Philippe. He obtained also various medals and distinctions from art societies and other bodies. He died on the 27th of December.

MICHAEL FARADAY.

The obituary of 1867 records no name more eminent or deserving of higher honour than that of the enthusiastic and single-minded student of science, who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, terminated his useful and blameless life on the 25th of August.

The life of Michael Faraday had been spent from early manhood in the single pursuit of scientific discovery; and he preserved to the end the freshness and vivacity of youth in the exposition of his favourite subjects, coupled with a measure of simplicity which youth never attains. His perfect mastery of the branches of physical knowledge he cultivated, and the singular absence of personal display which characterized every thing he did, must have made him, under any circumstances, a lecturer of the highest rank; but as a man of science he was gifted with the rarest facility of experimenting, so that the illustrations of his subjects seemed to answer with magical ease to his call. It was this peculiar combination which made his lectures attractive to crowded audiences in Albemarle-street for so many years, and which brought, Christmas after Christmas, troops of young people to attend his expositions of scientific processes and scientific discovery with as much zest as is usually displayed in following lighter amusements.

Faraday was born in the neighbourhood of London in the year 1794. He was one of those men who have become distinguished in spite of every disadvantage of origin and of early education; and if the contrast between the circumstances of his birth and of his later worldly distinction be not so dazzling as is sometimes seen in other walks of life, it is also true that his career was free from the vulgar ambition

and uneasy strife after place and power which not uncommonly detract from the glory of the highest honours. His father was a smith; and he himself, after a very imperfect elementary education, was apprenticed to a bookbinder named Riebau, in Blandford-street. He was, however, already inspired with the love of natural science. His leisure was spent in the conduct of such chemical experiments as were within his means, and he ventured on the construction of an electrifying machine, thus foreshowing the particular sphere of his greatest future discoveries. He was eager to quit trade for the humblest position as a student of physical science, and his tastes becoming known to a gentleman who lived in his master's neighbourhood, he obtained for him admission to the chemical lectures which Sir Humphry Davy, then newly knighted, and in the plenitude of his powers, was delivering at the Royal Institution. This was in 1812. Faraday not only attended the lectures, but took copious notes of them, which he carefully re-wrote and boldly sent to Sir Humphry, begging his assistance in his desire "to escape from trade and to enter into the service of science." The trust in Davy's kindness which prompted the appeal was not misplaced. Sir Humphry warmly praised the powers shown in the notes of his lectures, and hoped he might be able to meet the writer's wishes. Early in 1813 the opportunity came. The post of assistant in the Laboratory in Albemarle-street became vacant, and Sir Humphry offered it to Faraday, who accepted it with a pleasure which can be easily imagined; and thus commenced, in March, 1813, the connexion between Faraday and the Royal Institution, which only terminated with his life. Faraday became very soon firmly attached to Davy. The only instance of a suspension—for it was a suspension and not a breach—of his connexion with the Royal Institution occurred from October, 1813, to April, 1815, during which time he accompanied Sir Humphry as his scientific assistant and secretary in his travels on the Continent. His life, after his return, was devoted uninterruptedly to his special studies. In 1821, while assisting Davy in pursuing the investigation of the relations between electricity and magnetism, first started by Oersted, he made the brilliant discovery of the convertible rotation of a magnetic pole and an electric current, which was the prelude to his wonderful series of experimental researches in electricity. These investigations procured him the honour of being elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences in 1823, and Fellow

of the Royal Society in 1825. In 1827 he published his first work, a volume on "Chemical Manipulation;" and in 1829 he was appointed Chemical Lecturer at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, a post he held, in conjunction with his duties at the Royal Institution, for many years. In 1831 his first paper appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions" on the subject of electricity, describing his experimental studies of the science; and from that time, for many years, the "Transactions" annually contained papers by Faraday, giving the method and results of his investigations. These papers, with some others contributed to scientific journals on the same subject, were subsequently collected at different intervals in three volumes under the title of "Experimental Researches in Electricity." The first volume appeared in 1839, and contained the contributions to the "Philosophical Transactions" up to that date. The second volume was published in 1844, and the third in 1855. It is not too much to say, that by the experiments thus described Faraday formed the science of electricity. He established the identity of the force manifested in the phenomena known as electrical, galvanic, and magnetic; he ascertained with exactness the laws of its action; he determined its correlation with the other primal forces of the natural world.

While he was still pursuing the brilliant career of investigation which thus proved so successful, the chair of Chemistry was founded at the Royal Institution in 1833, and Faraday was naturally appointed the first Professor. In 1835 he was recommended by Lord Melbourne for a pension of 300*l.* a year, in recognition of his great distinction as a discoverer. From that time his career was one of increasing honour. Oxford conferred on him an honorary degree upon the first occasion of the meeting of the British Association at the University. He was raised from the position of Corresponding Member to be one of the eight foreign Associates of the Academy of Sciences. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour, and Prussia and Italy decorated him with the crosses of different Orders. The Royal Society conferred on him its own medal and the Romford medal. In 1858 the Queen most graciously allotted to him a residence at Hampton Court, between which and Albemarle-street he spent the last years of his life, and where he peaceably died. The belief in the disinterested zeal and lofty purity of life of the students of philosophy, which was one motive for Faraday's petition when a lad to Davy, to enable him to become a servant in the

humblest walks of science, rather than to spend his days in the pursuit of trade, was justified by Faraday's whole life. No man was ever more entirely unselfish, or more entirely beloved. Modest, truthful, candid, he had the true spirit of a philosopher and of a Christian, for it may be said of him, in the words of the father of English poetry,—

"Gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

The cause of science would meet with fewer enemies, and its discoveries would command a more ready assent, were all its votaries imbued with the humility of Faraday. His mind, peculiarly gifted and educated in a school of its own, was remarkably inductive. Step by step, each most cautiously taken and then most carefully secured, he advanced quietly and perseveringly to the truth. By this power, patiently and unostentatiously exerted, he greatly extended the boundaries of knowledge, and rendered the whole human race his debtors.

LORD KINGSDOWN.

Thomas Pemberton, first and last Baron Kingsdown, was born in London on the 11th of February, 1793. He descended on his father's side from an honourable family in Warrington, and on his mother's from a branch of the family of Leigh, to whose large possessions near Wigan he eventually succeeded. His education was not of a character to prefigure his future distinction in life; for he was at no public school, at no University, and he began his legal career in a solicitor's office. Yet his scholarship was correct, and his taste for classical literature constant and unabated. It was not long, however, before his remarkable clearness and precision of intellect began to give indications of uncommon ability. He read for the Bar in the chambers of his maternal uncle, Mr. Cooke, a distinguished equity lawyer of his day; and in 1816, Mr. Pemberton was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Although only eighteen months elapsed between his call and the lamented death of Sir Samuel Romilly, then at the head of his profession, that time was long enough for the over-worked leader to remark the rare qualities and great promise of the youthful junior.

Pemberton rose rapidly into extensive practice. In 1829 he received a silk gown, and for many years, especially after the elevation of Bickersteth to the Bench, he stood at the head of the Bar, in his own court, the Rolls. In 1841, upon the formation of Sir R. Peel's Administration, he accepted the office, more onerous than lucrative, of Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales. In January, 1843, the death of his aged and eccentric kinsman, Sir Robert Leigh, placed Mr. Pemberton in possession of a life-interest in the Wigan estates, amounting to about 17,000*l.* a year. This income, in addition to his own large professional gains, raised him to affluence; he retired from the Bar, was sworn of the Privy Council as Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, and shortly afterwards entered upon his judicial duties as a member of the Judicial Committee of that body. These duties he continued to perform for twenty years with unremitting diligence, but entirely without emolument, and with no outward recognition of his services except the peerage, which was first offered to him by Lord John Russell in 1853, and eventually conferred on him by Lord Derby in 1858.

During the greater part of his career at the Bar, Mr. Pemberton sat in the House of Commons, first for the borough of Rye, and afterwards for the borough of Ripon. He was warmly attached to the principles of the Conservative party, and to their illustrious leader, Sir Robert Peel; but he was devoid of that party eagerness and passion which impel men to play a prominent part in the House of Commons. His speeches were rare and unimpassioned. Perhaps the most remarkable of them was that in which he resisted the pretensions of the House on the memorable privilege case of *Stockdale v. Hansard*, and lent his support to the maintenance of judicial authority. After his elevation to the House of Lords, Lord Kingsdown rarely took a part in the political debates of that body. He gave his services to the judicial business of the House, although he never approved the constitution or procedure of the House as a court of last resort, and regretted his inability to correct its defects. But it was in the more congenial atmosphere of the Privy Council, where the practice and forms of proceeding had gradually been moulded and settled by Lord Kingsdown's own influence and example, that he has left the most conspicuous traces of his judicial ability.

In 1858, upon the formation of Lord Derby's Administration, the Great Seal was offered to Mr. Pemberton Leigh (as

he was then called), and no doubt if he had accepted it, his name would have added considerably to the weight and dignity of that short-lived Ministry. But he refused it. His singular modesty, his dislike of outward show and display, his extreme shyness of disposition, and his indifference to the emoluments of office, rendered him averse to the honour for which other men have toiled their lives away. The predominant quality of Lord Kingsdown's character was a fastidious refinement, which removed him altogether from the common pursuits of fame and power. "No breath of popularity," as he once expressed it, "ever touched his sail." Nothing satisfied him in his own productions short of the highest perfection which he was able to attain. Many of his judgments were written several times over; all were revised with elaborate minuteness. Although the deceased nobleman never filled any prominent office in the State; although he retired from the bar a quarter of a century before his death, and devoted his great judicial talents and legal experience almost exclusively to a tribunal which does not often challenge public attention; although his whole life was singularly retired and uneventful, yet those who knew him well and are fully competent to judge, place him, without hesitation, in the highest rank of English lawyers; and even to the public, his name, associated with some of the most enlightened and important judgments of modern times, carried a degree of weight not always attached to names of higher official authority. The mind he brought to bear on the questions before him was deep, clear, and unruffled; his patience was inexhaustible; his sense of justice and of right even more acute than his love of legal precision and accuracy. He searched and brought out the juridical principle of which the law itself is but the form and expression; and he aimed at framing the decisions of the Court on large grounds of analogy and reason. The wide jurisdiction of the Privy Council was favourable to the application of these principles. Lord Kingsdown mastered with extraordinary care the complicated subject of the land tenures of India; he more than once opposed an insurmountable barrier to the exactions of the Indian Government, and taught the judicial authorities of India many an invaluable lesson of moderation and wisdom. It also devolved upon him to share in the decision of those great ecclesiastical causes which are imperishably connected with the history of the Church of England. The cases of "*Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter*," of "*Liddell*

v. Westerton," "Long v. the Bishop of Capetown," and "Essays and Reviews," were decided by Committees of the Privy Council, in which Lord Kingsdown took an active part, and they were decided in entire conformity with his views. Friendly to the Church of England, as a pious, tolerant, and beneficent institution, he abhorred the exclusive pretensions of dogmatical theologians, and he held very cheap the claims of sacerdotal authority. To maintain the Church of England on the broad foundations of the law of the land, without allowing any party to persecute or proscribe its opponents, was the scope and object of his views. Lord Kingsdown was never married. He died at his seat, Torre-hill, Kent, on the 7th of October, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

**SIR WILLIAM LAWRENCE, F.R.S.,
SERJEANT-SURGEON TO THE QUEEN.**

This eminent surgeon, who died of a paralytic seizure on the 5th of July, at the advanced age of eighty-four, was born in July, 1783, at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, in which town his father had practised as a surgeon for a long period. He received his education at a classical school near Gloucester; and such good use did he make of his instruction, that he became an excellent classical scholar. On the completion of his elementary education he went to reside in the house of the celebrated Abernethy, to whom he was apprenticed in February, 1799. Young Lawrence soon displayed the abilities which afterwards distinguished him, and, being industrious and accommodating, won the favour of his illustrious preceptor, who, after he had been three years a pupil, appointed him a demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He thus began to teach at an early age, and the assiduity and talent displayed fully justified the selection, which the favour of his fellow-students also ratified. He continued to perform the duties of demonstrator for twelve years. On the 6th of September, 1805, he passed his examination at the College of Surgeons, having previously distinguished himself, when only eighteen years of age, by a translation from the Latin of a description of the arteries of the human body. His next contribution to medical literature was auspicious. It obtained the Jacksonian Prize of the College of Sur-

geons. The subject was "Hernia." It was a good practical essay, well arranged, and perspicuously written. In the following year he brought out a translation from the German of Blumenbach's work on "Comparative Anatomy," and he rendered valuable service in directing public attention to the cultivation of this most interesting study. In 1813 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in the same year was appointed assistant-surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Here he had a large class to hear him. His manner as a lecturer was a model of art; his person, gestures, countenance, and voice were dignified and persuasive. There was a clearness of method, a terseness of expression, a perspicuity in his discourse, that made it a pleasure to follow him. In 1814 he was appointed surgeon to the Eye Infirmary, and in the following year to the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem. His surgical operations were remarkable for neatness, celerity, and safety. In 1815 he was unanimously elected Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons. His lectures were published under the title of "The Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man," and provoked severe criticisms. Abernethy denounced his pupil as a materialist, and charged him with prostituting his office as lecturer to the Royal College of Surgeons to promulgate false and pernicious doctrines. Lawrence retorted with skill and eloquence. The governors of the Royal Hospitals, anxious that the students under their charge should not be indoctrinated with false philosophical and religious impressions, called upon Lawrence to resign either his appointment or his convictions; accordingly he wrote to the president and aldermen, that "experience and reflection had only tended to convince him more strongly that the publication of certain passages in the lectures was highly improper," &c., and he promised to withdraw them from circulation, and not only never to reprint them, but also never to publish any thing more on similar subjects. In 1824 he was elected principal surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, an appointment in which he was succeeded, on his retirement, by Mr. Wormald, the President of the College of Surgeons, who had been assistant-surgeon for twenty-five years.

On the 8th of August, 1828, Sir William Lawrence was elected a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, in the vacancy occasioned by the decease of Sir Patrick M'Gregor. In 1834 and 1846 he delivered the Hunterian

orations. On the 24th of November, 1840, he was elected a member of the Court of Examiners, in the vacancy occasioned by the decease of Sir Anthony Carlisle, passing over the senior members of the Council, Messrs. Copeland, Briggs, and Howship. This valuable appointment he held until his decease. He had now obtained all the highest honours, limited as they are, which can be conferred on members of the medical profession. He had, in addition to the appointments already mentioned, been twice elected President of the College of Surgeons, viz. in July, 1846, and again in 1855. When the Government introduced and passed the Medical Act, which created a Council of Medical Education and Registration, Sir William was at once appointed a member of the Board; he had previously been made Sergeant-Surgeon to Her Majesty, and a few weeks before his death was created a baronet.

BARON MAROCHETTI, R.A.

Charles, Baron Marochetti, who for many years held the position of an eminent sculptor, both in England, where many of his most important works were executed, and also on the Continent, was born at Turin, of French parents, in 1805. He received his education at Paris at the Lycée Napoleon, after which he was placed with Bosio, a Parisian sculptor of some eminence. While studying in his *atelier*, he obtained honourable mention from the Ecole des Beaux Arts, but was not awarded any other distinction; and his journey to Italy, to complete his studies, was undertaken at his own expense. In the year 1827 he returned to France, and in the same year exhibited a group, "A Girl playing with a Dog," for which a medal was awarded him. This group he presented to the King of Sardinia. In 1831 he exhibited his "Fallen Angel," and somewhat later he executed for the Academy of Arts of Turin a statue of Monsignor Mossi. He presented to the capital of Sardinia an equestrian statue of Emanuel Phillibert, which is by many esteemed his *chef-d'œuvre*, and which was his sole contribution to the French Exposition of 1855. Many of his works are well known in Paris, and among them are one of the bas-reliefs on the Arc d'Etoile; the tomb of Bellini, at Père la Chaise; a *maître d'autel* in the Church of the Madeleine; two equestrian statues of the

Duke of Orleans; a Saint Michel, and a statue of the Emperor. Shortly after the revolution of February, 1848, Marochetti threw in his lot with the exiled Bourbons, and came to England, where he soon became known in art circles. In 1851 he contributed the model of a colossal equestrian statue of Richard Cœur de Lion to the Great Exhibition; but, dissatisfied with the position allotted to it inside the building, he set it up at some distance from the western entrance. The position of the figure and its spirited attitude attracted no small share of attention, and this model was the means of bringing the sculptor into very general notice. The statue was afterwards executed in bronze, and placed close to the new Palace at Westminster, the cost being defrayed by a national subscription. The people of Glasgow commissioned him to execute for them an equestrian statue of the Queen, which was inaugurated in 1854. In this year he exhibited at the Royal Academy "Love playing with a Dog." In 1856 he executed the granite monument to the memory of the English soldiers slain in the Crimea; and a year later the monument of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I. He also executed a bronze statue of the great Duke of Wellington, which now surmounts a huge monolith erected to his memory at the principal entrance to the park at Strathfieldsaye. One of his most recent works has been a monument to Lord Clyde, which stands in Waterloo-place. Of the merits of Marochetti's productions there are various opinions, but all will agree in awarding to him a high position among artists. The spirit and the vigour of conception displayed by some of his productions are sufficient to entitle him to the fame which he has acquired, and his decease will be mourned by all true lovers of art. His urbanity and *savoir faire* made him welcome to all.

Baron Marochetti was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1839, and a Grand Officer of the order of St. Maurice and Lazarus in 1861. He obtained the honour of R.A. in 1866. He was *en route* to Brussels, for the purpose of being present at the marriage of his eldest son to the daughter of the Saxon Minister in that city, when he was taken ill, and died suddenly, on the 29th of December, at the house of his sister-in-law, the Countess de Sade, at Passy.

JOHN PHILLIP, R.A.

This popular artist, who died of a paralytic seizure on the 19th of February, was born in Aberdeen in the early part of 1817. Like many other celebrated artists, he commenced his career as a house-painter. During his apprenticeship he painted some studies of heads, in his leisure hours, which attracted the notice of the late Lord Panmure, by whose liberality he was enabled to prosecute his studies in London. He entered the Royal Academy as a student in 1837, and astonished his fellow-labourers by his amazing dexterity, especially with the brush. From that day he was a constant contributor to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. But however skilful was his work, Mr. Phillip never became famous until a happy thought led him to Spain, and the influence of Velasquez and the habits and costumes of the people aroused his latent powers. His first Spanish picture, "The Letter Writer," in the possession of Her Majesty, at once placed him in a conspicuous position, which his subsequent works enhanced. He was made an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1857, and two years later he attained the full honour. Of the many works he had in hand, two at least were sufficiently finished to allow of their being placed in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy of 1867. They showed that his powers were in greater force than ever, and caused increased regret for the loss sustained through his untimely death.

THE EARL OF ROSSE.

The Right Hon. William Parsons, third Earl of Rosse and Baron of Oxmantown, K.P., and a representative peer of Ireland, whose devotion to the pursuit of astronomical science reflected honour both on his own house and the order to which he belonged, was the eldest son of Lawrence, second Earl of Rosse, by Alice, daughter of John Lloyd, Esq., of Gloster, King's County, and was born at York on the 17th of June, 1800. He was educated at Dublin University and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took high honours, being first class in mathematics in 1822. He was M.P. for King's County, Ireland, in the House of Commons, from 1821 to 1834, and succeeded his father in the earldom in 1841. In 1845 he was elected

a representative peer of Ireland, and had been lord-lieutenant of King's County since 1831, and colonel of the King's County Militia from 1834. Since 1862 he had filled the distinguished post of Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Latterly he had directed his attention to the local interests of Ireland, and had published a valuable pamphlet on the state of that country. The deceased nobleman was a Conservative in politics, but took little part in them. His name was unheard in the debates during the whole of that stirring period which embraced the discussions on Catholic Emancipation and Reform. The charms of science asserted their ascendancy, and weaned him from all pursuits that interfered with their supremacy. During the stormy discussions on the first Reform Bill, he was occupied with the construction of his first famous telescope, the speculum of which had a larger diameter than any instrument that preceded it. The success of the instrument in immensely enlarging the horizon of the skies and bringing new worlds and systems within the ken of science was instantaneous and complete, and it emboldened the earl to still further strides in the size of telescopes. His first speculum had a diameter of three feet; he determined to cast one of double the size. The difficulties in the way of producing such large mirrors were of the most formidable description, and could only be fairly grappled with by one who to scientific zeal united considerable pecuniary resources. Every step in the process had to be pioneered by experiment, and success was slowly won at the cost of many and harassing failures. Even the proper admixture of the metals for the formation of the reflector had to be ascertained by numerous and costly experiments. The gigantic speculum was at length turned out without warp or flaw. It was mounted on a telescope of fifty-two feet in length, and the machinery required to move such a ponderous instrument again taxed his lordship's inventive powers. Here again he was successful. A series of swivels, cranks, and pulleys enabled it to be elevated or depressed at pleasure, to be moved round to the different quarters of the heavens, and to be handled with as much ease as instruments of ordinary size. The sphere of observation was immensely widened by an instrument so powerful: new nebulae were resolved into stars; new nebulous mist was revealed to the observation. The value of the instrument was not only seen in the enlarged power it gave to astronomers, but it opened the way to other instruments of equal power being constructed. B-

though Lord Rosse's instrument is no longer unique, it will always possess interest as the first of the size that was ever constructed, and as leading the way to all the others.

The scientific fame of the late Earl of Rosse will rest rather upon the mechanical than upon the observational branch of astronomy. The honour that in the walk of practical engineering we should accord to our Whitworths and Nasmyths as *makers of tools*, belongs, in the walk of astronomy, to the late earl. There is no disparagement implied in this comparison; it may be justly urged, that to him who makes a tool greater honour is due than to him who uses it when it is made. Eyes are common to all men; all could make brilliant discoveries if they had the means. It was the means that the Earl of Rosse supplied. Considering the immense power of the great telescope, the results that have emanated from it, although startling in their nature, have been small in extent. Drawings of the most remarkable nebulae, a few sketches of parts of the lunar surface, and lastly, a large drawing of the nebulae in Orion, are the chief fruits that are publicly known to have been gathered from it. But its work is not yet done, though its founder is no more. The son of the late earl inherits not only the title, but the scientific tastes of his father.

The published writings of the late earl comprise accurate descriptions of his telescopes and the modes by which they were constructed, together with such drawings and observations as were made with them. These appear in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which body their author was President from 1849 to 1854. During his presidency, the Earl of Rosse received the Royal Medal for his contributions to astronomical science. He served on several Royal Commissions on matters involving scientific treatment. He was one of the official visitors to the Royal Observatory, appointed by royal warrant to report to and advise the Government upon the working of that establishment¹. He was a member of many learned and scientific societies, and also of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. He was also nominated a member of the Legion of Honour of France. The late earl, independently of his great scientific attainments, was a genial companion and a liberal landlord. By his friends and tenantry he was deservedly beloved.

His lordship married, on the 14th of

April, 1836, Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the late John Warner Field, Esq., of Heaton Hall, Yorkshire, by whom he left issue three sons, the eldest, Lawrence, Lord Oxmantown, born in 1840, being successor to the title.

The earl died on the 31st of October, and was interred in the church of St. Brandon, Parsonstown, between 4000 and 5000 tenantry on his lordship's estates joining in the procession.

CLARKSON STANFIELD, R.A.

This accomplished and successful artist was the son of the late James Field Stanfield, Esq., of Sunderland, who was the author of several well-known works, among which may be mentioned an "Essay on Biography." He was born at Sunderland in 1793, and his infancy and boyhood, passed as they were in a seaport town, influenced the choice of his profession in favour of the marine service, which he entered whilst still a lad; and his early practical acquaintance with the sea and with shipping doubtless contributed largely to his success as a marine painter. In 1823 he made his first appearance in London as an exhibitor at the Society of British Artists. About the same time he engaged himself to paint scenes for one of the metropolitan theatres; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the art of scene-painting raised, very much through his own genius and labours to a superior position. The first picture of Stanfield's which attracted much attention was his "Market Boats on the Scheldt," exhibited at the British Institution in 1826, followed in the next year by his "Wreckers off Fort Rouge, near Calais," and his "Calm;" the latter being exhibited at the Royal Academy. His next important work, though of a different character, was "Erlstoke Park," a view of the Wiltshire residence of the late George Watson-Taylor, Esq., The picture, exhibited at the Society of British Artists in 1829, was followed next year by "Mount St. Michael." About this time Mr. Stanfield visited the Continent in search of the picturesque. Nor was his visit void of fruit. In 1831 he had four pictures at the Academy, "A Storm," "Strasburg," "Venice," and "The Fisherman of Honfleur." In 1832, at the British Institution and at the Academy, appeared "Opening of New London

¹ Lord Wrottesley and Sir James South also held this office.

Bridge," and "Portsmouth Harbour," both of them commissions from the late King William IV. In the same year Stanfield was elected an Associate of the Academy. In 1833 he sent to the Academy the first of a series of ten large pictures, painted by commission for the Marquis of Lansdowne, and which now adorn the banquetting-room at Bowood. They are, "The Piazza di San Marco," the islands of "Mazerbo" and "Livenza," "The Ducal Palace from the Dogana," "Santa Maria della Salute," "The Island of Murano," and "Citara." This series was completed in 1840; during the same time he was engaged upon a similar series of Venetian views for the Duchess of Sutherland, at Trentham. Stanfield made frequent visits to the Continent. France, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland supplied him with numerous subjects of landscape study, varied by him to such a degree, that it is sometimes difficult to recognize the hand of the painter. Among his later productions are "The Battle of Ischia," "The Day after the Wreck," "French Troops crossing the Magra," an episode of the first campaign in Italy; "The Battle of Roveredo," "The Abandoned," "Wind against Tide," "The 'Victory' towed into Gibraltar after the Battle of Trafalgar," "The Siege of St. Sebastian," and "The Bass Rock." The stage was deeply indebted to the deceased artist for many beautiful works. It is said that he created, and afterwards painted out with his own brush, more scenic masterpieces than any other man, his industry throughout his career having been as remarkable as his genius.

Clarkson Stanfield was twice married, and left a widow and a numerous family. His eldest surviving son, Mr. George Clarkson Stanfield, inherits much of his genius as a landscape painter. He has been for many years a constant exhibitor at the Academy.

Clarkson Stanfield's death took place on the 18th of May, and he was interred on the 27th in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, in the presence of a large concourse of friends, including many of the leading members of the Royal Academy.

LORD JUSTICE SIR GEORGE TURNER.

The legal profession lost, on the 9th of July, a member whose professional career, both at the bar and on the judicial bench, had won for him high and general respect,

and whose loss was truly appreciated by the public.

Sir George Turner was one of a large family, and was born in 1798, at Great Yarmouth, where his father, the Rev. Richard Turner, was for thirty years the minister. His education was commenced at Charterhouse (of which he was afterwards a governor), and finished at Pembroke College, Cambridge, of which his uncle, Dr. Joseph Turner, Dean of Norwich, was then master. In 1819 he took his degree as wrangler, and was soon afterwards elected a Fellow of Pembroke.

His name having been entered at Lincoln's-inn a short time previously, he was called to the Bar in July, 1821; in 1840 he became a Queen's Counsel. From 1847 to 1851 he sat in the House of Commons as member for Coventry. In 1851 he was selected as one of the Vice-Chancellors; and in 1853, when Lord Cottenham was appointed Lord Chancellor, he was promoted to the place of Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal, as the colleague of the late Sir James Lewis Knight Bruce, whom he survived only a few months.

He married, in 1823, Louisa, the youngest daughter of Mr. Edward Jones, of Brackley, Northamptonshire, by whom he left a large family.

As a judge, Sir George Turner cannot be better described than in the words which Lord Chancellor Chelmsford addressed to the Bar upon his decease: "The unvarying kindness and courtesy which he showed to every one, his devoted and patient attention to every case brought before him, and the anxious care with which he worked out his judgments, which were always full and satisfactory, will never be forgotten; and I am sure that there is hardly any one connected with the Court of Chancery who does not feel that he has almost lost a personal friend in that most amiable and estimable man and upright and conscientious judge."

SIR GEORGE SMART.

The name of this respected gentleman, so well known for a very long period as a teacher and director in the musical world, seems to belong to a former generation. He died at the advanced age of ninety, at his house in Great Portland-street, on the 23rd of February. As composer and organist to the Chapel Royal, St. James's, he directed the music at the coronations of King William and Queen Adelaide and of her present Majesty. But his musical career may be dated from his presence as a boy at the Handel Commemoration at

Westminster Abbey in 1784. Sir George was one of the founders of the Philharmonic Society, in 1813, and directed the famous City Concerts in 1818, founded by Mr. Heath, afterwards Governor of the Bank of England. He was also conductor of the musical festivals in Norwich, York, Derby, Liverpool, and Manchester. In 1836 he introduced, for the first time in this country, Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul*, at Liverpool. In the same year he conducted the famed Manchester festival, at which three entire streets were covered over and connected for the concluding fancy ball, at which 7000 persons were present. It was at this meeting that Malibran died. From 1813 up to the period of their extinction by the Sacred Harmonic Society, Sir George Smart directed the Lenten Oratorios both at Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres. He was director of the music at Covent Garden Theatre under the management of Charles Kemble, and it was Sir George who engaged Weber to compose "*Oberon*" for that establishment. Weber was the guest of Sir George Smart at the time. The great German composer died in Sir George's house, on the 4th of June, 1826. Sir George was knighted in Dublin in 1811 by the Duke of Richmond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a careful and conscientious musician, and possessed a demonstrative ability, which particularly developed itself in the arrangements of great concerts and festivals. His integrity secured for him the respect of the *artistes*, native and foreign, with whom he came in contact for more than threescore years. He was past eighty before he ceased to give singing lessons; and his father, a music publisher in Argyle-street, having heard Handel conduct his oratorios, transmitted the traditions to Sir George, who consequently became the master of almost every singer who desired to acquire the true Handelian style and time. He taught Sontag and Jenny Lind oratorio music.

SIR ROBERT SMIRKE.

This able and successful architect, who died on the 18th of April, at his house, 20, Suffolk-square, Cheltenham, was the elder son of the accomplished painter, Robert Smirke, R.A., and was brother of Sydney Smirke, R.A., like himself, an architect of note. He was born in 1780, and studied for some time in the office of Sir John Soane, and subsequently spent several years in Italy, Sicily, and Greece, visiting, at intervals, the principal

cities of Europe. Steadily advancing in his profession, he was elected R.A. in 1813; and in 1823 was entrusted with the building of the British Museum, and shortly after, of the new Post Office; these, and the restoration of York Minster after its destruction by fire in 1829, being among the best known of his public works; while Lowther and Eastnor Castles may be pointed to as noble examples of his talent in the construction of private mansions. He was for many years architect to the old Board of Works, and was knighted in 1831, when that Board was reconstituted. He held for a long time the office of treasurer to the Royal Academy, but relinquished that appointment on fixing his residence at Cheltenham in 1850. A few years ago, on finding his declining health materially interfering with the efficient discharge of the duties of a Royal Academician, he resigned that honour, in order that it might be conferred on some one younger and more active. Sir Robert enjoyed a high reputation for integrity, practical capacity, and a thorough mastery of the constructive principles of his art.

ALEXANDER SMITH.

The career of this youthful poet, who had attained some note in Scotland, and might have achieved, had his life been spared, a more wide-spread reputation, was cut short by death, on the 5th of January, at Wardie, near Edinburgh. He was born on the 31st of December, 1830, at Kilmarnock, where his father was a drawer of patterns, or lace-designer; and the lad having shown some literary inclination, was destined for the ministry of the Presbyterian Established Church. A serious illness and adverse family circumstances interfered with the continuance of his theological course, and he was apprenticed to the business of lace-designing. He cultivated literature, however, and from a work he composed, "*The Life Drama*," he forwarded some extracts to the Rev. George Gilfillan, of Dundee, who obtained a place for them in the "*Critic*." In 1855 he brought out, in conjunction with Mr. Sydney Dobell, "*Sonnets on the Crimean War*," and, in 1857, "*City Poems*," and "*Edwin of Deira*." During the last six or eight years Mr. Smith dedicated his talents mainly to prose writing. In 1865 he published "*A Summer in Skye*," containing charming descriptions of Edinburgh and its people, and of Scottish scenery.

His "Dreamthorp" and "Alfred Hagart's Household" are also well known. Mr. Smith was a frequent contributor to the magazines and other journals, and brought out for Mr. Macmillan a beautiful edition of Burns.

SIR JAMES SOUTH, F.R.S.

The subject of this notice, who died on the 19th of October, at the advanced age of eighty-two, was the son of a dispensing druggist, who, towards the close of the last century, carried on business in Blackman-street, Borough; but James South entered upon a higher branch of the medical profession, and became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. For some years he practised his profession in Southwark, and in the intervals of business pursued the study of astronomy, in connexion with which he made some extremely valuable observations. In 1822 and 1823, in conjunction with Sir John Herschel, he compiled a catalogue of 380 double stars. A further series of observations of 458 double and triple stars was communicated to the Royal Society in 1826. A number of miscella-

neous observations, papers on astronomical instruments, &c., were at various times published in the Memoirs of the Royal and Royal Astronomical Societies. Of the latter, Sir James was one of the founders, and for a time its president; of the former he was elected fellow in 1821, and received the Copley medal in 1826. Some minor papers and articles by him were printed in the "Quarterly Journal of Science," and in "Phillips' Annals of Philosophy." Several tracts, generally of a critical nature, were privately circulated by Sir James, and he was a frequent contributor to the correspondence columns of the daily newspapers. About the year 1825 he removed to Campden-hill, Kensington, where he established a very complete observatory, to which he devoted himself during the remainder of his life, not, however, publishing any results of his labours since about the year 1835.

In 1830, on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, who was then Prime Minister, he received the honour of knighthood, and for several years enjoyed a pension of 300*l.* a year on the civil list, for his contributions to astronomical science. The account of Sir James South's astronomical observations during his residence in Southwark, is published in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1825.

REMARKABLE TRIALS.

I.

TRIAL FOR THE RESCUE OF FENIAN PRISONERS AND MURDER OF A POLICE SERGEANT AT MANCHESTER.

A SPECIAL Commission having been appointed by the Crown for the trial of the men who had been committed at Manchester, on the charge of rescuing Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy from the prison-van, and the Murder of Sergeant Charles Brett, on the 18th of September¹, the trial commenced before Mr. Justice Blackburn and Mr. Justice Mellor, on the 28th of October. There were twenty-six men to be arraigned on account of this transaction. The preparations for the trial and the precautions adopted against any outbreak or attempt at rescue, were on a considerable scale. A military force of nearly 2000 men, assisted by a large body of armed police, was employed to guard the route and approaches from the gaol to the Assize Court, and to escort the van containing the prisoners. The proceedings excited extraordinary interest.

The Attorney-General (Sir J. B. Karslake), Mr. Higgin, and Mr. Hannen, were counsel for the Crown. Mr. Digby Seymour, Q.C., Mr. Sergeant O'Brien, Mr. Cottingham, and Mr. Ernest Jones, were for the defence.

Mr. Justice Blackburn having charged the Grand Jury, they retired, and returned in an hour and a half with true bills against William O'Meara Allen, Michael Larkin, William Gould, Thomas Maguire, and Edwin Shore. These prisoners having been arraigned, they severally pleaded Not Guilty.

The Attorney-General, in opening the case for the prosecution said, the prisoners at the bar were, as the jury had heard, charged with the crime of murder, committed on the 18th of September, during an attack upon the prison-van, which was conveying prisoners from the Court at Manchester to the prison at Bellevue. They would find beyond all question, that on that day a plan had been arranged to rescue certain prisoners in the van—men known as White and Williams, and afterwards as Kelly and Deasy. The Attorney-General then recapitulated the circumstances connected with the arrest of Kelly and Deasy, the attack upon the van to rescue them, the murder of Brett, and the final rescue of the two men. He then said the prisoners in the dock stood before them, charged with having,

¹ For an account of this transaction, see the "Chronicle" for September, ante p. 131.

on the 18th of September, caused the death of Charles Brett. The jury would have to see carefully that that which was charged against each of the prisoners—namely having been present and engaged in this affair—was made out to their satisfaction. He stated the law of the case to be that when men combined together with a common design to rescue, and prepared to use violence if necessary, and death ensued—the crime was murder against all engaged. He should produce witnesses who would speak to each of the prisoners as having been present and engaged in the transaction.

Joseph Yarwood, policeman, deposed to the attack on the police-van on the 18th of September. Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy were amongst the prisoners in it. The van had eight boxes on each side, and a corridor running between. Charles Brett, policeman, got in before the van started. Brett would have to stand in the corridor. Some women were also in the corridor. Four policemen followed the van in a cab. The van was proceeding from the police-court to Bellevue Gaol, three miles distant. The van was proceeding along the Hyderoad, which is crossed by a railway arch. When the horses had got half way through the arch, the prisoner Larkin rushed towards the horses' heads. The witness then described the particulars of the attack on the van, and identified Allen, Maguire, Larkin, and Gould.

George Shaw, policeman, identified the five prisoners, and said he saw Allen assisting to break the van. Allen fired at the van, and witness then heard a person inside the van say, "He has killed him." Some of the police collected together and tried to get into the van, but could not do so. They were driven back by stones and shots. He saw Allen fire a shot which hit a man named Sprossen, a civilian, in the foot.—Cross-examined: More than thirty shots were fired from first to last. Witness got behind the abutment of the bridge, occasionally popping out his head to take an observation. He saw persons hammering at the lock. When he saw Allen fire, as it seemed to him at the lock, it was after the hammering. It was his impression that Allen fired to knock the lock off. Witness was the nearest officer to Allen when he was on the steps of the van.

Thos. Patterson, a puddler, also deposed to the attack, and said he could see the back of the van. Allen went close up to the door and placed both revolvers up at the ventilator, and witness heard the report. This was followed by a scream from a woman inside. The door was afterwards opened, and witness saw Brett fall out, and then two women got out. Two men afterwards got out handcuffed, and Allen said, "Arrah! Kelly, I'll die for you before I'll deliver you up." The two men who got out ran away in the direction of the Sheffield line, and Allen called out that he would shoot any body who followed.

George Pickup, brickmaker, and John Griffiths, hair-dresser, also deposed to the circumstances of the attack.

George Mulholland, aged twelve years, deposed to the attack on the van, as also did John Beck, railway clerk, and John Knowles, a grocer, the latter, in cross-examination, denying that he had at any time said he should like to see a Fenian hanged. He said that on the Thursday morning he went to the police-station, and saw Superintendent Gee there. He was taken into a room where two men were chained to each other. He saw Gould in the corner, and a chain on the floor of the room. He did not know Gould was fastened to the chain. He thought Gould might have been playing with it. He saw another man there next the chain. He mentioned the name of a person of the name of Redding on that day. He at first declined to identify Redding, but afterwards did so.

Wm. Hughes, engine-fitter, also deposed to the facts, and identified the prisoners.

Geo. Moorhouse said he was standing 400 yards from the arch, and saw the van go by. He then went across the brick croft, and saw some men running. Allen, Larkin, and Gould were amongst them. When Allen got to the railway embankment, he presented a pistol at the people who were following. Witness assisted in capturing Allen, Larkin, and Gould. He did not hear Allen say any thing when he was taken.

Thos. Barlow said he was at work at Ashton. He knew nothing of the stopping of the van, but he saw people running, and thought it was a "pitch in" (that is, that two carriages had run into each other). He went towards the railway station, and saw Allen and Gould walking arm in arm. He put out his hand to catch Allen, who said, "If you come a step further, I'll blow your brains out." Witness told him to put down the pistol if he had done no mischief, and if he had he would be sure to be caught. The crowd then came nearer, and some one shouted, "They have killed a policeman." Allen ran away, followed by witness, and discharged his pistol into a field.

Emma Halliday, a prisoner who was in the van, said that she and five more women were in the "alley" of the van when it was stopped, and there was hammering at the van-door. She identified Allen as the man who fired the shot which killed Brett. Witness was in custody for felony. There were two previous convictions against her. It was freely stated in the witness-room that 200*l.* reward would be given for information as to the murder of Brett,

Ellen Cooper and Joseph Parkinson, prisoners in the van, also deposed to the facts as to the seizure of Kelly and Deasy. Several other witnesses who had been in the crowd when the attack was made, also deposed to the circumstances.

Seth Bromley, one of the wounded policemen, James Thompson, policeman, and other witnesses, deposed to the circumstances narrated by the other witnesses.

Inspector Garner deposed as to the remand of Kelly and Deasy by the magistrates. He said that after Kelly and Deasy escaped, he tore up the warrant for committing them to gaol. He did so because a new warrant would have to be made out if they were reapprehended.

Inspector Williamson (from Scotland-yard) said he, on the 18th inst., presented to the Manchester magistrates a warrant against Kelly; a constable from Ireland had a warrant against Deasy.

Thomas Welby, of the Irish constabulary, said both warrants were made out against Kelly and Deasy as being Fenians.

After some further evidence,

The Attorney-General said that finished the case for the Crown.

Mr. Seymour said he had to submit that the legality of the imprisonment of Kelly and Deasy was an important element in the case; for if their detention was illegal, either from excess of jurisdiction on the part of the magistrate, or from irregularity, such as the want of a proper warrant for the person who had the prisoners in charge; then, whatever might be the cause for false imprisonment in a matter of criminal inquiry, it altered the complexion of the offence charged against the men who took part in procuring that rescue. What degree of force—assuming for one moment there was such an irregularity, or such an invalidity—would Kelly and Deasy have been justified in using in gaining their own liberty? The law gives a man the utmost power of procuring his escape from an

illegal apprehension, and it has been laid down that that which a prisoner may do in breaking a prison to escape himself, may be done by third parties on his behalf. In *Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown*, page 201, it is laid down that a person irregularly committed breaking a prison may be excused the capital penalty, and any person who rescues him may also be excused. These men were arrested under the Vagrant Act on suspicion of felony, but were irregularly remanded for felony, which was not strictly the charge against them.

The Attorney-General having addressed the Court in answer to the objection taken,

Mr. Justice Blackburn said: We have considered the objection, and Mr. Justice Mellor and myself think it is not a question for the jury. The question for the jury is whether they had a common design to rescue Kelly and Deasy from the constable who had possession of them, and for the purpose of that common design used dangerous violence to those who had the custody of them. If that was so, and the jury are satisfied that all the prisoners had a common design, and that dangerous violence was used in furtherance of that design, and that Brett met his death from that violence, then the crime is murder. Supposing even that the custody was illegal or irregular, that would be no excuse for the persons making the attack upon the constables for the purpose of favouring their escape. We do not mean to express an opinion how it might have been if the affair had been sudden. There must be provocation to reduce it to manslaughter; and even supposing it an illegal custody, and other persons use violence, we are of opinion that is the crime of murder. Further than that, we are both of opinion that, though the commitments were informal, the arrest was valid. The question that will be left to the jury is whether there was that design. If they find that, then it will be right for them to find a verdict of murder. On our return to town, if we find our opinion is questioned, we will take means to review it. We shall be glad to receive assistance from the learned counsel or other members of the bar who may send cases. If the other prisoners combined with the intention of using dangerous violence to procure the escape, they would be equally guilty with the man who did it.

Mr. Seymour then requested to be allowed to call witnesses for the defence before he addressed the jury.

The Court assented.

Miss Mary Flannigan, a governess in the family of Mr. Lecombe, 264, Oxford-street, Manchester, said, On the 18th of September (the day of the attack) she was taking a walk in the Hyde-road, and was speaking to a person named Wilson, when she saw Gould talking to some friends. She saw a cab coming up with a policeman in it, who drove to the city gaol. Witness was examined before the magistrates. She was called for another prisoner, but was examined by Gould. She did not know Gould before the 18th of September.—Cross-examined: She told the magistrates that she was going to Paris. She had permission to stay away from her situation till this affair was over. She had stayed with Mrs. Wilson, whose husband, a clothes-dealer in Corporation-buildings, was one of the persons charged with the attack on the van. She did not know that Kelly or Deasy lodged there or visited there. She had been only twice to his house before this occurrence. She was introduced by Mr. Jones, who called at her mother's house, the Foundry Inn, near Liverpool, about twelve miles from Manchester. Witness left that inn in June.

Mary O'Leary, wife of a packer, in Manchester, and sister to Mrs. Wilson, said

she left Wilson's house in an omnibus on the 18th, with Wilson, his wife, and child, to go to Bellevue Gardens. A cart ran into the omnibus, and they got out opposite the City Gaol. She saw Gould opposite the Justice Birch Inn. She saw Miss Flannigan there.—Cross-examined: "I knew a person called White, but did not know he was called Deasy. I did not know Kelly. White had lodged with us six weeks. I knew that he had been remanded on the day we went to Bellevue. I did not know that Wilson knew him otherwise than as a customer for clothes. While the child was ill, I was at Wilson's every night. I never saw White there then. I knew Gould, because he used to visit a lodger of mine called Hoy. I had seen Miss Flannigan, and knew she was a governess in a gentleman's family. Gould left soon after the cab went by." By Mr. Seymour: "After I gave evidence I was so much visited by the police that I was obliged to change my residence. Mrs. Wilson is hourly expecting her confinement, and is not able to be here to-day."

Superintendent Gee stated, that when Gould was identified at the station, he was chained to another prisoner, and was the only person who was so chained.

Isabella Fee, beer-house keeper, Rochdale-road, and Joseph Fee, her son, deposed that Shore was in their house at a quarter before four o'clock on the day of the outrage. (The outrage was at four o'clock. Rochdale-road is about three miles distant.)

Francis Kelly, tailor, saw Shore at Fee's house at the time mentioned.

Elizabeth Perkins, widow, sister of the prisoner Maguire, said that he was a marine in Her Majesty's service. He was living in her house up to the 18th of September. He was on furlough from Plymouth. He had been in the service twelve or thirteen years. He did not get up until half-past three o'clock on the 18th, because he was not well, and he did not go out until ten minutes to seven.

Mary Ingham, Martha Hancock, Louisa Carroll, Elizabeth Ingham, James Grant, and Elizabeth Blackburn, neighbours of the last witness, all deposed to having seen Maguire at home at various times between half-past three and five on the day of the attack on the police-van.

At the request of Mr. D. Seymour, Mr. Ridgway, a witness whose name was on the back of the indictment, was called and questioned as to the identity of the person who fired the shot which killed Brett. Witness said that the figure of a man who was not now here reminded him of the man who fired the shot. In reply to questions, the witness said that the person had his back to him when he fired.

Mr. D. Seymour then addressed the jury on behalf of Allen, Gould, and Shore. He said that, on his part, the task he had to perform was a task that none need envy, and he was there to discharge that task without seeking or desiring it. The learned counsel then referred to the calm and impartial manner in which the Attorney-General had stated the case for the prosecution, and after some remarks on the mischief and folly of Fenianism, which served to disturb the prospects of Ireland instead of redressing her wrongs, he proceeded to review the evidence of identity of the prisoners. He commented on the discrepancies in the evidence of different witnesses, and on the manner in which the prisoners had been placed by the police in order to be identified. He warned the jury to guard against entertaining the excited feelings which now prevailed, and said they had elsewhere a terrible instance of the Fenian fever, as shown by a woman coming forward for gold to swear away a man's life on a capital charge. He then commented on the evidence given by the women in the van; and after reviewing at considerable

length the statements of the different witnesses, he concluded by calling on the jury to weigh carefully every difficulty and to incline their hearts to mercy.

Mr. Sergeant O'Brien next addressed the jury for the prisoners Larkin and Maguire.

The Attorney-General replied on behalf of the Crown, and concluded his speech by saying, "I trust that prompt justice in this case will have the effect of warning others that this sort of violence cannot be done with impunity."

Mr. Justice Blackburn then proceeded to sum up. He laid down the law on murder at very considerable length, and subsequently analyzed the evidence *pro* and *con.*, pointing out the possible discrepancies on the one hand, and the probabilities on the other, and concluded by reminding the jury that if they were satisfied from the evidence laid before them that the prisoners had gone with a design to liberate Kelly and Deasy, with dangerous violence, and death ensued therefrom, they would be right in returning a verdict of murder; but, on the other hand, if they were not satisfied upon that point, they would of course give the prisoners the benefit of the doubt.

The jury retired at ten minutes to six, and returned at twenty-five minutes to eight, with a verdict of Wilful Murder against all the prisoners. In reply to the question of what they had to say why the sentence of death should not be passed,

Allen said: "My lords and gentlemen: I shall not occupy much of your time in answering your question. It is one that can easily be asked, but which abler men than I could not answer. Where were the men that stood in the dock? Where were Burke, and Emmett, and others that stood in the dock in defence of their country? Their answer was null and void. No man in this court regrets the death of Sergeant Brett more than I do; and I positively say, in the presence of the Almighty and everlasting God, that I am innocent—aye, as innocent as any man in court. I do not say this for the sake of mercy. I will have no mercy. I will die as many thousands have died, for the sake of their beloved land, and in defence of it. I will die proudly and triumphantly in defence of Republican principles, and the liberty of an oppressed and enslaved people. Is it possible we are asked why sentence should not be passed upon us on the evidence of prostitutes of the streets of Manchester, fellows out of work, convicted felons—aye, an Irishman sentenced to be hanged when an English dog would have got off? I say, positively and defiantly, justice has not been done since I was arrested. If justice had been done me, I should not have been handcuffed at the preliminary investigation in Bridge-street; and in this court justice has not been done me. I was brought in here, and all the prisoners by my side were allowed to wear overcoats, and I was told to take mine off. Moreover, as to the way in which I was identified. My clothes were kept for four hours in the station-house, and shown to parties to identify me; and in Albert-street station a handkerchief was kept on my head the whole night, in order to be identified next morning by the witnesses. I am fearless of the punishment that can be passed upon me. I return to Mr. Seymour and to Mr. Jones my sincere thanks for their able defence, and also to Mr. Roberts the same. My name is Philip Allen. I was reared in Brandon, in the county of Cork. I am proud of my country and proud of my place. My lords, I have done."

The prisoner Gould said: "Every witness who has spoken against me has sworn what was false. I have never to my recollection thrown a stone since I was a boy, and I had no pistol on the day in question. My name is not Gould;

my name is Michael O'Brien. I was born in Cork county, and was a fellow-parishioner of William O'Neill Carroll, who fell fighting against British tyranny at Charlestown last March. I am a citizen of the United States of America, and if Charles Francis Adams had done his duty towards me, I would not have been in this dock. Mr. Adams has not come. I wrote to him to see if he could not find evidence to disprove the charge, which he might have done if he had taken the trouble to do it. I hope the American people will take notice of that part of the business." He then proceeded to read a statement setting forth that Ireland, with her delightful climate and fertile soil, was capable of supporting treble her population; and no man, except a paid official of the British Government, could say there was a shadow of liberty there, or a spark of life among its persecuted inhabitants. "It is to be hoped that her imbecile and tyrannical rulers may be for ever driven from her soil, amid the execrations of the world. How beautifully the aristocrats of England moralize on the tyranny of the rulers of Naples, Dahomey, &c. ! In the case of Naples, with what indignation do they describe the ruin of families by the detention of its head or some loved member in prison ! Who has not read their condemnation of the tyranny that would compel honourable and good men to spend their useful lives in hopeless banishment ! No words can express their horror of the King of Dahomey, because he sacrifices 2000 human beings yearly ; but why do not these persons, who pretend to so much virtuous indignation at the misgovernment of other countries and people, look at home, and see if greater crimes than those they charge against other governments are not committed nearer home—nay, by themselves or their sanction ? Look at home—look at London—see the thousands starving there ; look to Ireland, see the hundreds of thousands of men with the spectre look of famine implanted on their faces ; see the virtuous, beautiful, and industrious women who only a few years ago, ay, and yet, are obliged to look at their children dying for want of food—look at what is called the majesty of the law on the one side, and the long, deep misery of a noble people on the other. Why are the young men of Ireland to respect the law that murders their people ? I need not answer that question here. The Irish people will answer it soon. I am not astonished at my conviction. The Government of this country have the power to convict any man in the country. They appoint the judges, they choose the jury ; and by means of what is called patronage, but which means bribery and corruption, have the power of making themselves a responsible body for what is called the fountain of honour."

The prisoner Larkin said : " My lords and gentlemen, I am only going to say a word or two concerning Sergeant Brett, as my friend has said. I believe no one in court regrets the man's death as much as I do. In regard to the charge of pistols and revolvers, and using them, I neither used revolvers, pistols, nor any instrument on that day that would deprive the life of a child, let alone a man ; nor did I go with the purpose for to take life away. Certainly, my lords, I do not want to deny but I did go to the aid and assistance of them two noble heroes that was lying in that van, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy. I did go to them, and did as much as lay in my power to extricate them out of the bondage they lay in at the present time ; but I did not go for to take life, nor, my lords, any one else. Misfortunately there was life taken, but if it was taken, it was not taken intentionally ; nor the man who has taken life—you have not got him. My lords, I believe he is not here at present. I was at the scene of action, where there was, I dare say, over 150 people standing by there as well as what I was.

Sorry I am to say it, my lord, but some respectable people came as witnesses against me. I thought they were, but they were no such thing. So far as my trial went, and the way it was conducted, I believe I got a fair trial; and so far as my noble counsellors went they have done their utmost in the protection of my life. Likewise my worthy solicitor, Mr. Roberts, done his best; but I believe it is an old saying, and a true saying, 'What is decreed before man in his passage through life he has to fulfil it—either the gallows, or drowning, or a fair death on your bed, or the battle-field.' So, my lords, I lie at your mercy and the mercy of God; and may God forgive all those who have sworn my life away, as I do from the bottom of my heart!" He concluded emphatically—"God forgive them!"

Maguire said: "The witnesses against me have sworn falsely. I was not there. It was the third time that I had been on furlough since I was in the Royal Marines. I had been three years in India, China, and Japan. I was paid, and came to see my friends on furlough. Having been for years at sea, and not much in England, I thought I would enjoy myself when I came here." He then stated that he had written to his superior officer, who, in reply, had given him a good character; and after some further remarks and re-stating that he knew nothing of Fenianism, he concluded by expressing his thanks to Sergeant O'Brien, Mr. Cottingham, and Mr. Roberts, who conducted his case.

Edward Shore said it came on him by surprise that a person could be convicted of murdering a man whom he had never known and never seen. He could not help remarking that Mr. Shaw, after swearing what was false, had come to gloat over his victims. It had been sworn that a stone had fallen on his (prisoner's) head, which it was remarked at the time would have killed an elephant, yet there was no mark of that stone; and if he and the witness went round the country exhibiting the relics, he, as the man on whose head the stone fell without injuring him, and Mr. Batty, as the man who saw it, it would attract much attention. But let that evidence go for what it was worth. Equally strong evidence had been given against persons who were in Liverpool at the time. He did not think that the jury would have believed Thomas, who admitted that the amount of blood-money was tempting. Unfortunately his own *alibi* was not very strong, as he was unwilling, and unable to purchase much effort in procuring evidence. He deeply sympathized with the deceased man (Brett) and his family; but he (prisoner) was perfectly innocent of his blood. Those who now stood in the dock had been convicted of murder upon evidence which would have been insufficient to establish the murder of an old woman for the money in her pocket; but because this was a political offence the ends of justice apparently were satisfied. In releasing the prisoners from the van, it was his opinion that an excess had been to a certain extent committed; a loss of life occurred which, perhaps, was uncalled for; but if a similar event had happened in any foreign country, if Jefferson Davis had been released in New York city, English cities would have rung with applause of the daring deed. If Garibaldi, in like manner, had been freed from captivity at the time that he (Shore) was shut out from the world—if the captives of King Theodore were released—would not England have applauded each and all of these deeds? In Ireland, murders were perpetrated on unoffending men. There were the riots at Waterford, where an unoffending man was murdered; no one was punished, for in that case the police had slightly the upper hand. He could only add that he left this world without a stain upon his conscience, that he had never been guilty wilfully of offending any one, and that as regarded

causing the death of Sergeant Brett, he was totally guiltless of it. When in custody he was a mark for all who wished to earn rewards. He had been identified. He had been found guilty, and as a matter of course he should accept death as gracefully as possible. He was not afraid to die. [The other Prisoners: "No, nor I."] He hoped that his death and the deaths of those now in dock would satisfy the craving for blood, and that other men whom he honestly believed to be guiltless would get fairer and more impartial treatment than he had received. He prayed that prejudices might pass away, that his country might be enabled to right herself; and, at some future time, his sons, instead of being looked upon with scorn, would receive the respect of the civilized world, and not less of Englishmen. As an American citizen, he had of course, expected to receive the protection of the ambassador of his own Government. He claimed to say that his name was not Shore, but Edward O'Meara Conder, of Cork county. Many hearts there and in the State of Ohio would be sorry for him. All the comfort he could send was, that he died as a Christian and an Irishman—would not be ashamed of any thing he had done in not having concealed or kept back his opinions. The unfortunate division of his countrymen at home and in America had paralyzed all action, and, of course, he had only to submit to fate. He had nothing to retract or regret, and all he could say was, "God save Ireland!"

The other prisoners, in chorus, and with great power, "God save Ireland!"

Gould said: "I only wish to add, that of all the acts in my political career, I do not regret any. I do not know one single act that can bring a blush of shame to my face, or make me fear to meet my God or leave my fellow-men. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to serve in defence of the liberties of my country. If I can do so, I am content to die upon the scaffold, I hope, as a soldier, a man, and a Christian.

Mr. Justice Mellor, in passing sentence of death, said that no persons who were present at the trial could doubt the justice of the verdict. He would be deceiving the unhappy men were he to hold out to them any expectation of mercy.

Sentence of death was then passed in the usual form. The prisoners shook hands warmly with their counsel and solicitors; and Larkin, on leaving the dock, cried, "God be with ye, Irishmen and Irishwomen!"

Of the five men thus convicted, the capital sentence was carried into execution upon three only. With regard to Maguire, a communication was received by his attorney from the Home Office, which stated that, after careful inquiry, instituted at the desire of the learned Judges and the Attorney-General, there appeared to the Secretary of State to be good reason to believe that the defence made was true, and he had therefore been recommended to Her Majesty for an unconditional pardon.

A reprieve was subsequently granted to the convict Shore. There was no doubt as to identity in his case; but the ground for a distinction in his favour was, that he was unarmed at the time of his arrest, and, though an active participator in the rescue, he seemed to have been without a revolver, and to have been chiefly engaged in throwing stones, to keep the crowd back. The principal object of capital punishment being to protect the sacredness of human life, it was considered that these circumstances furnished, in the equitable discretion of the Crown, a ground for merciful distinction in this prisoner's favour. The other three prisoners suffered the extreme penalty of the law. An account of their execution appears in a former part of this volume.

On the 13th of November, the proceedings of the Special Commission terminated, having extended over sixteen working days, beginning at the early hour of nine o'clock each morning, and continuing usually until six o'clock p.m., and frequently to a much later hour. Of the twenty-six prisoners named in the calendar, twelve were convicted; that is to say, five who were included in the first indictment for murder, and seven upon the charges subsequently preferred for riot and assault. Eight were released without any indictment being pressed against them; one was acquitted of misdemeanour, and discharged: while five were tried for the graver offence, and acquitted. Brannon and Featherstone, two prisoners who had been found "Not guilty" of the murder, upon evidence almost identical with that given in the first trial, were convicted of riot and assault by another jury.

II.

THE LONDON TAILORS' STRIKE.

THE QUEEN *v.* DRUITT AND OTHERS.

THE trial of this case, which arose out of the great strike of the London Tailors in the spring of the present year, was one of considerable interest and importance, on account of the light which it threw upon the proceedings and practices of the Trades' Unions, at a time when those associations had assumed a very prominent position among the subjects of the day, and were actually undergoing the investigation of a Royal Commission. The doctrines of the law of England, applicable to these proceedings, which were expounded by Mr. Baron Bramwell in his summing up of the case to the jury, were invested at such a time with peculiar weight, and deserve, in the interest of the public, the widest notoriety. On the 21st of August, at the Old Bailey, before the above-named learned Judge, George Drutt, Matthew Lawrence, and John Adamson, three of the leading members of the Operative Tailors' Association, together with some other members of that body, surrendered to an indictment charging them with illegal acts arising out of the long-pending strike among the working tailors. The other defendants included in the indictment were Patrick Butler, Michael Mead, Peter Moran, Thomas Farrell, — Tremain, John Lavine, and — M'Dermott.

Mr. Avory, the clerk of the arraigns, told the defendants in effect that they were indicted for a misdemeanour in conspiring together by unlawful ways, contrivances, and stratagems, to impoverish Henry Poole, George Wolmershausen, and certain other persons in their trade and business, and in restraint of trade and the freedom of personal action. There were several other counts, in which the offence was varied, but the effect of them was substantially the same.

The defendants severally pleaded "Not Guilty."

Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, with whom were Mr. Sleigh and Mr. F. H. Lewis, were counsel for the prosecution; Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., Mr. Keane, Q.C., and Mr. Poland defended Drutt and Lawrence; Mr. Serjeant Parry and Mr. Ribton defended Adamson; and Mr. Hardinge Giffard, Q.C., and Mr. Besley defended Butler, Mead, Moran, Tremain, M'Dermott, and Lavine.

Mr. Serjeant Ballantine having opened the case to the jury, said, in conclusion, that the main question was this—was the picketing system one of intimidation and molestation? because, if it was, then the defendants were guilty of an offence against the law, for which they were liable to be convicted.

Alfred Mitchell was the first witness called. He said, in reply to Mr. Sleigh: "I was formerly in the C division of police, and have been engaged in watching the proceedings of the operative tailors since the strike began. I attended a meeting of about 5000 of them at the Alhambra Palace in April last. Druitt was in the chair, and Adamson and Lawrence were present among others. Druitt addressed the meeting, stating that a new log had been sent round to eighty-eight of the masters, and that they had refused to accede to it. Lawrence, who was on the platform, moved a resolution to the effect that the meeting was satisfied with what the committee had done in sending the new log to the masters; and as the masters had not accepted it, a general strike was desirable. That was seconded by somebody, put by Druitt to the meeting, and carried. Adamson also addressed the meeting, but I cannot recollect what he said. Other resolutions were put by other people. I understood Druitt to say that shop committees would be formed, and pickets put on to watch the shops of the masters, and he hoped the men would do their duty. That meeting was on the 22nd of April. On the 24th, two days afterwards, I counted in Conduit-street from fifteen to twenty-five men stationed in front of the master tailors' establishments, watching people going in and out, and following men who left with work. From the 24th to the present time I have been engaged in watching the principal streets in which the masters carry on business, and have seen the pickets acting in the same manner, and following working men who came out. In the evenings, especially, greater numbers were collected watching those of the men who had not struck. On the 3rd of May I saw over 200 opposite Mr. Stohwasser's shop in Conduit-street. I have seen all the prisoners on picket except Druitt, Adamson, and Lawrence. The general conduct of the persons acting as pickets was the following and hissing workmen who had not struck on leaving their work in the evening. They were called cowards, and by other offensive names. That was the general conduct of the pickets from time to time. The pickets used also to resort to certain public-houses—ten or a dozen—which they called committee-rooms. I have seen them meet there early in the morning, and then go on picketing. I have seen Druitt and Lawrence at the Green Dragon, which is the central committee-room, talking to men who had done picket duty. On the 24th of May, I attended a meeting of out-door working tailors, at the Temperance-hall, near Hanover-square. Adamson was chairman; and there I saw a great many whom I had seen on picket duty; and, since that meeting, I have seen the same men doing such duty. Adamson, among other things, said that after the strike was over, he and many more would be marked men, and that was all the more reason why the Union should not be broken up. I heard a resolution proposed to the effect that, after the strike was over, no union man should be allowed to work in any shop where a non-union man was employed. On the evening of the 29th of May, I attended a meeting at the Alhambra Palace. There were about 3000 persons present. Druitt acted as chairman; and I recognized a great number whom I had seen doing picket duty, and whom I have since seen doing such duty. I heard Druitt say the meeting was called to consider the truth of statements made by the masters at their meeting on the previous Saturday. I heard one of the speakers say that,

from reports that had been received, the masters could only get a third of their work done; and that, if that was the case, it would teach them a lesson. A telegram was received at the meeting from a Mr. Blissett, on reading which Druitt said: "Glorious news, my boys; 80,000 unionists at your back in the north."

Cross-examined by Mr. Coleridge, Q.C.: "I was employed in this work by Vallance and Vallance, the solicitors to the Master Tailors' Association. I am not a policeman now. I went alone to the Alhambra Palace. The people there did not know I was watching them, nor did the pickets in the streets, at first. I think I heard at the first Alhambra meeting something said by the chairman to the effect that they had had a meeting, and wished an early day to be appointed for a meeting with the masters, with a view to a settlement with them. I also heard something said about an arbitration; and that there had been a meeting between the masters and the men, which was broken up for some reason. I believe he also said that it was in consequence of the meeting having been broken up, the men found themselves in the position they were that day. I understood the new log had been the basis of the discussion between the masters and men, and something was said about its being too high on the one side, and too low on the other. He said a new log had been sent to eighty-eight of the principal firms, nineteen of whom had been courteous enough to reply to it, but had rejected it. I did not take notes of what was said; I attended the meeting by chance, and had not then been employed in the business. I recollect Lawrence saying something to the effect that he did not wish to bring the masters to adopt the amalgamated log, but only to discuss it."

By Mr. Serjeant Parry: "I have been employed since the 24th of April by Vallance and Vallance in this matter, and have received about 2*l.* 10*s.* a week, including extras. I have been engaged from early morning until late at night. I received 25*s.* a week as a policeman, in addition to a uniform and coals. I had no instructions to watch any one in particular. I was to watch the whole trade, and see what was going on."

Re-examined by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine: "I believe I was recommended from the police-station at Scotland-yard to Messrs. Vallance and Vallance. Conduit-street, Maddox-street, Bond-street, Hanover-street, and Jermyn-street were among the places which I watched from time to time."

Joseph Lambert, a pensioned sergeant of police, examined by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, deposed that he accompanied the witness Mitchell in watching the streets. He had seen forty or fifty pickets opposite the shop of Mr. Poole. The pickets kept a sharp watch at the door, and smoked short pipes. When the workmen came out, he had heard them called curs, cowards, and "dungs" by the pickets. On leaving duty, the pickets went to different publichouses, and then returned to duty. At Stohwasser's, Smallpage's, and Bennett's he had seen the pickets follow the out-door workers until they met other pickets, who in turn would follow them. About five o'clock in the morning there would be three or four pickets on duty at a particular shop. About the middle of the day there would be six or seven; and he had seen as many as 150 in one street in the evening. He had never seen any body leave a master tailor's shop with a bundle who was not followed; but latterly there had not been so much following. He was present in Marlborough-street on one occasion when a woman who was being followed by two pickets ran into the police-station, and claimed to be protected. That was in the latter part of June. He had seen customers go to

shops in carriages, and the pickets hang about the carriages until the customers went away. That had frequently occurred. He had seen pickets sitting on the steps of the tailors' doors, smoking short pipes, and others talking to them. They would go away on seeing a policeman approaching. In the evening the pickets mustered "all hands" opposite the shops, and would say, as each man left work, "There he comes, the coward." "Is not he a dung?" "That's him." The men had been afraid to go away by themselves, and he accompanied them for about three-quarters of a mile. This was more at Smallpage's, Stohwasser's, and Myers's than at other shops. It was carried on "very strong" for three weeks or a month in the evening; but more particularly on Tuesday and Friday nights, and that sort of language had been used on all these occasions. After witness and Mitchell had given evidence, they were also pointed out. He had seen all the defendants, with the exception of Lawrence, Adamson, and Druitt, on picket duty in the morning, at the middle of the day, and in the evenings, when those crowds had been collected and bad language used. He had seen Lavine and M'Dermott follow workmen with bundles.

By Mr. Coleridge, Q.C.: He received 2*l.* 10*s.* a week for discharging this duty, and cab hire besides.

Police-Inspector Silverton, examined by Mr. F. H. Lewis, said he had been on duty in the neighbourhood of Conduit and Maddox-streets, and had become familiar with the system of picketing. Early in the day there would be five or six pickets posted at particular shops; and he had seen people come out of the shops and "taken up" by the pickets. He had seen a picket, as a workman left, make signs to another, and that picket follow the workman. He was on that duty for nearly three months, with a number of extra policemen. On seeing the police, the pickets used to part company, and make away. About twenty-six extra policemen were assigned to that duty, and were kept on that duty from about six in the morning until nine at night by reliefs. He knew the publichouses used as committee-rooms, and had seen Druitt and Lawrence go there, and also visit the pickets when on duty.

Mr. John Henry Smallpage, examined by Mr. Sleigh, said: I carry on business in Maddox-street as a master tailor, and employ a large number of persons. At the beginning of the strike I employed about eighty, in and out, all of whom left me, except four or five. Next day I observed the picketing system in operation. A great number of men then applied to me at my shop for work, and many wrote to me. Even some who had been in my employment would have come back, but they did not dare to do so. My house was picketed; and I have seen from one to sixty persons opposite my shop at a time. Among them I recognized persons whom I knew to be tailors, some of them having been in my own employment. The defendants Tremain and Lavine, who were in my employment up to the time of the strike, were among them. From the 22nd of April, when it began, the picketing has never ceased; and I have seen it in practice in Conduit-street, Savile-row, Hanover-street, Bond-street, and the rest of the principal streets where there are master tailors' shops. In the first two or three weeks, I suffered great injury in my business, and latterly great impediment. Workmen did not come, and sent their wives and children.

By Mr. Coleridge: I put up in my shop window, "Good hands wanted; no unionists need apply."

Mr. Coleridge: That was your counterblast, I suppose?

Witness: If a unionist came in, we said we would have nothing to do with him.

By Mr. Serjeant Parry: I have been a member of the Master Tailors' Association for about twelve months, and I know what a lock-out is. I believe it is a strike of masters against men. I was engaged in such a strike last year, with about fifty or sixty other masters. It only lasted a few days. The men had demanded an increase of wages. We conceded sixteen per cent.; the men refused, and wanted more; and they were discharged to the number of 1000 to 2000.

By Mr. Serjeant Ballantine: On that occasion we used no threat or intimidation of any kind, and did not resort to picketing. They demanded certain terms, and we refused to submit to them. Nothing was done to prevent them from getting work elsewhere.

Mr. Samuel Moore, examined by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine: I am a partner of Mr. Stohwasser. On the day after the strike, pickets were put upon our establishment; and I have seen from five to ten opposite our house at a time. It was a great inconvenience to us. Many people came to us for work, and on their leaving they were followed. One man, a Pole, asked for work on the 28th of May; and, on leaving, one of the men formerly employed by us followed him. Other people were followed. For the first two or three weeks from 200 to 300, the greater part of them tailors, used to congregate in front of our shop in the evening, and the men leaving were called by opprobrious names. That went on from week to week, getting worse and worse, until the police interfered. The pickets annoyed customers who came; and on one occasion a man brought back materials which he had taken away from our shop, saying that he was afraid to make them up. Being cross-examined, witness said his firm put up in their window, "Good hands wanted; no unionists need apply." The firm had not joined in the lock-out.

Richard Price, foreman to Mr. Bowater, of Hanover-street, said his employer's shop was picketed by about two or three men in the morning, and by more later in the day. Mr. Bowater employed forty men before the strike, and they all left, except one or two. He had seen the pickets follow men who had left the shop after asking for work. The picketing was still continued.

Mr. Serjeant Ballantine put in a picket-book, one entry in which was proved to be in the handwriting of the defendant Lawrence, and others in that of a picket named John Hall. One entry, signed by Hall, was in these words: "Bowater returned in a cab, with a carpet-bag, about half-past eleven; number of cab, 1267."

Mr. Robert Bennett, a master tailor in Conduit-street, said he had about sixty out and in-door workmen, all of whom left, except one, on the strike. Some who had left were willing to work for him. Pickets were stationed at his door from morning till evening. Occasionally he saw men leaving his place followed by those pickets, but nothing more than that.

Cross-examined: I locked my men out after being present at a meeting of the master tailors, when a resolution was passed to lock the men out until certain of them who had struck returned to their work. Between 600 and 700 men had struck against three masters, and about thirty or forty of the masters substantially locked out all their men until those three houses made arrangements with their men. The lock-out lasted about a week, terms having been made very shortly after it took place.

By Mr. Serjeant Ballantine: We did not prevent the men getting work elsewhere.

Mr. Edward S. Lawrence, a master tailor in Maddox-street, said he had about

forty persons in his employment at the commencement of the strike, all of whom left, and his establishment was afterwards picketed for about three weeks or a month—a circumstance which caused him much inconvenience and annoyance. The pickets abused some of his men; and he recognized the defendants Lavine and Tremain, in company with others, picketing daily. The men, when he met them, always appeared to wish to come to some settlement, and behaved in a proper way.

William Bennett, foreman and salesman to Mr. Poole, said all the 500 men in Mr. Poole's employment left on the strike, except two; and they were allowed to remain, because one was very old, and the other was deaf and dumb. The pickets followed men who left the shop, and made motions to them, and that greatly interfered with the business of his employer. On cross-examination, he said Mr. Poole caused a notice to be put up in his window, "Good hands wanted; no unionists need apply." His impression was, that Mr. Poole locked out, not that he was struck against.

By Mr. Baron Bramwell: About a year ago the men wanted more wages. Mr. Poole did not consent to give them, and the men left; in consequence of which witness was sent over to Paris to obtain other men.

Mr. George Watson Quallett, auctioneer, New Bond-street, spoke to seeing pickets at every tailor's shop door and at corners of the street. Their behaviour appeared to be most offensive.

Mr. Henry Webber, a wine merchant in Savile-row, was called, and spoke to the offensive conduct of the pickets opposite Mr. Poole's shop, and to the opprobrious language used by them to workmen leaving his premises; in consequence of which, witness was obliged to speak to the police.

This was the case for the prosecution.

The several counsel for the prisoners having addressed the jury on behalf of their respective clients, Mr. Baron Bramwell proceeded to lay down the law to the jury. He began by observing that a great number of irrelevant topics had been introduced into the inquiry in which they were engaged. All the talk they had heard about the struggle of capital against labour seemed quite misplaced, and the censure passed on the masters in respect to the lock-out was perfectly idle. The men had a perfect right to strike; and if the whole body of the men struck against the masters, why should not the whole body of masters strike against them? The jury had heard a good deal about the power of the State, and all that sort of thing; but the power of the State was no more brought against these men than it was used in their favour. The question was, whether they were guilty of that particular offence with which they were charged. The jury had to consider, no matter whose interests might be affected, whether the defendants had done that which was illegal. He would address a few general observations to them, some of which might appear to be truisms. When the law gave, or rather, acknowledged a right, it provided a punishment or a remedy for the violation of that right. That was a cardinal rule and an obvious one. The old expression that "there was no wrong without a remedy," might also be interpreted to mean that there was also no right without a remedy. Sometimes the remedy was by a criminal proceeding, sometimes by a civil action, sometimes by both. Having made those general remarks to them, he would make another, which was also familiar to all Englishmen; namely, that there was no right in this country under our laws so sacred as the right of personal liberty. No right of property or capital, about which there had been so much declamation, was so

sacred or so carefully guarded by the law of this land as that of personal liberty. They were quite aware of the pains taken first by the common law, by the writ, as it was called, of *habeas corpus*, and supplemented by statute, to secure to every man his personal freedom, that he should not be put in prison without lawful cause; and that if he was, he should be brought before a competent magistrate within a given time, and be set at liberty or undergo punishment. But that liberty was not liberty of the body only; it was also a liberty of the mind and will; and the liberty of a man's mind and will, to determine how he should bestow himself and his means, his talents and his industry, was as much a subject of the law's protection as was that of his body. Generally speaking, the way in which people had endeavoured to control the operations of the minds of men was by putting restraints on their bodies; and, therefore, we had not so many instances in which the liberty of the mind was vindicated as was that of the body. Still, if any set of men agreed among themselves to coerce that liberty of mind and thought by compulsion and restraint, they would be guilty of a criminal offence, namely, of conspiring against the liberty of mind and freedom of will of those towards whom they so conducted themselves. The thing to which he was referring was coercion or compulsion—something that was unpleasant and annoying to the mind operated upon; and he laid it down as clear and undoubted law, that if two or more persons agreed that they would, by such means, co-operate together against that liberty, they would be guilty of an indictable offence. The public had an interest in the way in which a man disposed of his industry and his capital; and if two or more persons conspired by threats, intimidation, or molestation to deter or influence him in the way in which he should employ his industry, his talents, or his capital, they would be guilty of a criminal offence. That was the common law of the land; and it had been, in his opinion, re-enacted by a particular Act of Parliament, passed in the sixth year of the reign of George IV., which provided, in effect, that any person who should by threats, intimidation, molestation, or any other way obstruct, force, or endeavour to force any journeyman to depart from his hiring, or prevent any journeyman from hiring, should be guilty of an offence. That Act was passed forty-one years ago; and by a statute of 1859 it was enacted that no workman, merely by reason of his endeavouring peaceably and in a reasonable manner and without threat or intimidation, direct or indirect, to persuade others from working or ceasing to work should be guilty of an offence under the former Act of Parliament. In other words, the second Act said that should not be so if they did what they did in a reasonable and peaceable manner for the purposes of persuasion. Now, the defendants were indicted for conspiring together to do that which was in opposition to the law he had mentioned and the statutes he had cited. At the outset he could not help remarking that the learned and eminent counsel who had addressed the jury for the defendants had all said that they did not deny that their clients, Druitt, Adamson, and Lawrence had agreed that there should be pickets. He (Mr. Baron Bramwell) was of opinion that if picketing should be done in a way which excited no reasonable alarm, or did not coerce or annoy those who were the subjects of it, it would be no offence in law. It was perfectly lawful to endeavour to persuade persons to act with them who had not hitherto so acted, provided that persuasion did not take the shape of compulsion or coercion. What was the object of this picketing? Was it that the names and addresses of the non-striking workmen might be found out, with the view of their being addressed by reasonable argument and persuasion, or was it for the

purpose of coercion and intimidation? If the jury should be of opinion that the picket did nothing more than his duty as a picket, and if that did not extend to abusive language and gestures such as had been described; still, if that was calculated to have a deterring effect on the minds of ordinary persons by exposing them to have their motions watched, and to encounter black looks, that would be a thing not permitted by the law of the land. The probabilities were, that it was known to the leading members of the association what the pickets were doing. It was in evidence that Druitt had visited the pickets from time to time. It would be very strange indeed if, as appeared to have been the case, most people knew what they were doing, that those who set the pickets to work should be the only persons who did not know. There was very little doubt that Adamson, Lawrence, and Druitt had authorized, by means of the resolution, the system of picketing. If the jury were satisfied that that system, though not carried beyond watching and observation, was still so serious a molestation and obstruction that it would have an effect upon the minds of the work-people, then they ought to find these three men guilty. If they thought that the conduct of these men conduced to such an effect, and that they knew of it, then also they ought to find them guilty. If, upon the other hand, the jury should be of opinion that Adamson, Lawrence, and Druitt did not know what the pickets did, or that what the pickets did was not the natural consequence of men placed in such a situation, then they ought to be acquitted. So much with regard to three of the prisoners. With reference to the other five, if the jury believed the evidence of Lambert, then these five ought to be found guilty. It was said that the whole of the prisoners in acting as they had acted supposed themselves to be doing what was right. That might be so; but, even supposing it to be true, they were still subject to the law.

The jury retired, and were absent about three-quarters of an hour. On their return they found Druitt, Lawrence, and Adamson "Guilty," but with a strong recommendation to mercy, upon the ground that they might have considered that they were not acting illegally. They acquitted the five other prisoners.

The next day another set of operative tailors, twelve in number, were placed at the bar, charged with illegal acts arising out of the strike.

The defendants were Samuel Partridge, Alfred Bailey, Peter Shorrocks, William Glendon, Zilay Maurice, Robert Knox, Alfred Shurzman, Thomas Geary, Thomas Flood, Christopher Winterton, Robert Druller, George Templing, Robert Newbury, Edmund Stokes, and Edward Ormerod. The indictment charged them with conspiring together to impoverish in their trade and business of tailors Henry George Poole and others, in restraint of trade and the freedom of personal action.

Nearly the same Counsel were engaged as in the former case.

Evidence was adduced to show that the defendants Partridge, Bailey, and Newbury attended the first meeting in reference to the strike held in the Alhambra Palace; that the picketing went on in front of the principal tailors' shops at the West End, including those of Poole, Stohwasser, Bowater, Smallpage, Carter, Bennett, Meyers, and others; and that all the defendants had done picket duty, except Partridge, Bailey, Shorrocks, Newbury, Stokes, and Ormerod, and had been in the habit of resorting to the various public-houses at which picket men were accustomed to meet. At the second meeting at the Alhambra, on the 29th of May, the defendants Partridge and Shorrocks were present, and spoke in support of resolutions. There was

also a meeting on the 24th of May at the Temperance Hall, near Hanover-square, where Newbury, Stokes, and Ormerod were in attendance, and Newbury took part in the proceedings. In the picketing, a witness said the men "relieved guard" from time to time, much in the same way as soldiers did, except that they did not march. They followed workmen and workwomen, and assailed them with abusive language as they came and left the different workshops, sometimes spitting upon them.

Mr. Baron Bramwell, in summing up the case, told the jury they were not there to try the expediency or illegality of trades' unions. No doubt they were legal; how far they were expedient might be a matter of doubt. Nor were they there to say whether the masters were right or wrong in resorting to a lock-out. What the masters said in effect was, that when they found the men in a particular shop directing a strike against any one shop they knew what that meant, and that if they struck against one of the masters, they should strike against them all. It was perfectly idle to talk of the suffering of wives and children consequent upon a lock-out, for that was just what the men themselves caused to those who were dependent upon them when they entered upon a strike. The jury had heard a violent attack in the speech of one of the Counsel on the law of conspiracy. It was a law of which bad use might be made; but when he wanted the laws of his country amended he would not ask a learned counsel to amend them, holding, as he did, that the proper time to correct the abuses or shortcomings of a law was not when they were engaged in administering it. It came to this—a man might be a match for the conduct of an individual, but for the conduct of fifty persons, animated by a common design, he might be no match. Whether the law of conspiracy was right or wrong, they were bound to administer it to the best of their ability. Mr. Baron Bramwell proceeded to repeat, with an apology for having so to do, the observations he had addressed to another jury on the previous day, as to the sacredness with which the right of personal liberty was regarded by the law. The public weal, he said, was concerned in vindicating the freedom with which a man should use his capital or his industry. Both masters and men had a right to combine—the one to say they would not employ labour in a particular way or on certain terms; the other, that they would not work under a certain rate of wages. He laid it down without hesitation that whenever two or more agreed that they would by molestation, annoyance, threats, intimidation, or any other manner of coercion—not of persuasion,—influence the minds, wishes, and wills of others as to the modes in which they should or should not bestow their labour, the persons who so acted were guilty of a criminal offence; and that opinion was embodied in Acts of Parliament. The jury found all the prisoners "Guilty" except Shorrocks and Stokes, who were then discharged.

Mr. Baron Bramwell, in passing sentence on the sixteen defendants, addressed them in these terms: "You have been found guilty; and it is now my duty to pass sentence upon you, or to say what should be done in consequence of the verdict found against you. Now, I ask you in all kindness to listen to me—to listen to an impartial man—one who is neither an employer of labour nor a receiver of wages, and who is unaware of any thing to bias his judgment; because the only personal interest I can have between you and your masters is that my clothes will cost me a few shillings more or less, which I do not consider will warp my judgment. I am satisfied you have broken the law. I said—and I abide by it—if you could perform a system of picketing which neither annoyed, alarmed,

nor intimidated, there would be nothing unlawful; but I am satisfied you cannot carry out a system of picketing which would be of any use to you without breaking the law. To use the expression of one of your own learned counsel, spoken this morning, I am satisfied, as he said you are, that it is impossible to have an effectual system of picketing without being guilty of that alarm, and intimidation and obstruction which is a breach of the law. I put it to your own good judgments whether it is not so, when you remember that men who formerly came for their work have been deterred from doing so, and their wives and children have been obliged to come for it. Believe me, when the jury found their verdict against you they found a true verdict. Now, the law is against you, and I am satisfied, and I think if you will but reflect on it you will be satisfied, that reason and justice are against you also. What right can you have to put a coercion on any man as to how he shall employ his talents and his industry? The men at Sheffield, whom I see an American paper calls "those wretches," seemed to suppose they had some right, in which the law ought to assist them, to put a compulsion on others of their own trade to join their union; and I am afraid there may be some such notion lurking in some of your minds; because, without saying you would proceed to the fearful extremities proceeded to there, I find you use this expression, "dishonourable workmen and dishonourable masters,"—meaning those who will not agree with you. Now, I put it to your own judgments to reflect what right you have to call on any man to throw his labour into a common stock with your own, because he happens to be in the same trade. You have no more right to call on him to do that than you have to call on him to throw what property he has into some common stock. Depend upon it, it is wrong. If any reason can be given for it, it must come from those who assert it, not those who deny it. But you must be wrong in thinking it is a desirable state of things. If all the journeymen tailors ought to combine together, so ought all shoemakers and hatters, and all agricultural labourers, and, in fact, every class and description; and so ought, by a parity of reasoning, all masters and all other persons who had got some common bond of union among them. And what would be the consequence of that? Would it be for the benefit of society at large it should be so? You cannot think so. The only way it would be for the benefit of society at large would be if the object of the common desire of what is called wealth was thereby increased by such an arrangement as that. But would it be? Certainly not. Because every body knows that the total aggregate happiness of mankind is increased by every man being left to the unbiassed, unfettered determination of his own will and judgment as to how he will employ his industry and other means of getting on in the world. You must know it. I cannot help saying it is a remarkable thing—pray attend to this, it is said in all kindness—now for more than forty years the best men of this country, the men whom you admire most, have been engaged in removing restraints from trade, commerce, industry, and labour. There is now no monopoly in this land. There is no class legislation. There is no law which gives one set of men an advantage for their own particular benefit. Now, that you know as well as I do. But, strange to say, you men are trying to legislate among yourselves in a contrary direction; for instead of furthering that freedom of action and freedom of labour and freedom of capital which the law has endeavoured to assure, you are endeavouring to put restraints upon them, and create a set of corporate guilds which were very useful in times gone by, I dare say, but which are quite otherwise in these enlightened times. I beseech you to

think of what I am saying to you. Is it not a strange thing you should be going counter to the legislation and policy of men whom you most admire, of all the statesmen we have had in this country of ours? Believe me, if men are not allowed to make laws of this description, they will not be allowed to break the law for their own benefit which they would not be allowed to make. Now take my word for that; and when I say mine, I do not ask you to put any value on it, but I am speaking not my opinions only. I appeal to your own consciences if I am not speaking the opinions of every body who has reflected on the subject. Look at your own friends, they who speak most highly of you and are anxious for the welfare of the working classes. Is there a man among them who can be found to support the practices that have been condemned by the verdict of these juries? You know there is not. There is not a man, not a thinker, not a writer or a man of eminence or distinction who can be found to justify you in what you have done. I beseech you to do it no more. Do not attach any particular value to my words except you take them to be representative words. I have had the advantage of consulting the learned Recorder and the excellent Alderman (Mr. Lusk) who sits by my side, and the conclusion we have come to is this. You have done wrong. You have broken the law. You have done that which I think as fair men you ought not to have done; but any man may do an unfair thing, and may take an erroneous view of what is right and just. I believe—we are all willing to believe—that is what you have done; and although ignorance of the law is no excuse for any man, it is a reason why the punishment passed upon him for what he has done in that ignorance should be light—in some cases, at all events; and I think the right way of dealing with you—with one exception, that of Knox—the right way of dealing with you, especially after what I have heard from your learned counsel to-day, is to pass no sentence upon you; but to take your words, your own judgments upon the matter, that you know what you have done cannot be done without a breach of the law—to take your words for it that you will not repeat it, and let you go out on your own recognizances to appear and receive judgment when you are called on for that purpose. As to Knox, I think I should do wrong if I did not sympathize with that reprobation of his conduct which has fallen even from his own learned counsel. I sentence him to three months' imprisonment; and I trust he will have, in addition to it, a lively reflection of the stinging reproaches he heard from those who appeared for him. So much for those now in the dock before me. That leaves the case of Whelan unprovided for. The men who stand there at present may go; and I trust with the feeling and recollection that what I have said to them has been said with the very kindest and best disposition."

The sixteen defendants, Knox excepted, then entered into recognizances each in the sum of 100*l.* to appear and receive judgment for the offenses of which they stood convicted, if called upon, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour towards all Her Majesty's subjects. Thereupon they were discharged.

In the case of Whelan, convicted of an assault, the learned Judge sentenced the prisoner to three months' imprisonment.

III.

THE SHEFFIELD TRADES' UNIONS.

IN connexion with the foregoing case, the following, which was tried at the Summer Assizes at Leeds, before Mr. Baron Pigott, furnishes a good illustration of the practical working of the Trades' Unions. Sheffield has acquired an unhappy notoriety for outrages and acts of violence arising out of the practices of these bodies.

GILLATT v. GLENCROSS AND ANOTHER.

Mr. Digby Seymour, Q.C., Mr. Maule, Q.C., and Mr. Fitzjames Stephen were for the plaintiff; Mr. Manisty, Q.C., and Mr. Bristowe for the defendant Glencross; and Mr. Overend, Q.C., and Mr. Barker for the defendant Butcher.

This was an action arising out of the disputes between masters and workmen. The plaintiff was a file-cutter at Sheffield, and the two defendants were respectively the secretary and president of the File Manufacturers' Association. The file trade at Sheffield is composed of four different classes of workmen, file-makers or smiths, file-grinders, file-hardeners, and file-cutters, who number altogether some 3500 or 3600. The plaintiff was employed as a file-cutter by Messrs. Turton and Sons, file-manufacturers, but left their employment under the following circumstances:—The File Grinders' Union have a rule that no grinder shall have more than one apprentice, and were dissatisfied that a man named Jeffcock, a grinder, who worked for Messrs. Turton, was taking more than one. The other grinders thereupon gave notice to quit, and quitted Messrs. Turton's employment. The unions of the four branches of the file trade, although separate, are closely connected, and thereupon the makers, hardeners, and cutters also gave notice to leave, and left; in fact, the whole of the men employed by Messrs. Turton struck against Jeffcock, and refused to work for Messrs. Turton. Under these circumstances, a meeting of the Filemakers' Association was called, and the facts having been laid before the association, it was agreed that the other manufacturers would support Messrs. Turton, and that none of them would employ any of the men who had struck until the strike was discontinued. In pursuance of this agreement, the defendants caused to be printed and published a circular containing the resolutions which had been agreed to, and a list, afterwards called "the black list," containing the names of the men who had struck against Messrs. Turton. The plaintiff's name was included in this list, and in consequence the other manufacturers refused to employ him, and he was out of work. Under these circumstances he brought this action, which contained three counts. In the first count he declared upon the circular as a libel. In the second count he charged that the defendants falsely and maliciously published the circular, setting it out at full length, but not alleging that the statements therein contained were untrue. The third count alleged that the manufacturers were guilty of a

conspiracy to injure the plaintiff in his trade, and to prevent him getting employment.

Upon cross-examination the plaintiff stated that the notice to quit which he gave to Messrs. Turton was on a printed form supplied to him by the secretary of the Union. No direction what to do with the notice was given to him, but the plaintiff said that he understood himself what was to be done. He admitted that since leaving Messrs. Turton he had had an allowance from his Union.

His lordship here interposed, and suggested that it was much better that the dispute should be settled amicably, as the whole subject was in an unsettled state and was under the consideration of the Legislature.

The defendants hereupon expressed their readiness to receive their workmen back and to withdraw the black list. The plaintiff, however, declined to accede to these terms, and pressed for a decision upon the legal points. The facts were admitted upon either side, and while for the plaintiff it was conceded that the two first counts of the declaration could not be supported in the face of the acknowledged fact that the circular contained nothing but what was true, it was strenuously contended that he was entitled to a verdict on the third count.

His lordship left it to the jury to say whether in publishing the circular the defendants had any wrongful or malicious motive, or were merely acting *bond fide* and in self-defence.

The jury found a verdict for the defendants upon all the issues, adding that they believed the publication under the circumstances was *bond fide*, and that the defendants were not actuated by any wrongful or malicious motive, but were merely acting in self-defence.

IV.

THE ALTON MURDER.

THIS case, which was of a peculiarly atrocious character, and marked by a degree of wickedness for which it is difficult to suggest an intelligible motive on the part of the perpetrator, was tried at the Winter Assizes at Winchester before Mr. Justice Mellor, on the 5th of December. The accused, Frederick Baker, twenty-nine years of age, had been a clerk in the employ of Messrs. Clement, solicitors, at Alton, Hants. He was charged with the wilful murder of Fanny Adams, a child of nine years of age, on the 24th of April, in the neighbourhood of Alton. Mr. Bere and Mr. Bullen were counsel for the prosecution. Mr. Carter defended the prisoner. Mr. Bere opened the case for the prosecution with a statement of the leading facts. The following evidence was then given.

Minnie Warner, a child eight years of age, was examined. She said, "I knew little Fanny Adams. I went out walking with her on Saturday after dinner. Lizzie Adams was with us. Fanny Adams was nine years old. While we were at play the prisoner came to us and said, 'Ah! my little children, here you come again!' He played with us in the meadow, and gave me three halfpence. We

went down towards the hollow lane. He gave Fanny a halfpenny. He picked some blackberries for us. He then told Lizzie and me to go home, and spend our halfpence; he went down the hollow with us. He lifted Fanny up in his arms, and carried her up the hollow. He said, 'Come with me, and I will give you twopence more.' Fanny cried, and wanted to go home. I saw him and Fanny go into the hop-ground. Lizzie and I went home and told mother. I saw the prisoner again that afternoon with Mrs. Gardiner. I had seen the prisoner on the Saturday before in the same meadow. Emma White was with me then, but not Fanny Adams. He talked to us then, he told me to go round the hollow with him, and then he told me to go home.

Eliza White: My husband is a sawyer. I came home from my work about two o'clock that day by the path through the hop-field. I saw a man with the three children, who were companions of my little girl. He was loitering about. The children were at play, The prisoner is that man. I saw them between ten and fifteen minutes. I watched them. The man was smoking all the time. I saw the children run into the hollow. The man looked about and followed them, and I lost sight of them. I heard one of the children cry out, but not as if in pain; it came from the hollow. I then went home.

William Allwork: On the 24th of August, I left home (Alton) at ten minutes past twelve, and returned about two o'clock through the meadows. I saw the prisoner at the gate of the hollow. There was no one with him.

Elizabeth Warner: I am sister to Minnie Warner. I remember her going out about one o'clock that day. She came home about half-past two. She brought home some halfpence. She went out again, and did not return till four o'clock. She then brought home one farthing.

George Noyce: I am a shepherd. On the 24th of August I was in a field called Twelve Acres. About two minutes past three I saw a man coming along the field near the hop-field. When he saw me he put his hands under his jacket and walked away. The prisoner was that man. He afterwards went towards the hop-ground. He had on a black jacket and light trousers.

Sarah Norris: I am cook to Mr. Clement, by whom the prisoner was employed as clerk. Shortly before four in the afternoon of the 24th of August I gave the prisoner a letter to post. There was nothing extraordinary in his appearance at that time. I saw him again at half-past six in the office.

Alfred Pince (a very little boy): I remember the day Fanny Adams was killed. I saw Mrs. Gardiner talking to a man who was where people bathe. I had seen that man come out of the hollow, and go to the water and wash his hands. He then saw me and ran after me, and I ran away. There was a gate between us.

Emma Smith: I live near Mrs. Adams. On the 24th of August, in the afternoon, I saw a man coming down the hop-field. I did not know him, nor do I now. He had on a dark coat and light trousers. I saw Mrs. Gardiner with him. I made a communication to Mrs. Gardiner and Mrs. Adams.

Harriet Adams: I am the mother of Fanny Adams. She was eight years and four months old. She left my house on the 24th of August, about half-past one. She went towards the meadows with her sister Lizzie and Minnie Warner. Fanny never came home; Lizzie came home about two. She went out again, and returned about four. I made inquiries about Fanny of my neighbours. I went to look for Fanny. Emma Smith said there was a man in the hollow, and told me to come and see if he was the man who had taken the child away and given her the halfpence. Mrs. Gardiner and I started. We saw

a man come out of the hollow gate. Minnie Warner followed behind us. Mrs. Gardiner got up to the man first. She called him twice, and asked him to stop. He then came and met us. He was dressed in light trousers and a dark coat and a tall hat. Mrs. Gardiner spoke to him, and asked him, "What have you done with the child you took away?" He said he had not taken any child away. She said, "Did you not give some children some halfpence?" He said, "Yes." Mrs. Gardiner said, "Here comes Minnie Warner." She came up, and Mrs. Gardiner asked her if that was the gentleman who had given her the halfpence. She said, "Yes." Mrs. Gardiner asked her how much he gave her. She said, "Three pennies." The prisoner said, "No, three halfpence;" and the other two he had given a halfpenny each. Mrs. Gardiner asked him his name. He said, "Never mind my name; you will find me at Clement's, at Alton." Mrs. Gardiner begged his pardon, and he went away towards the meadows, over a bridge; the path comes out by the toll-gate kept by Mrs. Porter. I went home. I saw some of Fanny's clothes at the inquest which she had on when she left home.

Mary Ann Porter: On the 24th of August I was living at the old toll-house of the Basingstoke-road. Between five and six o'clock I saw a man come along the road. The prisoner is that man. I had seen him go up the same way that afternoon. He passed the front of my cottage towards Alton. I saw him stoop down the last time as if doing something to his feet.

Jane Gardiner: I live three doors from Mrs. Adams. About half-past five I heard of Fanny Adams being missing. I went with Mrs. Adams in search of Baker, having heard something from Emma Smith. I was doing my household work. Within five minutes of my going out of my house I saw a man in the meadows. I called to him to stop, and Baker came to me direct. I asked him what he had done with the child he had taken away at half-past one. He was almost speechless, and could hardly utter the word "child." I said, "Did you not give some children some halfpence to-day?" He said, "Yes." In the mean time Minnie Warner was running home. I asked her if he was the gentleman who had given her the halfpence that day. She said, "Yes." I asked how much. She said threepence. The prisoner said, "No, three halfpence." I asked how much he had given Fanny. She said a halfpenny, and that he took Fanny up the hop-garden behind the high hedge. I said to the mother, "Why don't you give this fellow in charge of the police?" He said he was quite willing to go. I said, "Sir, the reason of my speaking so is that an old gentleman has been passing this way giving children halfpence, and if I have ill judged you I humbly beg your pardon." He turned round, and I said, "We will have your name." He said, "I am to be found at Clement's, at Alton." There were several children there, but not one that I noticed.

Cross-examined: I did not know his name when I first went out. He advanced to meet me when I told him to stop. When I said the word "child" he was speechless. He did not deny having given the children money. He was very calm. When I apologized, he bowed, and I returned it. I ran up to him. He was not smoking. His boots appeared to have been very wet, but there was dust on them.

Morris Biddle: I am in the employ of Mr. Clement as junior clerk, and have been so for two years. The prisoner was engrossing clerk there for twelve months. On the 24th of August, I was at the office, and so was the prisoner in the morning. He seemed as if he had been drinking. He said he

had when he came in, and that was about ten o'clock. He left the office about eleven that morning, and came back in a quarter of an hour; he went out again in about an hour, and came back a little before one. I went to dinner at one, leaving the prisoner there. I came back about three. I don't think that the prisoner came in till about twenty-five minutes after three, but I can't swear to it. I think he went out at half-past four. I came back at six, about the same time as the prisoner. I remained till seven, and then the prisoner and I went out together to the Swan tap, just across the road. The prisoner at this time seemed as if he had been drinking. At the office the prisoner said some women had accused him of taking away a child. He said he did not know any thing about it, or he would have given them information. He said if the child was murdered he supposed he should be blamed for it. He said he thought he should go away on Monday, and asked me if I would go with him. He said there was a case something like that at Guildford, but there the girl came back again. When the "boots" came in, he said he was going away on Monday, and the prisoner said they might as well go together. "Boots" said he would not do for him, for he could not put his hand to any thing. Prisoner said he could go as a butcher. We stayed there till a little before eight, and we left together, and went to a grocer's shop, and then to a chemist's, where I left him, and I went back to the office. I heard something at the office, and I went and fetched the prisoner. I said, "Baker, they say you have murdered a child." He said, "Never, Morris; it's a bad job for me then." I said, "We'll go to the office, and see whether there's any truth in it." We then went to the office. A baker named Doggrell came. He said, "Where's Baker? They say he has been and murdered a child." Prisoner said he was innocent, but it was a bad job for him. Soon after he was taken into custody by Cheney. I knew the prisoner kept a diary. The last entry is the 24th of August, in his writing. I was not out of the prisoner's company two minutes after we had been at the chemist's. I had gone out to see the place of the murder when I met Cheney. Trimming, the other clerk, was there. The prisoner was smoking in the office. I did not see him make an entry in the diary that evening.

Cross-examined: The diary was kept locked up by the prisoner. I had not seen him make an entry that day. There were four clerks there during that day. One of the Messrs. Clement was there that day. The clerk French was in the office when I went to tea, about five o'clock. I think the prisoner went out at half-past four. It was twenty-five minutes past three when he came in, because I looked at my watch. At six o'clock he seemed annoyed at what the women had said. I did not see him excited during that day. He never suffered from headache or bleeding of the nose. I did not see any blood about him that day. He is fond of walking about at intervals of leisure. There generally was a clerk in the office. I went over to the tap with him about eleven o'clock that morning. I did not notice him doing any thing at his desk that day. I never saw him excited unless he had been drinking.

The entry in the diary was read:—"24th of August, Saturday.—Killed a young girl. It was fine and hot."

William Trimming: I am senior clerk in the office, and have been there thirty or forty years. I went to the office that morning about ten. The prisoner was there that morning. I left at a quarter to one, and saw the prisoner coming in from the tap. I returned soon after six; the prisoner, Biddle, and French, were then there. The prisoner left shortly before seven

with Biddle. Mrs. Adams called a few minutes after seven, and made an inquiry. Half an hour later I heard of a murder. Biddle came in, and I made a communication to him, in consequence of which he went out, and returned with the prisoner about eight. The prisoner said, "You never accuse me of doing such a thing?" I said, "I don't accuse you, but Mrs. Calendar says you have murdered a girl, and cut off her head, and that the police are after you." He said, "It's a serious thing to be accused of; but what had one better do?" I said, "If I were you, I would go to my friends in the town, and see what it all means." Biddle said, "Come on, I'll go with you." Doggrell rushed in, and said, "Have you heard of this dreadful murder? They say a fellow in your office has done it, and is gone off with the train, and the police are after him." Biddle said, "Baker's here." The prisoner came forward, and said, "Here he is, but he is innocent." The prisoner said several times, "What a serious thing it is." I said, "If I were you, I'd go to the police." The prisoner said he should not do that; if the police wanted him, they would come after him. In ten minutes Cheney came; and during that interval the prisoner did not write in his diary. I know his diary. I am certain there was nothing written in it after seven o'clock. He was dressed in a dark coat and light waistcoat and trousers, and a high hat.

Cross-examined: Saw nothing unusual about his dress that day. I observed in the morning that he had been drinking. He had been excited all the evening. I considered he was muddled with drink. I thought there was no foundation for the charge. The clerks are employed at their different desks. In the diary there are entries of marriages and deaths, and other small things, and of work he had done, and how he employed himself on Sundays.

Thomas Gates: I am a labourer. I heard of the murder; I went into the hop-garden at twenty minutes before eight. I found a bit of a dress covered with blood; I walked on, and found a head of a child laid on two poles, exposed. I took it up by the hair, and then put it down. I then picked up a leg and thigh separated from the body. I went on, and found the trunk part of a body fifteen yards from the head. I was frightened, and can't tell about the arms. I saw the body was cut open and cleaned out—the bowels were gone. I remained till the policeman came, and took away what I had found.

Charles White: I am an engine-driver. I went into the hop-field, and saw Gates there. I saw the portions of the child, and tied them up in an apron, and carried them to the "Leather Bottle," and gave them to the police. I went again the next day, and saw Allen find the other parts of the body, the lungs, and the inside, and a girl's hat on the hedge. I tied them all together in a handkerchief, and gave them to Cheney, the police-officer.

Harry Allen: I went to the hop-ground, and found a heart; and the next day I found an arm in the field above the hop-garden, under the hedge, covered over with some hedge-clippings. I took the thing to the police-station.

Thomas Savage: I found the foot of a child in a clover-field on the 29th.

Joseph Walters: I am a police-constable. I could find nothing on the Sunday or Monday; but on Tuesday, the 27th, I found an eye in the centre of the river, near the bridge. There were ten inches of water. Another constable found an eye about a yard off, about 700 yards from the hop-garden.

Thomas Light, constable: From information I received, I went and received the portions of the body of a child, which I took to the police-station.

William Henry Walker, a painter, on Sunday, the 25th of August, searched

the hop-garden, and found a stone covered with blood and hair, and small pieces of flesh (near the spot where the head was found).

William James Walker: I remember my son bringing home a stone, which I gave to the policeman Watkins.

William Cheney: I am Superintendent of Police at Alton. I met White, who gave me a bundle. There were the portions of a child in it. The eyes appeared to have been scooped out. The right ear was cut off and missing. There were the legs of a child, a trunk (all the inside cleaned out), the right leg had been torn off from the trunk, the left arm had been cut off at the elbow. There was also some child's clothing much cut up. I then went to the prisoner; his hat was on, and his hands were in his pockets. I asked him if he had heard of this murder; he said, "They say it's me, don't they?" I said, "Yes, you are suspected." He said, "I am innocent, and I am willing to go where you like." He produced two knives, on one of which was a little blood. I said, "I must leave a constable with you. I went away and made further inquiries, and then I returned, and took the prisoner into custody. He said he was innocent, and that the halfpence proved nothing, as he was in the habit of giving children money when he was out for a walk. He had 1*l.* 6*s.* 1*½**d.* in his pocket. His left boot and sock and leg of the trousers were quite wet. I asked him how he accounted for that; he said he was in the habit of stepping into the water when he was out for a walk. There were spots on the trouser leg which appeared to have been washed. There were stains of blood on the wristbands of his shirt. He said he could not account for it. On the Monday I went to Mr. Clement's office, and with one of the keys found on the prisoner I opened his desk, and found the diary that was shown to the prisoner in his cell. He was asked if that was his handwriting, and he said it was. He said he made the entry after he saw the women, but he was intoxicated at the time.

George Watkins, police-constable: I took charge of the prisoner at his office. He asked me whose child it was. I told him I believed Mr. Adams'. He said he could not see how they could trace it to him more than giving the child a halfpenny, and that he had often done before. Biddle said something to the prisoner, who said, "I don't see how I am to get off, it seems all so straightforward; but I am innocent." After his clothes were taken off, he said, "They have found some blood on my sleeve which I can't account for. The doctor seemed to think it was he; but as for his boots being wet, that was nothing, as he was in the habit of walking in the dew and washing his boots even before going to the office. If the case were gone on with, he should be defended; and if he did not get off, he must be hanged. That was all he intended to say about it."

George Adams: I am the father of Fanny Adams. I was shown her body, and identified it.

Dr. Taylor said he had examined the prisoner's clothes, and found small appearances of blood diluted in some parts of the coat, waistcoat, trousers, and stockings, difficult to be discovered without great care. There were two small knives which had been taken from the pockets of the prisoner; one had no trace of blood upon it; the other had some blood between the plates; he did not think the act could have been perpetrated by that knife. On the stone produced there was a good deal of blood.

The cross-examination of this witness turned chiefly on homicidal mania and hereditary insanity.

Dr. Leslie, a surgeon of Alton, who examined the portions of the body, gave a description of what he found. They were the remains of a female child—head, arms, and legs separated from the trunk. On the top of the head there was a contused wound; the right ear was severed from the head, both eyes were cut out, and there was a cut extending from above the ear to the lower part of the jaw. Upon a post mortem examination, he found the death was occasioned by a wound on the head. There were blood-stains on the stone. There were three incisions on the left side of the chest, and a deep cut on the left arm, dividing the muscles. The fore-arm was cut off at the elbow-joint, the left leg nearly cut off at the hip-joint, the left foot cut off at the ankle-joint; a deep incision, dividing the chest, between the ribs. The right leg was torn from the trunk, and the whole of the contents of the pelvis and chest completely removed. There were five incisions on the liver; the heart was cut out and missing; a dislocation of the spine; the vagina missing. He saw the prisoner on the night of the 28th of August. Saw stains of washed-off blood on his trousers; the right boot and sock were quite saturated with water. Remarked to him that his trousers were wet. Prisoner said, "Yes, unfortunately they are; but that proves nothing, for I am constantly in the habit of walking in the water." Saw blood stains on the shirt, for which the prisoner said he could not account.

Mr. Carter addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner. After adverting to the serious difficulties and responsibility of his position, he said his defence would present two aspects. In the first place, he should rely upon a criticism of the evidence, convincing the jury that the prisoner could not be guilty; and he should produce evidence before them as to the state of mind of the prisoner, showing that he could not be held responsible for his acts. Could they believe that the small knife produced was the instrument with which the deed was committed? But if that was the instrument, then it clearly proved that there could not have been any premeditation to commit the act. Where was there any evidence of motive? There was nothing to show any. From the first time the prisoner was accused, he had declared he was innocent. It was said the entry in the diary was a confession of guilt. When he first saw it, he thought it was a remarkable entry. What was it? "Killed a young girl. Fine and hot." But when they examined the diary, it was remarkable for stating certain events. It might have been a record of a young girl having been killed. It did not say, "I killed a young girl." There was an entry of a child drowned in King's-pond. Would they infer from that that the prisoner had drowned the child? The words "It is fine and hot" were absolutely entered in the diary no less than 164 times. But there were entries in that diary showing that the prisoner regularly attended his church at least twice every Sunday, and then came the last entry, "Killed a young girl." Did not that show a diseased state of mind? It was not because they could not put their finger on any one else that they should convict the prisoner. They had to rely a great deal upon the evidence of Minnie Warner; and yet it was clearly proved that she had been mistaken as to points of time, and she might have been mistaken upon other parts of her testimony. The learned counsel then went into an analysis of that part of the evidence. He then read different portions of Dr. Taylor's work on medical jurisprudence, to show that many motiveless murderers were insane.

Mr. Carter concluded by saying that he would show that many members of the prisoner's family had been insane, and that the prisoner himself had been

frequently in a state of mind fitting him only for a lunatic asylum. He trusted however, upon the facts of the case the jury would come to the conclusion that the prisoner was not guilty.

The following witnesses were examined on behalf of the prisoner :—

Frederick Baker, senior, the father of the prisoner, stated that the prisoner was always a very weakly child ; his health and nervous system were always bad ; he had pains in his head with sickness. He was subject to bleedings of the nose. He did not go to school until he was twelve years of age. He had a violent attack of fever when he was sixteen years old. He put him in the office of Messrs. Smallpiece, the solicitors, at Guildford. He complained often that his duties were too heavy for his head, and used to cry. Up to twenty-six he never drank intoxicating drink. A young woman broke off an engagement with him, which caused him great distress and despondency. He frequently appeared quite out of his mind. The prisoner used to tell him that he was not his friend. He always conducted himself well, and has said that if it had not been for his father's prayers he should have made away with himself. He disappeared in April, 1865, and he did not know where he had gone. Used to watch him, as he feared his committing suicide.

Cross-examined : The prisoner was a member of literary institutions at Guildford. He was Secretary to a debating society. He was a Director of a savings-bank, and he was a Sunday-school teacher for twelve years.

Mary Ann Baker, the sister of the prisoner, gave similar testimony.

Alfred Johnson, a bricklayer, also spoke of his strangeness of manner.

John Davis, who had been a constable at Guildford, described some extraordinary conduct on the part of the prisoner. He would walk about with him on his beat, and break away from him abruptly in the midst of a conversation. He had watched him walking about and had taken him home, as he feared he would commit suicide, and he would do this in the middle of the night. His manner was restless and excited.

Sarah Kingston, with whom the prisoner had lodged all the time he was at Alton, said the prisoner was a very quiet man, but she had observed that he was in very low spirits, and unhappy.

Mr. William Curtis, a surgeon, had attended the family of the Roes, who were cousins of the prisoner's father ; one of that family was now an inmate of a lunatic asylum. He had been in different asylums during twenty years : he had a homicidal tendency.

Dr. H. C. Taylor, a surgeon at Guildford, said he had attended the prisoner's family. The prisoner was a very weakly child. He had had an attack of typhoid fever. Four years ago the prisoner's father had an attack of acute mania. He was violent, and had delusions, and once attacked his son and daughter, being under the delusion that they were endeavouring to poison him. Witness had placed him under restraint. Had remarked a great change in the prisoner's manner ; always looked upon him as having a weak mind, which would be increased by the hereditary taint in his family. Homicidal mania was a desire to kill some one without motive.

Mr. Carter having summed up his evidence,

Mr. Bere addressed the jury in reply upon the whole case.

Mr. Justice Mellor then summed up the case to the jury. The charge against the prisoner was that he wilfully and of his malice aforethought murdered Fanny Adams. This was, no doubt, one of the most remarkable cases it was ever his

lot to try. It depended almost exclusively upon presumptive evidence arising from the conduct of the prisoner, and from an entry in his diary which was in his handwriting. The case had been conducted on both sides with great propriety, and considerable ability. At the same time he must guard them against the consequences of one expression or two which the learned counsel for the prisoner had addressed to them, as if they had to consider whether the punishment of the scaffold was proper or not for this country to retain. They had nothing to do with that; it was the punishment assigned by the law for the offence of murder, and they had nothing to do with the wisdom or the propriety of the Legislature, but he must be permitted to say that he could not agree with the learned counsel. The result of his long experience was that a secondary punishment would not be so effective in many cases. They must discharge their duty upon their oaths, as he must his, and in the sight of the public and before the country, and they must do so within the bounds of the law and the limits of the evidence. Two defences had been made by the learned counsel. He first disputed that the evidence brought home the guilt to the prisoner; and secondly, he said, even if it should turn out in their judgment they must come to that conclusion, still the prisoner would be entitled to an acquittal which would remove him to an asylum for criminal lunatics. Therefore, he said, the result of an acquittal would not be to discharge the prisoner from all further observation, but to place him in a criminal lunatic asylum, there to be dealt with as long as the exigencies of his case required, and no doubt if they came to the conclusion that the prisoner was guilty of the act, still if they should be of opinion that it was done under circumstances which allowed the prisoner to escape on the plea of irresponsibility for his actions, then they would say "not guilty on the ground of insanity," but that was not intended as a compromise; it must be clearly made out, otherwise no prisoner could be convicted of the higher offence; therefore it was a case that required the greatest care. His Lordship then read over and commented upon the whole of the evidence.

The jury retired, and returned in a quarter of an hour with a verdict of "Guilty," and the prisoner was sentenced to death. He was executed at Winchester.

V.

THE JAMAICA INSURRECTION.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COCKBURN'S CHARGE.

THE following very important charge was delivered to the Grand Jury at the Central Criminal Court on the 10th of April by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, with reference to an indictment preferred against Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, for the murder of George William Gordon and of Samuel Clarke, on the 23rd of October, 1865, at Morant Bay, during the Negro Rebellion in the Island of Jamaica. This charge contains a full and luminous exposition of the

subject of Martial Law, and is of great interest both to the student of constitutional law and to the public at large.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the case was certainly one which, whether they looked at the principles involved or at the questions of law which arose upon it, would be of the greatest difficulty as well as of the greatest importance. The prosecution was founded upon the fact that a British subject—Mr. George William Gordon—had been brought to trial before a court-martial, he being not in the military service, but a civilian, and by this court-martial, ordered by one of the accused, Colonel Nelson, and presided over by the other, Lieutenant Brand, had been condemned to death for high treason, and the sentence, after being approved by Colonel Nelson, had been duly executed. The prosecution was based upon two grounds; first, that there was no jurisdiction in those who tried and sentenced Mr. Gordon; and, secondly, if there was jurisdiction, that it was not honestly but corruptly used, for the purpose of getting rid of an obnoxious and, as it was thought, mischievous person. The facts were very few, and might be very succinctly stated. It appeared that in parts of the Island of Jamaica in 1865 a somewhat turbulent spirit and a disposition to tumult and riot had manifested itself among the negro population. They had, or imagined that they had, grievances to complain of. Upon the 7th of October some disturbance took place on the occasion of a magisterial meeting at the Court-house in Morant Bay. This disturbance, into the circumstances of which it was unnecessary to enter, brought the insurrectionary spirit to a crisis. The negroes in the neighbourhood were evidently making preparations for an outbreak; so much so, that on the 10th of October the local authorities thought it necessary to communicate with the Governor and to apply to him for military assistance. On the 10th, when an attempt was made to execute warrants issued against one or two persons who had taken part in the disturbances on the 7th, resistance by force and violence was offered. On the 11th the insurgents to the number of several hundreds made their appearance, more or less armed, and stormed the Court House, in which the magistrates were performing their duties. The Volunteers, who came to the assistance of the magistrates, were all overpowered; no fewer than eighteen people were killed and upwards of fifty wounded; and from that moment the whole of the negro population in that neighbourhood was in a state of insurrection. The insurrection spread rapidly. The negroes attacked the houses of planters in the neighbourhood, taking life and destroying property. They made no secret of their intention to destroy the white population, at least the males, reserving the women for a still more dreadful fate, and expressed their determination to seize and take possession of all the property in the island. As might have been expected, these events excited in the minds of the white people the greatest possible consternation and alarm. The military force in the island was but small; the number of the whites was small, very small, in proportion to the black population. Under these circumstances the Governor, with the advice of the Council of War, which he was bound to call, and did call, declared the whole county of Surrey under martial law, except the town of Kingston. Meanwhile, the troops, having been already despatched in consequence of the application to the Governor on the 10th, were very soon upon the scene of action; and though their number was comparatively small, they were enabled at once to suppress and crush this insurrection. Indeed, the moment they appeared in the field the whole insurrection appeared to have collapsed; the negroes every where fled, and the only business of the military

was to pursue, and, when martial law was proclaimed, to take them before the military tribunals. Now, martial law was proclaimed on the 13th of October. The deceased Mr. Gordon resided generally at a short distance from Kingston. He had a place of business there, and for three or four days before his arrest he was visiting some one in the town, attending to his business as usual. At this stage of the case it would not be necessary to enter into the merits of the charge against Mr. Gordon. His culpability, or the degree in which he was to be blamed for the dreadful atrocities perpetrated during the insurrection, might be considered by and by, but had no immediate connexion with the question of jurisdiction, to which the attention of the jury would now be called; and it was most important to keep all the various parts of this case distinct and separate, and not mix up matters which had no immediate connexion. Mr. Gordon, it was enough to say, was generally believed by all the white population of Jamaica to have been the instigator of the rebellion, and to have been an accomplice of those who were actually concerned in it. It was, therefore, thought right to make Mr. Gordon answerable for the offences of which he was believed to be guilty. The question was, whether the right course was taken to bring him to trial if he were guilty of any crime. Warrants were issued against him, and that fact coming to his knowledge he went on the morning of the 17th of October to the house of General O'Connor, commanding the forces in Jamaica, for the purpose of giving himself up. The Governor and the Custos of Kingston came to the General's house in that town, apprehended Mr. Gordon, took him on board a war-steamer, and conveyed him to Morant Bay. On his arrival there he was forthwith put upon his trial. The court-martial before which he was tried was composed of Lieutenant Brand and Lieutenant Errington, both officers of the Royal Navy, and Ensign Kelly, of Her Majesty's 6th West India Regiment. Before these officers he was arraigned on a charge of high treason and complicity with those who had broken out into rebellion against the Crown at Morant Bay; and upon this charge he was found guilty and sentenced to be hung. Colonel Nelson approved and ratified the sentence and sent it to General O'Connor. By him it was submitted to the Governor, who approved the sentence, and expressed his opinion that it ought to be carried into effect, and accordingly on the Monday morning Mr. Gordon was hung. It was in respect of his having thus been put to death that the present prosecution was instituted. The first question to be considered was, whether the Governor had authority to proclaim martial law, this court having been constituted on the assumption of such authority; and if it should turn out that there was no such authority, then the further question presented itself—whether the accused, having proceeded on the assumption that the Governor had authority to declare martial law, and that they had authority under the proclamation to try and sentence Mr. Gordon on the charge submitted to them,—having, in fact, exercised this jurisdiction, believing that it existed,—had not done that which amounted to wilful murder. The first question, whether the Governor had authority to proclaim martial law, was, of course, one of infinite importance in this and in any other similar case which might arise. One thing was clear—the power of the Governor must proceed from one of two sources. It must either exist by virtue of a commission received from the Crown, or from some Act either of the Imperial or local Legislature. It could arise from no other source. Of himself the Governor had no power to declare martial law. But if the terms of his Commission were large enough to invest him with such authority, as representing the Crown and as exercising the prero-

gative of the Crown, then, provided this power were inherent in the Crown, the Governor of a colony might exercise it also. So, again, he would properly exercise it if conferred upon him by virtue of any general or local legislation. Was the Governor of Jamaica, then, invested with this power by Royal Commission or by enactment? In answering this question it was necessary to inquire what was the character of the colony of Jamaica. A distinction had been established by legal authority between Crown colonies and settled colonies. A Crown colony was one acquired by conquest, or, by what was equivalent, cession, and there the power of the Sovereign was absolute. Such colonies, it was true, kept their own laws for a time, because it would be in the highest degree inconvenient to change the laws for others of which the people were wholly ignorant, and which the ordinary tribunals would be wholly incompetent to administer. The colonists, therefore, preserved their institutions and laws, subject to any change which the Government of these realms in council might think proper to make. Very different was the case of a settled colony, which was unoccupied land taken possession of in the name of the Crown, and afterwards colonized and settled by British subjects. In such a case the inhabitants had all the rights of Englishmen. They took, in the first place, that which no Englishman could by expatriation put off, namely, allegiance to the Crown, the duty of obedience to the lawful demands of the Sovereign, obedience also to the laws which Parliament in its wisdom might think proper to make respecting such a colony. But, on the other hand, they took with them all the rights and liberties which they would enjoy at home. In "Comyn's Digest," a work of the highest authority, it was thus laid down:—"The common law is the inheritance of all the subjects of the realm, and therefore in the plantations or elsewhere, where colonies of Englishmen are settled, they are to be governed by the law of England." There were many other authorities to the same effect, and the law was well stated in Mr. Clerk's able work on Colonial Law, that where a colony was acquired by occupancy, the law of England *ipso facto* applied there. As was happily expressed long ago by a law officer of the crown, in short but emphatic words, "Let an Englishman go where he will, he carries as much of law and liberty with him as the nature of things will bear." This being the law, it was necessary to inquire to which of these two classes of colonies did Jamaica belong? Now, it was true that Jamaica was acquired by conquest from Spain, in 1665, when it was inhabited by a Spanish population who kept negroes for the cultivation of the soil. On that occasion a large number of the Spaniards left the island, and two years later, upon the failure of their countrymen to retake it, the remainder of the Spanish population also quitted Jamaica. Although, therefore, acquired in the first instance by conquest, the island, at the time when Englishmen went to settle there, was entirely unoccupied, except by the Maroons; and in 1661, Charles II. sent out a Commission to Colonel Doyley, and at the same time made proclamation that all children of English subjects who went to settle in Jamaica should, though born out of England, possess the rights and privileges of free-born Englishmen. Under these circumstances, there could be no doubt that Jamaica was a settled colony, for though the land was conquered, the people never were. The doctrine, therefore, of the Crown's supremacy over a conquered people could have no application here. Moreover, an Assembly, constituted by popular election, was granted to the colony by Charles II.; and by legislative enactment, assented to by the Crown, the laws of England became the laws of Jamaica. The point was fully considered in 1774

by one of the greatest, if not the greatest Judge who ever sat in Westminster-hall. A case ("Campbell v. Hall") arose in that year, concerning the right of the Crown to tax the island of Grenada, and though the Jamaica Constitution did not come directly into question, yet Jamaica was referred to incidentally as a colony which had always been allowed the right of self-taxation, and was entitled to the privileges of a settled colony. This point, then, being settled by principle, by legislative enactment, and by authority, the inhabitants of Jamaica were, beyond all doubt, endowed with the rights and liberties of British subjects as against the prerogative of the Crown. Here we were brought face to face with the grave question, "Has the Sovereign, by virtue of royal prerogative, the power, in case of rebellion, of establishing and causing to be exercised martial law in England?" So far as this country was concerned, the question might be of no practical importance. We might look into the long vista of distant years and feel happily satisfied that that question was not likely to arise in England. Years of beneficent Government had, among us Englishmen, changed a duty into a sentiment, it might almost be said an instinct—and the duty of loyalty had blended itself with attachment to the person of the Sovereign. Unhappily, that state of things did not prevail throughout the whole of Her Majesty's dominions. We knew the results which, in the sister country, generations of misrule and of political and religious tyranny and oppression had only recently produced, so that even now, when all serious grievances (with perhaps a single exception), had been removed, a spirit engendered in past years still remained—a spirit of which designing and wicked men took advantage to produce dissatisfaction, disorder, tumult, and insurrection. We knew that only recently Her Majesty's Government had under their consideration the question whether it would be necessary to apply martial law in Ireland; and though a wise Government would always, if possible, first ask Parliament to sanction such proceedings, Parliament might not be sitting, and the Government might find itself obliged either to omit having recourse to means by which insurrection might be most effectually suppressed; or, on the other hand, might be obliged to authorize the action of martial law when all proceedings under it, for want of proper authority, would be illegal, and those who administered it might afterwards become civilly or criminally responsible for their acts. The question under consideration was thus one of the gravest importance. Happily in that Court they had nothing to do with questions of policy. That was a matter for the Legislature, and it might be that the question was one which ought to receive a legislative solution. But in that Court they were bound merely to deal with the law as far as they could ascertain it, and with nothing else. Had the Crown, or its representative in foreign parts, power to establish martial law? And if so, what was martial law? This was an all-important inquiry; for of late doctrines had been put forward which, to his mind, were of the most startling character—doctrines from which, if true, it would follow that British subjects not ordinarily subject to military or martial law might be brought before tribunals armed with the most arbitrary and despotic power—tribunals which were to create the law they were to administer, and to determine upon the guilt or innocence of persons brought before them with a total abandonment of all those rules and principles which were of the very essence of justice and law. Such doctrines as these were laid down:—"Martial law is arbitrary and uncertain in its nature; so much so, that the term 'law' cannot be properly applied to it." And again—"Martial law is in fact the extinction of all law, save the will of the military commanders entrusted

with its execution, to be exercised in accordance with their judgment, according to the exigencies of the moment and the usages of the services, with no fixed or settled rules, no definite practice, and not bound by the ordinary rules of law." Lastly he found this startling proposition in print:—"When martial law is proclaimed, there is no rule of law by which the officers exercising martial law are bound to carry on their proceedings." These being the doctrines propounded by some authorities, it was high time that they should be brought to the test of judicial interpretation. At all events, of this he was sure—if that were the system under which British subjects could be tried for their liberties or their lives, it was time that Parliament should interpose, and put some check upon a jurisdiction so purely arbitrary, despotic, and capricious. The difficulty which one had in discussing this case was that, excepting these statements, he found no authority at all for any such doctrines, which seemed to him as unfounded and untenable as, in his judgment, they were mischievous, and, he had almost said, detestable. It was at any rate of the utmost importance that they should be sifted in order to see whether they rested on any firm and solid foundation of law and authority. Before such doctrines were to be considered as part and parcel of the law of England, it should be seen whether there was sufficient authority for the assertion that Englishmen could be so treated. The jury should never forget that, whatever might be the charge of which a man was accused, though he might be a rebel, and the worst traitor that ever was brought to the block, yet until he was convicted, and until his life was taken, he was still a British subject, entitled, when tried, to those safeguards which were of the essence of justice. Experience had shown that such safeguards were necessary to prevent the rash and hasty conclusions that even men experienced in the administration of justice were at times apt to form, to protect the innocence which sometimes wore the appearance of guilt, and to save the lives of innocent men, especially in times of excitement, when these safeguards were most wanted. It was proper, therefore, to consider whether, in the sense in which the term was used by the writers to whom he had referred, such a thing as martial law was known to the law of England. It was impossible to do justice to a subject of such vast difficulty and importance without tracing it back to its fountain-head in order to see where it originated, and how it was exercised in the case of civilians. Now, on entering into this investigation, all matter which did not properly belong to it must be carefully eliminated. A rebel in arms stood in the position of a public enemy, and therefore you might kill him, refuse him quarter, and deal with him in all respects as a public enemy. The jury must not confound with martial law applied to civilians—the point which they were dealing with to-day—what had been commonly done at many epochs of our history in the treatment of rebels taken in the field or in pursuit. There were many instances in English history of men so taken and put to death. But this was not the question he was dealing with to-day. The first trial which the historians represented as one under martial law took place in the reign of Edward II. The Earl of Lancaster, who had been in rebellion against the King, was tried before the King and a certain number of his peers, and was sentenced to death for high treason. But having taken the trouble to read the record of the whole proceedings, he doubted exceedingly whether this case had reference to martial law at all. It was simply an irregular trial; and in the subsequent reign the attainder was reversed, on the ground that the ordinary courts were open, before which the case might have been brought. There was an instance, again, of martial law in one sense during

the insurrection in the reign of Richard II., when, after Wat Tyler was killed, his discomfited followers were put to death by wholesale, without the slightest form of trial. But it was thought necessary, even in those days of comparative lawlessness, to have an Act of Indemnity, 5 Richard II., for these irregular executions. In the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry VI. the practice seemed to have grown up, and was carried to lamentable lengths, of executing those who were taken in the field. The first instance he could discover in which any thing was done under pretence of martial law in the sense in which they were now using it—that was, not as martial law put in force against men taken in arms or in flight from the field, but as applied to trials afterwards—was after the battle of Stoke, in the reign of Henry VII., in which the adherents of the Pretender Simnel were routed with prodigious slaughter. Some days afterwards, when every vestige of the insurrection had gone, it occurred to this subtle and avaricious monarch that it might be very convenient to hunt up those who, though not in arms, had fomented the recent troubles. This was not so much to wreak personal vengeance upon them—for, to do Henry justice, it was not blood, but gold that he sought. Accordingly he tried these persons by a sort of martial law, giving them to understand that they were at liberty to compound for their guilt, the result being that very few were put to death. No doubt, if at that time any body had questioned the right of the King to institute those proceedings, he would have repented of his folly. But, on the other hand, no one could entertain the shadow of a doubt that the whole of these proceedings were illegal. If it were true that you could apply martial law for the purpose of suppressing rebellion, it was equally certain that you could not bring men to trial under martial law after rebellion had been suppressed. It was universally admitted that that law was founded upon the absolute necessity of the case—a necessity paramount to all law, and which must prevail to save the State from perishing. Except in the case cited during the reign of Henry VII. it had never been applied to the punishment of persons whose complicity with rebellion might be capable of proof, but who could only be punished by being brought before the ordinary tribunals, and subjected to the ordinary law. There were some remarkable ordinances proclaiming martial law in the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. At that time, from want and destitution among the people, from the dissolution of the monasteries, the enclosure of commons, and other causes, the social fabric seemed to be shaken to its very foundation. Social and political discontent was mixed up with religious fanaticism. In the reign of Edward VI. the disaffected were in the habit of raising the villages by the sound of church bells, and, according to a proclamation contained in “*Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*,” this attempt to muster men in arms was forbidden under pain of death, to be executed by the authority of law martial, whereby no delay should be permitted as in other cases. This was a strong proclamation, but it was entirely *ultra vires* for the Crown to have dealt with these offences otherwise than by Act of Parliament. Again, in 1549, according to Strype, lord-lieutenants in various counties were empowered to exercise martial law. In 1552 there was a proclamation of the same kind. It was not contained in Rymer, but Strype referred to it, and it might possibly have been issued. Whether it was acted upon was more doubtful, for, as Lord Hale observed, at various periods of our history it had been the practice of the Sovereign to issue proclamations *in terrorem populi*, for the purpose of operating upon the public mind by proclamations which were known pretty

well to be beyond the authority of the Crown. Another proclamation was issued in the reign of Queen Mary, in which martial law was threatened against those who imported heretical works; and if Hume was to be believed, this example was followed by Queen Elizabeth, who proclaimed that those who imported bulls or traitorous works from Rome should be punished with death under martial law. Again, upon a representation from the citizens of London concerning apprehended riots, the Queen issued a commission authorizing the establishment of martial law, and the execution under it of all rioters, and declaring, with an extraordinary stretch of assumed power, that persons who were leading vagrant lives, and could not give a good account of themselves, should be hung up. This was an entirely unconstitutional proceeding, and beyond the lawful prerogative; but happily no one was hung under the proclamation, the persons taken into custody were brought before the ordinary tribunals, and punished according to the nature of their offences. James I. issued a commission based upon that issued to lord-lieutenants of counties by Edward VI. In the reign of Charles I., when benevolences were refused by persons from whom they were demanded, soldiers were quartered upon those persons, and, as the soldiers were guilty of excesses, commissions were issued to try them for those military offences by martial law. It was said, upon what authority appeared doubtful, that these commissions were used for the purpose of subjecting to martial law persons who were obnoxious, for refusing to submit to the exaction of benevolences. At any rate, when the necessities of the King compelled him to summon a new Parliament, the first thing they did was to vindicate the liberties of the people from those unlawful assertions of the prerogative by the celebrated Petition of Right, in which these commissions were declared to be unlawful, and it was solemnly asserted that no English subject was to be subjected to martial law. This supplemental great charter of English liberties remained to this hour the unquestioned and unquestionable law of the land, and from that time there had been no attempt to establish martial law within the realm. There had been rebellions since then, and very serious ones. Martial law would, no doubt, have been exceedingly useful in suppressing the Monmouth rebellion in the reign of James II.; but martial law was not then proclaimed or thought of, nor was it known in 1715 or 1745. It was true that Kirke and his ruffian followers after the Monmouth rebellion perpetrated every species of odious barbarity. It was true that after Culloden the wounded were put to death in cold blood; but he rejoiced to think that atrocities which could never be forgotten in English history, and which indignant humanity could never forgive, had not even the pretence of martial law. He rejoiced to think that the name of law—even of martial law—was not profaned and polluted by association with such odious atrocities as were then commenced. He had now, he believed, mentioned every instance in our history in which martial law had been referred to or proclaimed, and he could find no such thing as martial law used for the purpose of putting down rebellion. He was therefore utterly astonished to find persons in authority, and out of it, talking about martial law in an easy, familiar way, as a thing perfectly understood and settled in this country, when, in truth, it had never been resorted to or exercised. Alas, it was too true that it had been resorted to in a neighbouring country. They all knew what took place in Ireland at the close of the last century. As early as 1795 insurrections of a serious nature occurred in various parts of the country, and it would seem that the magistrates and people in authority took upon themselves to execute a species of martial law

without any authority whatever. Acts of Indemnity, however, were thought necessary, and were periodically passed by the Irish Legislature. In 1798 the Lord-Lieutenant proclaimed martial law in Ireland, and many persons were executed under it. In that year a case occurred which, but for an unhappy incident, might have furnished a judicial precedent for the present proceedings. Wolfe Tone, one of the most conspicuous rebels, who had been to France asking the Government of that day to invade Ireland, was captured on board a French ship of war. As soon as he was landed he was brought to trial before a court-martial, and sentenced to be hung. Having enjoyed military rank in the army of the French Directory, he prayed that he might have a soldier's death. This was refused. Application was made in his behalf to the Court of Queen's Bench by *habeas corpus*, on the ground that he had been sentenced to death by court-martial, and that martial law was illegal, as the ordinary courts were sitting, and their jurisdiction was not superseded. The Court of Queen's Bench at once granted the writ of *habeas corpus*, and directed the sheriff to use force if necessary, and to bring up the military officers, the Court being determined to vindicate the law. The sheriff went, but Wolfe Tone had cut his throat in prison, and was in a very short time a corpse. The question was thus never brought to an issue; but it was thought right to supersede the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation of martial law, and to have statutory authority for it. To his mind the Acts of Indemnity, which were always asked for, furnished the strongest argument against the legality of martial law, and he thought that in what had occurred in Ireland there was little or nothing which militated with the proposition he laid down at starting—that, except in certain cases of admitted illegality, requiring indemnity, and except also in cases where statutory powers had been given, as in the Act of the United Kingdom continuing martial law in Ireland, there were no instances in our history where by virtue of the Royal prerogative martial law had ever been carried into actual operation in this country.

The next point for consideration was, "What is martial law?" Obviously, when you collected a body of armed men for the purposes of war, you must have a special law applicable to them. Such a law there had been from the earliest times, that law always emanating from the Sovereign, and being promulgated in the form of ordinances for the government of the army. The learned Lord Chief Justice referred to a number of those ordinances from the time of Richard I. downwards, until, in the reign of James II., the articles of war were issued, they being substantially the same as were now in force. Then came the Mutiny Act and articles of war periodically issued. Jurisdiction in military courts was originally exercised by the High Constable and Earl Marshal, but ultimately courts-martial were introduced as now established for the trial of military offences. The procedure before those courts was no doubt capable of considerable amendment, and the prisoner should be allowed to retain an advocate for his defence; but still the substance of justice was carefully attended to, and in no tribunals in the world was justice administered with a higher sense of honour and of the obligation which the performance of judicial functions imposed. If such were the law applied to the soldier, what should be the law as applied to the civilian? Why should we be told when you came to deal with civilians, martial law was something very different from the law applied to the soldier? The fact was, that two things were confounded, which it was important to separate. It was said by an eminent

authority that martial law was founded on necessity, and was to be expanded, therefore, according to the necessity of each case. "Surely," he said, "you do not contend that if a mutiny broke out on board ship or in a regiment, you must resort to the ordinary tribunals?" Certainly not. But it was an egregious mistake to suppose that the punishment which might be inflicted there formed any part of martial law. There was one law which was paramount to all other laws; and this was that where illegal violence was used, you might defend yourself and repress that violence by any amount of force necessary for that purpose. You were not bound to submit to injuries inflicted by a man who attacked you with a murderous intent, and to wait for the redress which might afterwards follow. To use a common expression, you might at once take the law into your own hands, and in self-protection kill the offender by any means in your power. So in the case of a mutiny, you might put it down by force. But that was not martial law; it was part and parcel of the law of England. It was a paramount right recognized by all civilized countries—the right, when violence was threatened, to quell it at once by any force which might be necessary. Now, the question here was, whether, for the suppression of rebellion, you might not subject persons who were not actively engaged in it, and whom you could not kill upon the spot, to a law which was in this sense entirely exceptional, and to be carried into execution in an exceptional way. There was no authority in support of any such proposition. Lord Hale, speaking of martial law, said, "In truth and reality it is not law." But he was speaking of martial law applied to soldiers, not civilians. Before the Mutiny Act came into operation, it was thought that there could not be in time of peace any martial law applied even to soldiers, and Lord Hale said, "In truth and reality it is not law, *enim necessitas cogit*." Lord Coke's opinion was to the same effect, namely, that neither the civilian nor the soldier was liable to martial law in time of peace; but that in time of war the soldier was subject to such rules and ordinances for the government of the army as the Sovereign might think fit to lay down. The passages in "Hale" and "Blackstone" however, respecting martial law had probably led to much confusion, and had given rise to the notion that there was such a thing as martial law distinguished from military law. Both these great writers, however, were speaking merely of the law applicable to the soldier. As far as he could judge, both were wrong in saying that martial law in the sense of military law was the arbitrary and capricious system which they seemed to denounce. But it was quite clear at any rate that they were speaking of military law applicable to soldiers, not of martial law applicable to civilians. In the case of Grant, which occurred in 1792, Lord Loughborough said that martial law did not exist in England at all. The statutory law, as exemplified in the Petition of Right, was equally clear in its declaration on the point, and if this was the law in England, it was also the law in Jamaica. The Mutiny Act, again, supplied a solemn recognition of the fact that, even as regarded the military, no man could be prejudged except according to the established laws of the realm, and that, therefore, special powers were necessary in order to frame rules for the government of the army. The distinction between martial and military law maintained in the works upon courts-martial was founded on an entire misconception of "Hale" and "Blackstone," whose language was certainly ambiguous until you saw the subject-matter about which they were talking, and then all difficulty vanished; but besides the military writers, Mr. Headlam, being then Judge-Advocate, when called upon to inform the Royal Commissioners on the

subject, said that martial law was so uncertain that the term law could not be applied to it. He referred to the opinion of a very great man, but one whose opinions on points of law could not be admitted—the Duke of Wellington—who said that martial law was no law at all. Now he (the Lord Chief Justice) should not recommend any body to follow the opinion thus expressed, since they would certainly have to answer for any consequences. Then, again, Sir David Dundas, for whose learning and sound judgment he had great respect, when examined before the Committee on the Ceylon rebellion, went the length of saying that when martial law was proclaimed, there was no rule of law by which officers executing it were bound; that martial law overrode all other law, and was entirely arbitrary. Before such positive doctrines were enunciated, doctrines which, if followed, might lead to the most serious consequences—it was well that some authority should be given. In one of the debates in the House of Lords, it was said by Earl Grey that both Lord Cottenham and another noble and learned lord had made very much the same representation to him as that contained in the opinions just mentioned. But this statement was entirely extra-judicial and conversational, and no authority was given for it. True, the Irish Act of 1798, the statute of the United Kingdom by which martial law in Ireland was continued, and the Act of 1832, when Ireland was in a state of great agitation, and it was thought necessary to empower proceedings under martial law, contained some emphatic words referring to “the acknowledged power of the Crown to declare, proclaim, and put in force martial law.” But it must not be forgotten that these were mere words of reservation; they were neither enacting nor declaratory words; and though such a statutory reservation would have the greatest weight and urgency, yet it was extremely questionable whether such a recognition of the Queen’s authority, being neither declaratory nor enacting, would give the Crown this power, supposing that in all other respects the conclusion could be satisfactorily arrived at that the Crown had no such power. Possibly two branches of the jurisdiction exercised over soldiers might have assisted in creating the erroneous impression concerning martial law. When an army was in the field there used to be such a thing as a drum-head court-martial. When a man was taken in the act of committing a military offence, it was necessary to make an immediate example, or mutiny might occur, and it was the practice to take such a man before a drum-head court-martial, on which occasions, it was said, a short summary of the proceedings was written on the drum. That was a much nearer approach to martial law than any thing that took place in dealing with military offences. But that system had been abolished. Besides, there had always been a provost-marshal, who exercised duties of police in an army on the march or on the field. He had perpetually to be moving about the camp, to see that offences were not committed, and if he himself caught a man committing a military offence, he could deal with him on the spot. In Ireland martial law had been administered in such a way that the sooner it was put an end to the better. No one familiar with the history of that period could fail to know that excesses were committed to a lamentable extent. Any one who had read the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis during the time he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland would remember that he, a soldier, was horrified by the atrocities committed under the authority of martial law. In times of great emergency, when the standard of rebellion was raised, when order, and peace, and government were shaken to their foundations, recourse might be had to extraordinary means; but under no circumstances ought men to be subject

trial for their lives where the essentials of justice were not observed, for there were things eternally associated with the name of justice, and which, being of its very essence, could not be separated from it. Lord Brougham had said that martial law was the law of the soldier applied to the civilian. He (the Lord Chief Justice) confessed he had great difficulty in knowing how to deal with this question. He was called on to discharge a most important duty. He was at great loss to know how, under present circumstances, he could place confidence in his own opinion. They had not had the advantage of discussions by gentlemen of the Bar, who could bring their learning on one side and on the other to bear on the question. His colleagues had been absent on circuit, and it was only yesterday that he had had an opportunity of conferring with the most learned Judge who sat by his side. He (the Lord Chief Justice) dealt with this question, therefore, with very great diffidence. They must judge whether martial law could be proclaimed by the Governor of a colony, who stood in the same position as the Sovereign, and whether under it jurisdiction could be given to courts-martial to deal with British subjects, and was so far established as to render the putting a man to death justifiable. Supposing no such jurisdiction was established, did the putting a man to death constitute the crime of wilful murder? He must say, as at present advised, where there was jurisdiction, but where the jurisdiction was exercised under a misapprehension with reference to an offence, or carried to any degree of excess beyond the power of the tribunal—in such a case he was clearly of opinion that persons acting in a judicial capacity would not be responsible. But supposing there was no jurisdiction at all, and that judicial functions were being exercised by persons who had no judicial authority or power, and that thus life and estate were forfeited, that was murder; for murder was the putting a man to death without justification, or without any of those mitigating circumstances which reduced the crime of murder to one of lower denomination; and if a man was put to death without authority, that, said Lord Coke, was murder. Where jurisdiction had been exercised under misapprehension, although legally it would be murder, no one would say a murder had been really committed; and they could not doubt in such a case a prerogative of the Crown—that prerogative which had been said to be its brightest jewel and ornament—the prerogative of mercy, would be exercised. By the 33rd of Charles II., c. 21, power was given to raise a militia in the island of Jamaica, in the event of an invasion of the country. They were called on to muster occasionally for the purpose of being drilled, and they were to be subject to the Articles of War. What was the meaning of the term “martial law”? Was it martial law with reference to the militia? In Lord Hale’s time martial law simply meant military law. Neither he nor Blackstone used it in the sense in which it was now used. Then there was the Act passed by the Legislature of Jamaica in the 9th year of the Queen, and certainly that was considered in Jamaica as giving the Governor full power to declare and exercise martial law, and that power seemed to have been abundantly used. There was no island or place in which there had been so much insurrection and disorder as in Jamaica. There was no place in which the curse which attached to slavery, both as regarded the master and the slave, had been so singularly illustrated. Mr. Montgomery Martin stated that between the settlement of the colony and 1832, a period of 154 years, there had been no less than twenty-eight insurrections, or one in about every five and a half years, and those insurrections had been put down with a degree of violence and barbarity which one shuddered to think of. In one, in 1760, about 1000 negroes perished

by execution and by slaughter of every sort and kind, and martial law was carried to an excess scarcely credible. If they might believe historians, Bryan Edwards and others, speaking from the narratives of eye-witnesses, not only was death executed on those unhappy negroes, but they were subjected to most revolting barbarities. The being burnt alive was a very common form, and in some instances care was taken that the torture should be prolonged to the latest possible moment. In the great rebellion of 1831-32 a vast number of executions took place, and other punishments were inflicted. They might take it, therefore, that according to the views of the inhabitants of Jamaica, the Governor was entitled and empowered to exercise martial law; but, on the other hand, it was the power of exercising that law on those who were entirely at their mercy, and upon whom they were desirous of executing the utmost possible vengeance. The Act 9th of the Queen undoubtedly recognized martial law to the fullest extent. It was not capable of being interpreted by what was then known as martial law in England, nor did it contain any words of limitation. The 96th section recited, in effect, that, from experience of the mischiefs and calamities attending martial law, it must ever be considered as one of the greatest of evils. Well might that be said, for there was not a stone in that island of Jamaica that, if the rains of heaven had not washed from it all stains of blood, would not have born terrible witness to that truth. That was in some sense a restraining statute. It took away from the Governor the power to proclaim martial law, except in a given way; and a council of war must be summoned for that purpose; but, on the other hand, the Act considered martial law as within the province of the Governor to establish; and it spoke of martial law, not in its ordinary application to military offences punishable by military tribunals, but martial law applied under circumstances of public emergency beyond the scope of the ordinary laws, and then, when so exercised, it was described as productive of such mischief and calamity as to constitute it one of the greatest of all possible evils.

He now entered on another branch of the inquiry, and that was whether George William Gordon, who was put to death, was amenable to its jurisdiction. When the Governor declared martial law he excepted the town of Kingston. Kingston was not within the ambit of the martial jurisdiction; and the question was whether the proceeding, as respected Mr. Gordon, on the part of the Governor and the Custos was justifiable. Before the West India Royal Commission of 1827-28, both the Chief Justice and the Attorney-General of the island appeared as witnesses, and the question was put whether a Governor had power to arrest a subject there, and they said he had not. Therefore the Governor himself, *qua* Governor, would not have any authority to arrest Mr. Gordon; but the Custos, as chief magistrate, if he had any evidence before him, would be empowered to arrest him or to cause his arrest. He thought in their individual capacity the Governor and the Custos were warranted, if they had a real, honest belief in the guilt of Mr. Gordon, in apprehending him; but for what purpose? For the purpose of handing him over to the civil tribunals which had power to take cognizance of the offence. The power of a magistrate was derived from the ordinary common law of the land, and the power or authority of an individual member of the community to arrest was in like manner derived from the law. The duty was to hand him over to the first authority of the law, to be dealt with by him according to the law. These gentlemen were not the ministers or the apparitors of the martial authority. They had no power to take up this person for the purpose of handing him over to martial law. They did it by the strong

exercise of the hand of power; that had been avowed and the motive had been avowed—that it was not thought a conviction could be got at Kingston; and they took him from Kingston, where there was no martial law, and where he would have been safe, to Morant Bay, where there was martial law and a tribunal ready to receive and condemn him. The question was whether that was an exercise of authority which invalidated what took place afterwards. He (the Lord Chief Justice) entertained a strong opinion upon that. The whole proceeding of taking him from where he was safe, putting him on board a war-steamer, and handing him over to a court-martial at Morant Bay was unjustifiable. To Mr. Gordon it made the difference of life or death. He (the Lord Chief Justice) said so advisedly, and after a careful perusal of the evidence he came irresistibly to this conclusion, that if Mr. Gordon had been tried before any ordinary tribunal, presided over by a competent judge—but he stopped himself—he could not have been tried on that evidence, for three-fourths, he had almost said nine-tenths, of the evidence on which that man was convicted, sentenced to death, and executed, was not evidence that, according to any rules of ordinary or military law, or right or justice, would ever have been admitted if a competent judge had presided, or if there had been the advantage of the experience of a military officer who knew the rules by which military tribunals ought to be governed. He came to the irresistible conclusion that no jury, however interested or prejudiced, if guided by a competent, impartial, and honest judge, could on evidence so morally and intrinsically worthless, on evidence so utterly inconclusive, have condemned that man on a charge of high treason. If Mr. Gordon had lived, and if he had been subjected to some minor punishment, and, having come to England, had brought an action for damages against Governor Eyre, it might well have been that a jury of Englishmen, presided over by an English judge, would have awarded him exemplary damages for the wrong done to him: but that was not the question here. It was whether, having been brought within the jurisdiction of martial law, he could properly have been tried there; and he (the Lord Chief Justice) thought he could have been. Another point was whether the Court had any jurisdiction in respect of any offence committed under martial law. The circumstances were very peculiar. It was true that, supposing he was an accomplice of the insurgents, it would be immaterial whether he had done any overt act after the proclamation of martial law; but if not,—if all that could be alleged against him was that what he had previously said and written had brought about a state of feeling which at last broke into open rebellion, and if nothing was done by him after martial law was proclaimed—it became a grave question whether he could be tried under martial law. A man could not be tried under a law not in existence when his offence was committed. You could not, by an *ex post facto* application of any law, make a man liable to the punishment which it inflicted. If that which was an offence to-day was made to have a more serious punishment to-morrow, you could not visit with the heavier punishment the man who had committed the offence before the law was altered. Just so, there was great difficulty in seeing how, if Gordon had done nothing after the proclamation, he was made amenable under martial law to offences committed before the law was in existence. At the same time, although if the tribunal had been properly constituted they would have understood what they were about, would have seen the difficulty, and understood that they could not convict Mr. Gordon, he was far from saying that they were to blame on this point. If the letter written to Mr. Gordon by his

solicitor had not been intercepted, this matter would have been brought to the attention of the tribunal, and it might possibly—he did not say probably—have had some effect on their minds. These circumstances, however, although they showed painfully the precipitancy which characterized the proceedings, and by which Mr. Gordon was hurried to his end, did not go to the root of the jurisdiction. Then another serious question arose—if martial law were not the extravagant exercise of jurisdiction which modern thinkers had described, but was simply military law applied to civilians, how about the constitution of this tribunal? If this tribunal was to be constituted according to military law it was a bad tribunal, which had no jurisdiction. Martial law could not be exercised by any body, no matter by whom. Strong cases, though they might seem absurd, sometimes illustrated what was meant. Suppose, for instance, it was competent for the Governor of Jamaica to take a man out of the street, and say to him, “I constitute you a court-martial, and you are to decide whether A, B, and C, subjects of the realm, have been guilty of an offence against martial law; and if you think they have, you shall cause them to be hung.” If a Governor could do that, and could take civilians by his mere capricious choice to try any prisoner, then this tribunal was properly constituted. But if it was necessary that the tribunal should be constituted according to military law, then this particular Court was null and void, for there was nothing better settled in the Acts regulating the military and naval services, or in the Articles of War, than that a court-martial could not be composed of officers of the two services. Any military court-martial must necessarily be composed of officers of the army. It must consist of a certain number of officers, who were bound to take an oath to administer justice according to the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. So in the case of a naval court-martial, no naval officer was warranted in sitting, unless by virtue of an order from an officer in the service holding a commission from the Admiralty to appoint a court-martial. That clearly was not the case in the present instance. It was not, therefore, if a naval Court, a properly constituted Court, because it was not called by a commission from any naval officer. And again, there was no commission for blending the officers of the two services. That went to the root of the whole case, and if martial law required the tribunal to be properly constituted, as he had mentioned, then the whole thing fell to the ground. The Court which tried Mr. Gordon took the oath required by the Articles of War; and the jury would have to say whether, supposing they thought the jurisdiction to be well founded, they were also of opinion that it was exercised honestly and *bonâ fide*; or whether, as suggested by the prosecution, it was exercised corruptly and *mald fide*. Supposing Mr. Gordon was an obnoxious character, of whom, for the peace and safety of the island, it was important to get rid, but as to whom it was felt that there was not that amount of proof which would insure his condemnation before a regular tribunal, and that for that purpose he was sent into a district where martial law was being exercised, and when he came before that tribunal it entertained the same sinister purpose, and determined to get rid of him *per fas aut nefas* upon evidence manifestly inconclusive, and they found him guilty colourably and ostensibly of one offence, but really and truly of another and far less serious one,—that would be a corrupt exercise of judicial functions. But that was so serious a charge, and one which involved the character of all concerned in so nefarious a conspiracy, that he was sure the jury would not think it right to put a man upon his trial on this ground, unless the

evidence appeared to them to be conclusive, nor would a common jury convict except upon very clear grounds. At the same time this was a point which he could not withdraw from their attention; and in this connexion he must draw attention to the evidence given against Mr. Gordon, to its extraordinary character and its singular inconclusiveness; so that if the jury were of opinion that the question as to jurisdiction failed, they might say whether it was not their duty to find a true bill upon the ground he had just mentioned. Mr. Gordon was charged with high treason and complicity with certain persons engaged in the rebellion at Morant Bay. The Lord Chief Justice here read the evidence at length, commenting strongly upon the fact that depositions made behind the back of the accused, by witnesses who might have given oral evidence, were made use of for the prosecution. It was an inflexible rule in English procedure, that if witnesses could be produced you could not refer to their depositions. The admission of these documents at the trial was a violation of every rule and canon of the law of evidence. The depositions were made by men who might have been produced, and who might well have thought that by making these depositions they were securing their own safety. Altogether, it was one of the most lamentable departures from every principle of evidence which could be imagined. In a properly constituted court-martial there was always a Judge-Advocate. There was none here, or he might have acted as assessor, and prevented the reception of evidence, much of which was totally inadmissible, and other parts had no urgency. Mr. Gordon's proclamation to the people of St. Ann's seemed to be nothing more than the language of an agitator and a demagogue, who, while he sought to stir up strife, might possibly be far from contemplating actual rebellion against the authorities. The great bulk of the evidence against him being inadmissible, the jury had further to consider whether that evidence was such as to warrant any tribunal honestly desirous of discharging its duty in finding a man guilty and sentencing him to death upon it, or whether the members of the Court had not rather entered upon the inquiry with a foregone conclusion, from a general belief of his guilt, that they would act upon any evidence, however insufficient to condemn him. There could not be the least doubt that the opinion universally entertained in the colony was that it was through Mr. Gordon's instrumentality, through his speeches and writings, and the systematic agitation that he had been for some time keeping up, that this rebellious spirit was engendered which broke out at last into this unhappy insurrection. The negroes appeared to have believed that they had serious causes of complaint. The old relations of master and slave, although those relations had ceased to exist, had probably left, even in the minds of the posterity of those who suffered under the old system, a feeling of animosity towards the white man and jealousy of his superiority. Besides which, the negroes thought they had grievances which may have been imaginary or otherwise. They complained that they could not get justice against the white men, who were their employers. They had a notion that they were entitled to portions of the lands of the country—the back lands, as they were called, and that, therefore, their being obliged to pay for these lands was an injustice. It might have been that Mr. Gordon, himself a man of colour, sympathized with this black population. He might have believed in the existence of these grievances. On the other hand, it might have been that he delighted in and kept up this excitement as many an agitator and demagogue had done before, without any ulterior intention, for the gratification which the

sense of dominion over the mind of man was so apt to bring with it, and from the sense of importance and power which it naturally created in the mind of him who exercised it. Every age had created such men. Or, Mr. Gordon might have been influenced partly by a belief that the negroes had certain wrongs, and partly by the motives to which reference had been made. That his system of agitation, working on the minds of an ignorant and unenlightened population, capable of sudden outbursts which could not be controlled, led to this terrible calamity, he thought there could not be the slightest doubt; but so far from there being any evidence to prove that he was concerned in this rebellion, he (the Lord Chief Justice) thought the evidence went exactly the other way. Mr. Gordon was a man of education and considerable intelligence. He must have known that every attempt at rebellion could only lead to the misery of the whole black population. It was true he had wrongs of his own. He had been put out of office as a magistrate; he had been ejected from the vestry on account of having joined the Baptist denomination, and he had brought an action against Baron Kettelholdt, in which he had been defeated; but he was a man of too much intelligence to believe that open violence would have any beneficial results, and he must have known that even victory must be necessarily followed by an application of the whole force of this country to subdue any such rebellion, and that could only end in disaster to every body concerned—himself foremost among them. Therefore, it was impossible to suppose that he contemplated the outbreak which did take place, but he (the Lord Chief Justice) could quite understand that, considering all Mr. Gordon had said, if he had been the master-spirit which had fostered this agitation among the negroes, the authorities would be led to suppose he was at the bottom of the outbreak. On the other hand, it was possible that they considered that though Mr. Gordon did not intend a rebellious outbreak, he was, nevertheless, morally responsible for it, and ought to be brought to condign punishment, so that his example might at once annihilate the insurrectionary movement. It was for the jury to say whether that was not the true solution of Mr. Gordon's conviction upon such evidence. The result had any way been lamentable. A man had been sentenced to death upon evidence which ought not to have been admitted by any properly-constituted tribunal, and which altogether fell short of proving his guilt. The jury must judge whether what was done from the time of his apprehension to his conviction was honestly done. Mr. Gordon was obnoxious to the authorities, for he reviled them, called their authority in question, and kept the minds of the negroes in perpetual agitation. He was a man whom it was desirable in every way to get rid of, if possible. But this would not justify the putting a man to death unless upon proper evidence. He (the Lord Chief Justice) had seen it written, but confessed he had shuddered as he read, that it was justifiable to send Mr. Gordon for trial by a court-martial, because such a court would be justified in convicting a man, from whose acts mischief had resulted, although that mischief had been entirely beyond the scope of his acts and contrary to his intention. As if it could make any difference as to the quality of his offence whether he were tried before one tribunal or the other. If that was the principle upon which they had acted in Mr. Gordon's case, it was one of the most lamentable miscarriages of justice that history had recorded. He had done his best to discharge the very painful duty which he was called upon to undertake, and he had only one more word to say before he left them to discharge theirs. These sad events had occupied a large portion of the public mind and

attention. Few persons had not felt an interest in the discussion—ample discussion—of the matter which had taken place. People had taken different sides and views. To some it had appeared that these courts-martial and fearful modes of execution, that this awful amount of scourging with instruments of torture, were things which had brought scandal and reproach, not alone upon those who had perpetrated them, but upon the very name of Englishmen. Others thought that this insurrection, if it had been permitted to spread, might have been attended with consequences so painful, that any means might be used for its suppression—that any means, no matter how extraordinary or contrary to every principle of law, were justifiable, in order to work out so beneficial an end. That might be so, but it was impossible not to bear in mind that this insurrection was crushed in a moment. As soon as the soldiers made their appearance in the field, few as they were in number, the black men fled, and the only business of the soldiers from the time they appeared in the field was to pursue the blacks, and to try them before the tribunal. Opposite views might be entertained, he repeated, as to the propriety of the course pursued. In his humble judgment, he was bound to say, speaking of an absent man, and looking at the general consternation and alarm which prevailed throughout the whole island, and to the small proportion of the white population compared with the blacks, that if ever there were circumstances which justified the application of martial law, they were to be found in this case. It was not for a Court of Justice to enter into the question whether martial law was kept on foot longer than it need have been. They had to inquire whether there was any power to establish martial law, and whether it had been honestly administered. The jury might have formed a strong opinion during the public discussion of the case; but for God's sake let that opinion be cast aside to-day! Passion and prejudice should never, under any circumstances, be allowed to enter into the arena of justice. Let them consider the question as though it stood alone, apart from any execution, scourging, or torture, on the one hand, or from any difficulty of suppressing insurrection on the other. It might be that all he had said on the subject of the law would have left them, as he owned candidly it still left him, in some degree of doubt; but if they were of opinion that upon the whole the jurisdiction in this case was not so far satisfactorily made out as that these parties ought not to be called upon for their defence—if they thought it was a matter which should be submitted to the consideration of a jury before a competent Court, where all questions of law incidental to the case might be fully raised and impartially considered,—then they would let this matter go forward. If there was a jurisdiction, that point would be satisfactorily ascertained and established; if there was none, then there had been a miscarriage of justice which called for inquiry; but if, on a review of the authorities he had pointed out, they were of opinion that the accused ought not to be harassed further by criminal proceedings, and that their case ought not to be submitted to a jury, then they would say there was no true bill. The jury must exercise their own judgment. Again, if they were of opinion that although there might have been a mistake, and a most grievous mistake, in condemning that man to death, yet the proceedings were conducted in what was believed to be the due course of justice, the accused here ought not to be harassed by being sent for trial. But if the jury thought, upon the whole, that it was a case which called for further inquiry, and for an answer on the part of those who stood charged with this most serious offence, then they would return a true bill. He had detained them at great length; but the

gravity and difficulty of the case required it. Having now done his duty to the best of his ability, they would now do theirs according to what in their consciences they believed to be required by the justice of the case as between the prosecutors and the accused.

The delivery of the Charge occupied nearly six hours. The grand jury then withdrew, and after a time returned with a finding of "No true Bill."

APPENDIX.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

I.

TRADES' UNIONS' COMMISSION: SHEFFIELD OUTRAGES' INQUIRY.

Report presented to the Trades' Unions' Commissioners by the Examiners appointed to inquire into Acts of Intimidation, Outrage, or Wrong, alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by Trades' Unions in the Town of Sheffield.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

REPORT.

SIR WILLIAM ERLE, MY LORDS, AND
GENTLEMEN,

WE received our appointment as Examiners under the "Trades' Unions' Commission Act, 1867," on the 23rd day of May, 1867. We at once caused advertisements to be inserted in the Sheffield papers, and placards to be posted throughout the town, notifying our appointment, and requesting all persons who could give information on the subject of our inquiry to communicate with Mr. J. E. Barker, our secretary, and to receive his instructions. We have much pleasure in expressing our perfect satisfaction with the manner in which that gentleman discharged his duties. We have derived great assistance from him during the whole of our inquiry.

The Mayor and Corporation of Sheffield kindly offered the use of their Council Hall, and there we commenced our inquiry on the 3rd of June, 1867, and continued it, with a few short adjournments, until its close on the 7th of July. We wish to express our thanks to the Watch Committee for having placed at our disposal a body of policemen, who were of great service in maintaining order and in serving our summonses. We also desire

to acknowledge the great aid we received from Mr. Jackson, the Chief Constable of the borough of Sheffield, to whom we are in no small degree indebted for whatever success has attended our inquiry.

With a view to our inquiry, an association of masters had been formed, and we found on our arrival at Sheffield that Mr. John Chambers, who acted on their behalf, had collected a number of cases for our investigation. A "Defence Committee," to protect the interests of the Unions, had also been formed, and Mr. Sugg, solicitor, appeared for them. We examined all the witnesses ourselves, and at the close of our examination we put to each of them any questions suggested to us either by Mr. Chambers or Mr. Sugg.

The first subject which engaged our attention was that of "rattening." Rattening is a mode of enforcing payment of contributions to and compliance with the rules of the Union. The wheel-bands, tools, and other materials of a workman are taken and held in pledge until he has satisfied the society by payment of his arrears, or by submitting to the rules which he has infringed. At first it was denied that the Unions connived at this practice; but we had not proceeded far with our investigation, before it was admitted on all hands that rattening had been for a long time prevalent in the

grinding trades, and in all trades connected with them.

It is fair to the Unions to say, that in the majority of cases where the demands of the Union have been complied with, and a payment of a small sum for the expenses of rattening has been made, the property taken has been restored.

Rattening is always done in the interests of the Union, and very commonly by the direction of the Secretary, who negotiates with the party rattened for the restitution of his property. In some cases a member of the Union, without express authority, rattens another member who is known to have incurred the displeasure of the Society, and takes his chance of having his act adopted by the Union.

Recourse is seldom had to the police to recover property so taken away, but application is almost always made to the Secretary of the Union immediately upon the loss of tools, &c., being discovered.

The practice of rattening is well known to be illegal, and persons detected in illegally taking away property have frequently been convicted and punished. The excuse offered by the Unions for this system is, that, in the absence of legal powers, rattening affords the most ready means of enforcing payment of contributions and obedience to the rules of the Union.

Many articles of Sheffield manufacture require for their completion the labour of various classes of workmen. For example, the manufacture of a saw requires the work of the saw grinders, the saw makers, and the saw handle makers. All these workmen form separate branches of the saw trade and are in separate Unions. These Unions are, however, all amalgamated together for mutual support. In case of default by any member of any of the branches, or in case of a dispute with the masters, as the grinders' tools are the most easily abstracted, and as stopping the grinding stops the whole saw trade, the course commonly adopted is to ratten the grinders, although the dispute may be with the saw makers or saw-handle makers, and on the matter being arranged, the other branches indemnify the grinders for their loss of time and for the expenses incurred. An attempt is often successfully made to saddle the whole cost of the rattening, as well as the cost of supporting the men while out of employment, upon the master, even where he is no party to the dispute, on the ground that he ought to have compelled his workmen to comply with the rules of the Union.

The system of rattening has generally

proved successful in effecting its object. If, however, the person rattened continues refractory, he commonly receives an anonymous letter warning him of the consequences of his obstinacy. If this warning is disregarded, recourse has been had to acts of outrage, the nature of which will be understood from a perusal of the cases actually investigated by us.

The following cases, as they affect each Union, are taken in the order of time of their occurrence.

THE SAW GRINDERS' UNION.

The earliest case is that of Elisha Parker, into which we inquired, with the written sanction of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Elisha Parker is a saw grinder living at Dore, about five miles from Sheffield. In the year 1853 Parker was working for Messrs. Newbould, who employed two non-union men, and he was repeatedly required by the Union to discontinue working for Messrs. Newbould; this he refused to do.

In July of the same year a horse of Parker's was found hamstringed in a field where it had been grazing, and it had to be killed. Broadhead, the secretary of the Saw Grinders' Union, confessed that he had hired three members of the Saw Grinders' Union (Elijah Smith, John Taylor, and Phineas Dean) to commit this outrage.

Some gunpowder was laid in the night time at Parker's door and exploded, but the explosion did but little damage. A few minutes later there was an explosion of gunpowder in the house of another man, one Bishop, a saw maker, who lived at a little distance from Parker, and who had apprenticed a son to the saw handle makers' trade. The evidence was not satisfactory as to who did these acts, but we have no doubt they arose from trade disputes.

About eleven o'clock at night, Parker was roused by the noise of stones being thrown on the roof of his house. He took a double-barrelled gun, which he kept for his protection, and went out. Immediately on getting outside his door a gun was fired at him from a plantation on the opposite side of the road about twenty yards off. He advanced a little into the road, when a second shot was fired, and Parker was wounded with small shot in the left arm and neck. A third shot was then fired, which hit Parker's right arm and knocked him down. The right arm has been disabled up to the present time. At least two men were

engaged in this outrage. One of them, John Hall, was hired to do it by one George Peace, a member of the Saw Grinders' Union, at the instigation of Broadhead, who found the money out of the funds of the Union. Peace was a neighbour of Parker's, and had no quarrel with him, and described himself as being at the time a farmer, saw grinder, and colliery master.

Hall was sent to America soon after the occurrence, the funds for his voyage being provided by Broadhead.

James Linley, who formerly had been a scissors grinder, had shortly before this period become a saw grinder, and kept a number of apprentices, in defiance of the rules of the Saw Grinders' Union.

He was shot by Samuel Crookes with an air gun on the 12th of November, 1857, at the instigation of Broadhead, in a house in Nursery-street, and was slightly wounded.

James Linley was lodging with his brother-in-law, Samuel Poole, a butcher, whose wife and family were living in the same house. Crookes, at the instigation of Broadhead, threw into Poole's house a can of gunpowder, which exploded and did some damage to the shop, but hurt no one.

Crookes and Hallam tracked Linley from house to house nearly every day for five or six weeks, intending to shoot him. On the 1st of August they found him sitting in a public-house in Scotland-street, in a room full of people, the windows of which opened into a back yard, and from that yard Crookes shot Linley with an air-gun. The shot struck him on the side of the head, and he died from the effects of the injury in the following February. Crookes and Hallam were hired by Broadhead to shoot Linley.

Samuel Baxter, of Loxley, was a saw grinder, but "kept aloof from the trade." Crookes and Needham, at the instigation of Broadhead, put down the chimney of his house a can of gunpowder, which they exploded; no one was hurt by the explosion.

Joseph Helliwell was not a member of the Union, and had not been brought up to the trade of a saw grinder. On the 18th of October, 1859, he was working at saw grinding for Joseph Wilson (who refused to employ Union men), and he was blown up by the explosion of gunpowder, which was ignited by the sparks from his glazier when he began to work. Broadhead gave three cans of gunpowder to Dennis Clark to blow up Helliwell, and Clark and Shaw placed half a can of powder in Helliwell's trough. Helliwell was blind for nearly a fortnight, and it

was a month before he was able to resume work.

Joseph Wilson, master of the above-named Joseph Helliwell, had "set the trade at defiance," and had determined not to employ any one connected with the Union.

On the night of the 24th of November, 1859, Wilson's house, in which his wife and family were asleep, was blown up by the explosion of a can (containing a quart of gunpowder) in the cellar, under the children's room; no one was hurt, but great injury was done to the house and furniture. Broadhead employed Crookes to commit this outrage.

Shortly after this time, but the exact date was not proved, an unsuccessful attempt was made by Crookes, at the instigation of Broadhead, to blow down a chimney of Messrs. Firths. Messrs. Firths had at the time two non-union men in their employment, named John Helliwell and Samuel Baxter.

John Helliwell had left the Union and took discounts, i.e. worked for less than the scale of prices regulated by the Union, and had more apprentices than were allowed by their rules.

Crookes and Hallam, at the instigation of Broadhead, watched for Helliwell on several occasions, on the Midland Railway, in order to shoot him while at his work at Messrs. Firths. They were, however, misinformed as to the place where he worked, and failed to find him. Before they had succeeded in their object they were requested by Broadhead to let Helliwell alone for the present, as there was "a job to be done" at Messrs. Wheatman and Smith's which was of a more pressing character.

Messrs. Wheatman and Smith had introduced machinery for grinding saws, to the detriment, as Broadhead conceived, of hand-labour. Broadhead gave Crookes 2*l.* to purchase gunpowder, in order to blow down Messrs. Wheatman and Smith's chimney. Crookes and Hallam bought twenty-four pounds of powder, placed it in a can strengthened by a lash line wound tightly round it, and attached a fuse to it. They at first intended to place it in the chimney, and went on several nights to find an opportunity, but owing sometimes to the workmen being about, and at other times to the chimney being too hot, they were unable to do so. Ultimately they placed the powder in a drain in the neighbourhood of the chimney, and exploded it, and the explosion caused considerable damage.

Harry Holdsworth did not acknowledge the Union, and refused to discharge one Jonathan Crapper, a saw grinder, who

had a dispute with the Union, and employed some jobbing grinders who did not contribute to the Union. In October and November, 1861, he received several threatening letters. On the night of December 1st, 1861, a can of gunpowder was exploded in the cellar under his warehouse, which did damage to the building to the amount of 100*l*.

In the year 1861, the Jobbing Grinders' Union was associated with the other three branches of the saw trade, and Joseph Hoyle was their Secretary. Broadhead applied to him to compel the non-union jobbing grinders to join the Union, and Hoyle consented to their being rattened, and agreed to bear his share of the expense, which he stated he believed would be about 10*s*. The men were not rattened, but Holdsworth's warehouse was blown up, and after the committal of this outrage Broadhead applied to Hoyle for 6*l*. as his share of the expense. Hoyle obtained the 6*l*. from the Committee of the Union, but denied that he had authorized the blowing up, and he stated that in consequence of this circumstance his own Union had withdrawn from the amalgamation on the first convenient opportunity. Their secession from the amalgamation, however, did not occur till three years afterwards, and we report that this outrage was promoted and encouraged by the Saw Grinders' and Jobbing Grinders' Unions.

Messrs. Reaney were the owners of a wheel in the Park, and Thomas Fearnough, who was obnoxious to the trade, was working there; Crookes, at the instigation of Broadhead, attempted to blow up this wheel, but failed.

Thomas Fearnough, a saw grinder, had long been obnoxious to the Union. Having been a member of the Union, he left it eight years ago, and shortly after joined again from fear of bodily harm. In 1865 he left the Union a second time, and never rejoined it. He had been in the habit of working on his own tools instead of his master's (which was against the rules of the Union), and at the time of this outrage he was working for Messrs. Slack, Sellars, and Co., who had a dispute with the saw handle makers. The saw grinders had in consequence been withdrawn, but Fearnough had, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the grinders, persisted in working for the firm. Messrs. Slack, Sellars, and Co., aware of the danger which Fearnough incurred by working for them, took power for him at Messrs. Butchers' wheel, to which there was no access except through a covered gateway, which was carefully guarded. Fearnough was therefore safe from being rattened.

Two or three months before October, 1866, Henry Skidmore, secretary of the Saw Makers' Society, and Joseph Barker, secretary of the Saw Handle Makers' Society, called on Broadhead, and represented to him that Fearnough was working for Slack, Sellars, and Co., and thereby injuring the trade, and asked him "if something could not be done at him to stop his working." They were aware that he could not be rattened at Butchers' wheel, but no plan was laid down by them by which Fearnough was to be coerced, although they agreed to bear their share of the expense of compelling him to submit to the Union. On the 8th of October, 1866, a can of gunpowder was exploded in the cellar under Fearnough's house in New Hereford-street, in which he was then living with his family, consisting of two sons and a daughter. No one was hurt, but great damage was done to the house. Samuel Crookes was hired by Broadhead to commit this outrage, and was assisted by Joseph Copley, a member of the Saw Grinders' Union. A day or two after this occurrence, Barker and Skidmore, with the knowledge of Thomas Smith, secretary of the Saw Makers' Union, paid Broadhead 7*l*. 10*s*., the share of each Union for the expense of committing the outrage. Joseph Barker found the money (the Saw Handle Makers' Union being then 18*l*. in debt to the Saw Makers' Union), and Smith credited Barker with the amount in the books of the Saw Makers' Union. The entry of this amount was passed over by the auditors without inquiry in the December following; this could not have been done if the audit had been carefully and honestly conducted.

A reward of 1100*l*. offered for the detection of the perpetrators failed to elicit any information.

The fact of these outrages having been done in the interest of the trade was well known to the Union, and although in one or two instances individual members had protested against them, yet nothing like an investigation had been demanded, nor had there been any general vote of condemnation of these acts until the case of Fearnough occurred, when public indignation was aroused, and then the outrage was denounced, and a reward was offered by the Union for the detection of the offenders. The whole of the above offences were directed by Broadhead, and sums amounting to nearly 200*l*. had been taken by him out of the funds of the Union to pay the parties who committed them. Although these acts were not proved to have been directly authorized by the Union, there must have been a know-

or at all events a well-grounded belief, amongst its members that they were done, not only in the interests of their society, but through the agency of some one or more of their governing body; and we report that all the above outrages were promoted, encouraged, and connived at by the Saw Grinders' Union; and that the "Hereford-street outrage" was promoted and encouraged by the Saw Grinders, Saw Makers, and Saw Handle Makers' Unions.

The following members of the Saw Grinders' Union have been engaged in the concerting or perpetration of outrages:—

Broadhead, William,
Clark, Dennis,
Copley, Joseph,
Crookes, Samuel,
Dean, Phineas (dead),
Hallam, James,
Peace, George,
Shaw, George,
Smith, Elijah (dead),
Taylor, John (dead).

THE FILE GRINDERS' UNION.

George Gillott, a file grinder, had ceased to pay to the Union, and had more apprentices than were allowed by the trade. He was working at the Tower wheel, where it was almost impossible that he could be rattened. On the night of April the 25th, 1857, while he and his wife, two children, and two apprentices, were in bed, a can of gunpowder was thrown into the cellar of the house and exploded. No one was hurt, but one wall of the house was blown down, and great damage was done to the building and to the furniture. There was an entire absence of any private cause for this act, and though the perpetrators are undiscovered, and we have no evidence directly implicating the Union, we do not hesitate to report that this was a trade outrage.

William Torr, a file manufacturer, had a dispute with the Union on account of his paying his men less than the Union scale of prices. The Union men in his employment were drawn out by the Union; his factory was picketed, his warehouse broken into, a cistern containing a preparation for hardening files was tapped three times, his bellows were cut, and the books of his trade were taken away and never restored. The offenders are undiscovered, but the circumstances of the case, and the admission made by Cutts and Holland, joint secretaries of the File Smiths' Union, that these acts had certainly the appearance of being Society matters, draw us to the conclusion that these outrages were connived at by the File

THE SICKLE GRINDERS' UNION.

Christopher Rotherham had been a sickle manufacturer for nearly fifty years, at Dronfield, five miles from Sheffield. Shortly before 1860 his men refused to pay to the Union, and he thereupon received several threatening letters to the effect that his premises would be blown up if he did not compel them.

About the year 1860 his boiler was blown up, and shortly after a can of gunpowder was thrown, at night, into a house belonging to him at Troway (inhabited by two of his nephews, who worked for him, and were not members of the Union), and exploded. No one was hurt, but great damage was done to the house. He has had at different times nine pair of bellows cut, twelve bands cut to pieces, and his anvils thrown into his dam.

In 1865 a two gallon bottle, filled with gunpowder, with a lighted fuse attached, was placed in the night time in his warehouse. The fire of the fuse from some cause became extinguished before it reached the powder. Adjoining the warehouse were sleeping rooms, which, at the time the bottle was placed in the warehouse, were occupied by a mother, three sons, and a daughter. This he said "beat him," and he forced his men to join the Union; adding that since that time "they had been as quiet as bees."

George Castles, the secretary of the Sickle and Reaping Hook Grinders' Association, told us that in the September of the last year he saw a cash book of the Union, containing entries of payments made at the time some of these outrages occurred, burnt in the Committee Room, and also that leaves had been torn out of other books of the Union which might have implicated the Union.

We have to report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Sickle Grinders' Union.

THE FORK GRINDERS' UNION.

In this year a resolution had been passed by the Union, that no fork grinder should work except for one of ten specified masters who were sanctioned by the Union.

William Mason, Thomas Roebuck, and Samuel Gunson, were non-union men, and were working for masters not sanctioned by the trade. One night Mason was assaulted by about thirty Union men, five of whom were summoned before the Magistrates, and of these two were fined. Three weeks after this assault, namely, on the 17th of February, 1859, gunpowder

was placed in the troughs of Mason, Roebuck, and Gunson.

In Mason's case the powder exploded immediately he began working, and burnt his arm, face, and neck; he was wearing spectacles, and these saved his sight. Roebuck fortunately perceived the powder before he began work, and he found about one pound of gunpowder in his trough.

Gunson being in America, we have not been able to ascertain the particulars of his case.

The books of the Union applicable to this period were not produced before us. They were said to have been destroyed, for the purpose, as stated by the secretary, of hiding their contents. The secretary of the Union said that he believed these outrages were trade affairs; and we report that they were encouraged and promoted by the Fork Grinders' Union.

THE BRICKMAKERS' UNION.

James Robinson, a master brickmaker, had had disputes with the Union before 1867, and in this year he had in his employment four non-union men who had been seven years in his service. At the latter end of the year 1867, four men came to Robinson, saying that they were sent by the Committee of the Union to take the places of the four non-union men. Robinson refused to turn off his old hands. The Union ordered the Union men to leave, which they refused to do. In the following summer 17,000 bricks were trampled upon and destroyed. This was done by four or five men at the least.

One of Robinson's cows was found stabbed while grazing in a field adjoining his brick-yard, and had to be killed.

On the day of October, 1869, at three a.m. an attempt was made to blow up the house in which Robinson, his wife, his son, and four daughters were living. Three ginger-beer bottles, filled with gunpowder and nails, with lighted fuses attached, were thrown at a chamber window of Robinson's house. Two struck below the window sill and fell outside the house. One was thrown through the window and was broken against the wall of the room, by which means the powder escaped and exploded harmlessly.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to burn a haystack, worth 150*l.*, situated ten yards from the house, and close to a stable in which his cows and horses. A length of rope was fastened to the haystack and the other end was fastened to the stable door. The rope was then pulled and the haystack was set on fire.

along the ground. The paper had been lighted and had burnt about a yard, but owing to the dampness of the atmosphere, or some other cause, the light had gone out.

One of his horses was found dead in his field. During the night it had been stabbed in the side by a pointed instrument.

The perpetrators of these outrages have never been discovered, although active steps were taken by the police at the time. The secretary stated to us that he believed these outrages were done by the Union.

Henry Bridges, formerly a master brickmaker, was not in 1861 a member of the Union.

On the Saturday before the 21st of April, 1861, one of his men, named Thomas Poole, had a quarrel with John Baxter, a member of the Committee, in reference to the payment of what is called "outworking money."

On the night of the 21st of April, between 40,000 and 50,000 bricks, five or six barrows, and a pressing machine, the property of Bridges, of the value of 40*l.* were destroyed. This must have been the work of five or six men.

Bridges applied to Baxter as to the cause of his bricks being spoiled, and Baxter said it was because he (Baxter) had been insulted by one of Bridges' men.

The books of the Brickmakers' Society, containing their transactions for the whole of the year 1861, were destroyed, and William Henry Owen, a former secretary, admitted that if they had been produced, they would have shown that money was paid by the Union for the commission of these outrages.

We report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Brickmakers' Union.

THE FENDER GRINDERS' UNION.

John Sibray was foreman to Mr. H. E. Hoole, stove, grate, and fender manufacturer, in the spring of 1861. At that time Mr. Hoole's "heavy" grinders having absented themselves from work for more than a week, Mr. Hoole desired Sibray to endeavour to procure other men. Sibray engaged Charles Taylor, a non-union man. When the Union men returned and found Charles Taylor at work they quitted the works in a body, taking the "light" grinders with them. Their places were filled by Rd. White, George White, W. Hulse, George Wastnidge, and others. On the next day Mr. Hoole received a threatening letter;

this was followed by several others, and deputations from the Union saw Mr. Hoole on the subject of his employing non-union men.

On the 5th of November, Sibray was assaulted in the street by two men, and about the same time Richard White, George White, and William Hulse, three of the non-union men, were assaulted and beaten, and one of the Whites was left for dead.

George Wastnidge, one of the above-named non-union men, lived in Acorn-street, with his wife, child, and a lodger named Bridget O'Rourke. Wastnidge, his wife, and child, slept in the garret, and Mrs. O'Rourke in the chamber below fronting the street. About one o'clock in the morning of the 23rd November, a can of gunpowder was thrown through the chamber window. Mrs. Wastnidge hearing a noise, ran down into Mrs. O'Rourke's room, and found her holding in her hand a parcel emitting sparks. She seized it in order to throw it through the window, and it exploded in her hands, setting fire to her night-dress, and seriously injuring her. She ran upstairs, her husband stripped off her burning clothes, and in her fear she threw herself through the garret window into the street. Wastnidge dropped his little boy to persons who were below in the street, and by means of a ladder which was brought, escaped from the house. Mrs. O'Rourke was found in the cellar shockingly burnt.

Mrs. Wastnidge was taken to the infirmary in a state of insensibility, where she remained five or six weeks. She has not recovered from the injuries she received. Mrs. O'Rourke was also taken to the infirmary, where she died a fortnight after. A person of the name of Thompson was tried at York, at the Spring Assizes, 1862, for the murder of Mrs. O'Rourke, and was acquitted.

Robert Renshaw confessed before us that he threw the can of gunpowder into Wastnidge's house, and that he was hired to do so on the promise of 6*l.* by William Bayles and Samuel Cutler, both members of the Fender Grinders' Union, and he stated that it was done because Wastnidge was not right with the trade.

James Robertson, now secretary, and at that time acting secretary of the Fender Grinders' Union, stated that he paid to William Bayles 6*l.* which he had received from Kenworthy, the then secretary of the Union, and that he had falsified the books of the Union in order that that payment should not be discovered.

We report that all the above outrages were promoted and encouraged by the "Fender Grinders' Union.

THE PEN AND POCKET BLADE GRINDERS' UNION.

Samuel Sutcliffe was a surgical instrument maker. There was a strike in this trade in 1861, and Sutcliffe had "gone in when the others were out." Broomhead (now dead), secretary of the Union, and one Braithwaite, in the same trade, hired Hallam "to make him so that he could not work for a week or two." Hallam and Crookes waylaid him at his own door, and beat him on the head with life-preservers, and hurt him so severely that he was confined to his bed for a week. Broomhead paid Hallam 5*l.* for the job, remarking at the time that 5*l.* was as much as the Committee would allow him to pay him. The books of the Union for this period have been destroyed.

We report that this outrage was encouraged and promoted by the Pen and Pocket Blade Grinders' Union.

THE SCISSOR FORGERS' UNION.

George Gill, scissor manufacturer, had in his employment a man named Joseph Hague, who was not in the Union. Joseph Hague had frequently been solicited by Joseph Thompson, the secretary, to join the Union; and a deputation from the Union called upon him, and told him that if he did not join, they would do something for him. Three weeks after this a pair of bellows on which Hague was working, but which belonged to Mr. Gill, were cut.

Robert Winter, scissor forger, refused to join the Union, and had in his employment some men who had also refused. The bellows of the men who had refused to join the Union were cut, whilst those of the Union men were not injured. William Fearnly, a member of the Union, confessed to having committed these outrages in consequence of the men not paying to the Union, but he denied that he cut the bellows by the authority of the Union.

In the early part of this year, Messrs. Darwin, scissor manufacturers, had employed non-union men at a scale of prices less than that sanctioned by the Union. Joseph Thompson, secretary of the Scissor Forgers' Union, admitted that he employed John Clarke to take away their tools and hide them. Clarke, however, was examined by us, and stated that he was employed by Thompson to take their tools and cut their bellows, and we believe his statement. Clarke was tried for this offence at Leeds, and convicted and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Thompson paid Mrs. Clarke 6*s.* a week during the time her husband was in

prison; and although Thompson said that he had embezzled the funds and falsified the accounts of the Union, in order to conceal this payment, and although he had in consequence tendered his resignation, the Society passed a resolution to the effect that the money had been taken and paid for services rendered to the Union. The books of this Union, as we have already stated, were mutilated and falsely kept by the secretary, and they were never subjected to any careful audit.

We report that all these outrages were encouraged and promoted by the Scissor Forgers' Union.

THE SCISSOR GRINDERS' UNION.

Edwin Sykes, a scissor manufacturer, had, when a master grinder, refused to pay to the trade; for this he was threatened by Holmshaw, president of this Union, and subsequently he was rattened. In December, 1866, he had in his employment a man named Pryor, who was not a member of the Union, and who never had been apprenticed to the trade. Holmshaw had told him that Pryor must not work for him; and on his refusal to dismiss Pryor, had threatened to "serve him out." On the 26th of the same month his wheel was broken into and damage done to the amount of 24*l.*; a large quantity of tools were damaged, and the remainder thrown into the dam.

We report that this outrage was encouraged and connived at by the Scissor Grinders' Union.

THE EDGE-TOOL FORGERS' UNION.

Mr. David Ward, of the firm of Ward and Payne, edge-tool manufacturers, had frequently been requested by their customers to obtain a first-rate carving tool forger. They brought to Sheffield James Addis, a London workman, who had received prize medals for carving tools at the Exhibitions both of 1851 and 1862. At this time, tools of the kind made by Addis were not manufactured in Sheffield. Addis offered to pay to the Union an entrance fee of 15*l.* in addition to the usual contributions, and undertook not to claim any benefit from the Union for two years. The committee, however, refused to accept him, and Addis returned to London. Some time afterwards Mr. Ward sent for Addis again, and set him to work. Deputations from the Union called upon Mr. Ward, withdrew the Union men from work, and would consent to no terms except the dismissal of Addis, and a payment by Mr. Ward of 30*l.* to the Union,

to cover the expenses of the men whom the Union had withdrawn from his employment.

Mr. Ward paid the 30*l.* and dismissed Addis. In order to secure the carving tools made by Addis, Mr. Ward was obliged to advance the money requisite to set Addis up as a small manufacturer on his own account. He thereby ceased to be a workman; and now, instead of forging only, he is obliged also to grind and finish his tools, so as to bring them in a complete state to Mr. Ward's warehouse. This is both expensive and inconvenient.

Addis, with the assistance of an apprentice, could earn 7*l.* a week, and has earned as much as 10*l.* a week. Whilst Addis was at work for Mr. Ward, and before the payment of the 30*l.*, he was standing one day at the bar of a public-house, when four men, members of the Union, fastened the door, and asked him, "How many Trades' Union Meetings have we had through you?" and then kicked him, and inflicted two serious wounds on his head. The parties were summoned before the magistrates, and three were fined 5*l.* each, and one 3*l.* 10*s.* Although this outrage was done by members of the Edge-Tool Forgers' Union, we have no evidence to show that it was an outrage promoted or encouraged by that Union.

THE EDGE-TOOL GRINDERS' UNION.

John Hague, sheep-shear and edge-tool grinder, was never apprenticed, but as a boy worked for his father, who belonged to the trade. He had offered to pay 20*l.* to be allowed to join the Union. Whilst working for a person called Greaves, thirteen axletrees and glaziers, six wheelbands, and twelve pulleys, belonging to Hague, were taken away from the wheel, and were found to be so much burnt as to be rendered useless, a shank stone was broken, and his horsing chopped into firewood. Whenever he appeared amongst Union men he was called a "knobstick." Although the circumstances of the outrage would indicate that it was done in the interests of the trade, yet there was no evidence before us to show that this was an outrage promoted or encouraged by the Edge-Tool Grinders' Union.

There is no ground to doubt the correctness of Hague's statement. We think it right, however, to observe that Hague was a very disreputable witness, having been several times convicted, and once transported for seven years.

THE SCYTHE GRINDERS' UNION.

Messrs. Tyzack and Sons, scythe, saw, file, and steel manufacturers, employ 250 men, and are brought into communication with several Unions. They have had continual disputes with the Unions, in the course of which they have received several threatening letters, and have had considerable damage done to their property.

Three pairs of bellows were destroyed at their works at Abbey Dale, in consequence, as was stated, of the scythe finishers in their employment not paying their contributions.

Thirteen scythe grinders' bands were taken because they had engaged a man without the consent of the Union.

Several shops were broken open and tools taken away in consequence of some of the men being in arrear with their contributions.

A man called Needham, who had been convicted of a trade outrage, had when in prison made a statement to Mr. Joshua Tyzack, affecting Michael Thompson, the secretary of the Scythe Grinders' Union. On Needham's coming out of prison, and shortly before November 1862, Mr. Joshua Tyzack made frequent inquiries for him, in order to get his evidence against Thompson.

In the month of November, 1862, Mr. Joshua Tyzack was returning in his gig from Sheffield, according to his usual habit, at about 8.30 p.m.; he had proceeded three-quarters of a mile from Sheffield, when, passing a plantation, he heard a shot fired, and then a second one in quick succession; he looked round, and saw the flash of a third shot, about fifteen or twenty yards off, and at the same instant a bullet passed through his hair and the brim of his hat. He became unconscious for a moment, and sank down in the gig, and in so doing stopped his horse. He almost instantly recovered himself; and, as he rose to whip the horse, two more shots were fired at him from the same place. Mr. Tyzack stated that in his opinion this attempt to shoot him was made in consequence of the inquiries which he had set on foot respecting Needham; but we are unable to satisfy ourselves, from the evidence before us, that this was an outrage promoted or encouraged by any Trades' Union.

THE NAIL-MAKERS' UNION.

This union has its head-quarters at Belper, in Devonshire, but the persons on whose property the following outrages were committed, lived and worked at Thorpe Healey, within the district to

which the present inquiry is limited. In this Union there is no regular weekly contribution, but when a strike occurs a levy is made to support the men who are out.

In December 1861, the nail-makers in the employment of Mr. Favell, of Rotherham, were on strike, but John Hatteraley and Charles Butcher, who carried on their trade at their own shops at Thorpe Healey, persisted in working for Mr. Favell. Hatteraley was subjected to many acts of annoyance, and Butcher, on going to his work, discovered one morning, in the chimney above his hearth, a can full of gunpowder suspended by a rope from the top, which would have exploded immediately the fire was lighted.

On the 21st of December, 1861, the shops of these men were blown up by a can of powder suspended by a rope in the chimney of each shop, and exploded by a fuse. Isaac Emanuel Watson, Joseph Tomlinson, and Samuel Proctor committed these outrages, and were paid for doing them out of the funds of the Union (by order of the Committee), by Charles Webster, a member of the Committee, the money being handed to him by James Beighton, the chairman, for that purpose.

Watson, Tomlinson, and a brother of Watson, were tried for these outrages at the York Spring Assizes, 1862, and found guilty, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Upon strong representations of their innocence, they were pardoned and released. The men were defended by the Union, and their defence cost the Union 40*l.* or 50*l.*

We report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Nail-Makers' Union.

THE IRONWORKERS' UNION.

In consequence of the reduction of wages in the early part of this year, a large number of the workmen of Messrs. J. Brown and Co. (Limited), steel manufacturers, went out on strike. The firm made great exertions to get new hands. This was strenuously opposed by the Union. For three weeks the works were watched by policemen specially appointed, and the new men were lodged and fed within the walls of the establishment. James Dunhill and Edmund Higgins, two non-union men working for Brown and Co., were found in a public-house, by seven or eight Union men, and assaulted, and on leaving the public-house, they were followed into the street and again assaulted. Dunhill and Higgins summoned the men before the magistrates, and they were bound over to keep the peace.

We have not sufficient evidence before

us to justify our reporting that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Ironworkers' Union.

We have now given an outline of all the cases of importance which were submitted to us for investigation. Mr. Thomas Thorpe, managing clerk to Mr. Albert Smith, clerk to the magistrates acting for the Petty Sessional Division and Borough of Sheffield, prepared for us a list of cases supposed to be connected with Trades' Unions, and which had been brought before the justices within the last ten years; it comprised, in addition to the outrages mentioned in this report, 166 cases of rattening and twenty-one cases of sending threatening letters. A very small proportion, however, of the persons rattened give information either to the police or to the justices.

Most of the outrages we have investigated were brought before the justices, and although in several cases large rewards had been offered for the detection of the perpetrators, the offenders have with two or three exceptions remained unknown up to the period of this inquiry.

We believe that there are about sixty Trades' Unions in Sheffield, of which twelve have promoted or encouraged outrages within the meaning of the 'Trades' Unions' Commission Act, 1867.

We have to report that there has not occurred within the last ten years any act of intimidation, outrage, or wrong promoted, encouraged, or connived at by any association of employers.

We point to the year 1859, as the one in which outrage was most rife, and we notice with pleasure that it has diminished since that time.

During the course of our investigation, matters connected with Trades' Unions (such as the number of apprentices allowed to each workman, and the class from which they may be taken, the remuneration of labour, the restraints exercised upon voluntary action, and the rules and general policy of Trades' Unions) have frequently been brought before our notice. These, however, are questions for the consideration of the Royal Commission sitting in London, and we purposely avoid making any observations upon them.

At the commencement of our inquiry, and frequently during the course of it, we explained the provisions of the Trades' Unions' Commission Act, 1867, with regard to the powers conferred on us of granting certificates of indemnity to witnesses who should by their evidence inculcate themselves. We are convinced that the most material disclosures made to us were so made in reliance on our promise of indemnity made in conformity with the Act of Parliament. Had no such indemnity been offered, we are satisfied that we should never have obtained any clear and conclusive evidence touching the most important subjects of our inquiry, and that the system of crime which has now been disclosed, as well as the perpetrators, would have remained undiscovered; we have therefore granted certificates to all witnesses whom we believe to have made a full and true disclosure of all offences in which they have been implicated.

WILLIAM OVEREND.
THOMAS I. BARSTOW.
GEORGE CHANCE.

Dated this 2nd of August, 1867.

II.

FIRST REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON RITUALISTIC PRACTICES IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to issue a Commission reciting that 'differences of practice have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, the administration of the Sacraments, and other services contained in the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the United Church of England

and Ireland, and more especially with reference to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said United Church, and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministration'—and that 'it is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry should be made into the matters aforesaid, with the view of explaining or amending the said Rubrics, Orders, and Directions, so as to

secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as may be deemed essential"—and enjoining your Commissioners 'to make diligent inquiry into all and every the matters aforesaid, and to report thereupon from time to time as to' them 'or any ten or more of' them, 'may appear to be most expedient, having regard not only to the said Rubrica, Orders, and Directions contained in the said Book of Common Prayer, but also to any other laws or customs relating to the matters aforesaid, with power to suggest any alterations, improvements, or amendments with respect to such matters, or any of them, as' they, 'or any ten or more of' them, 'may think fit to recommend'.

"We, your Majesty's Commissioners have, in accordance with the terms of your Majesty's Commission, directed our first attention to the question of the vestments worn by the ministers of the said United Church at the time of their ministration, and especially to those the use of which has been lately introduced into certain churches.

"We find that while these vestments are regarded by some witnesses as symbolical of doctrine, and by others as a distinctive vesture whereby they desire to do honour to the Holy Communion as the highest act of Christian worship, they are by none regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many.

"We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress.

"We are not yet prepared to recommend to your Majesty the best mode of giving effect to these conclusions, with a view at once to secure the objects proposed and to promote the peace of the Church; but we have thought it our duty in a matter to which great interest is attached, not to delay the communication to your Majesty of the results at which we have already arrived.

"We have placed in the Appendix the evidence of the witnesses examined before us, the documents referred to in the evidence or produced before the Commissioners, the cases laid before us, which were submitted to eminent counsel on either side of the question, together with the opinions thereupon; also the report on the subject made by the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and the resolutions passed by the Upper as well as the

Lower House of that Convocation, and the resolutions passed by the Convocation of the Province of York.

"All which we humbly beg leave to submit to your Majesty.

"August the 19th, 1867.

"C. T. CANTUAR

"M. G. ARMAGH

"STANHOPE

"HARROWBY

"BEAUCHAMP

"A. C. LONDON

"C. ST. DAVID'S

"S. OXON

"C. J. GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL

"PORTMAN

"EBURY

"SPENCER H. WALPOLE

"EDWARD CARDWELL

"JOSEPH NAPIER

"WILLIAM PAGE WOOD

"R. J. PHILLIMORE

"TRAVERS TWISS

"JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE

"JOHN ABEL SMITH

"A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE

"J. G. HUBBARD

"ARTHUR PENEHYN STANLEY

"H. GOODWIN

"J. A. JEREMIE

"R. PAYNE SMITH

"HENRY VENN

"W. G. HUMPHRY

"ROBERT GREGORY

"THOMAS WALTER PERRY."

The following Reservations are made by Sir Robert Phillimore, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Perry:—

"We agree to the main proposition contained in this Report, and have therefore signed it, upon the understanding that it does not exclude the consideration of cases in which the authority of the Bishop and the rights of the parishioners and congregations are carefully guarded.

"ROBERT J. PHILLIMORE,

"A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE."

"In signing this Report, I think it right to express my conviction that any power to 'restrain' the 'variations in respect of vesture,' to which the Report refers, ought to be limited to cases in which 'grave offence' is likely to be given by introducing such 'Vesture' into churches against the mind of the people; and also to state that by 'aggrieved parishioners' I understand to be meant those who, being *bonâ fide* members and communicants of the Church of England, have a reasonable ground for 'complaint and redress.'

"THOS. W. PERRY."

11.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE GROSS PUBLIC INCOME OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

In the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1867, and of the actual Issues within the same period, exclusive of sums applied to the Redemption of Funded or paying off Unfunded Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.

INCOME.		\pounds	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		\pounds	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		\pounds	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs . . . . .	.	22,680,000	0	0	Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt	22,998,338	6	2				
Excise . . . . .	.	19,955,000	0	0	Terminable Annuities	2,790,360	1	4				
Stamps . . . . .	.	9,597,000	0	0	Interest of Exchequer Bonds	87,250	0	0				
Taxes (Land and Assessed) . . . . .	.	3,494,000	0	0	Interest of Exchequer Bills	189,419	15	0				
Property Tax . . . . .	.	5,268,000	0	0						26,065,363	2	6
Post Office . . . . .	.	4,630,000	0	0								
Crown Lands (Net) . . . . .	.	337,000	0	0								
MISCELLANEOUS :—					CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND :—							
Military and Naval extra Receipts and proceeds of Old Stores sold	£	798,221	8	4	Civil List	406,281	5	0				
Amount received from the Revenue of India on account of the Effective and Non-effective Charges of British Troops serving in that Country	£	830,250	0	0	Annuities and Pensions	286,012	17	5				
Allowance out of Profits of Issue received from the Bank of England, per Act 24 Vict., c. 3	£	138,578	0	0	Salaries and Allowances	147,918	7	10				
Other Miscellaneous Receipts	£	752,281	16	7	Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions	176,232	0	5				
China War Indemnity	£	250,184	0	0	Courts of Justice ^a	678,977	1	9				
Total Revenue	£	2,764,515	4	11	Miscellaneous Charges	192,814	1	4				
Excess of Total Expenditure over Income in the year ended 31st December, 1867	£	1,265,540	12	0						1,883,285	13	9
					* Including, to 31st March, 1867, only, the Advances for deficiency of the Chancery Suits' Fee Fund in Ireland.							
					SUPPLY SERVICES :—							
					Army	16,272,902	8	5				
					Navy	11,477,076	7	0				
					Miscellaneous Civil Services	8,103,261	11	9				
					Salaries, Superannuations, &c., of Customs and Inland Revenue	2,503,203	13	4				
					Ditto ditto of Post Office	2,433,019	6	5				
					Packet Service	760,993	13	9				
										41,550,457	0	8
					Total Ordinary Expenditure	289,499,055	16	11				
					Expenses of Fortifications provided for by Money raised per Act 28 & 29 Vict. c. 61	430,000	0	0				
					Total Expenditure	289,929,055	16	11				

2.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BALANCES OF THE PUBLIC MONEY

aining in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1866; the amount of Money raised by additions to the Funded or Unfunded Debt, and the amount applied towards the Redemption of Funded or Paying off Unfunded Debt in the Year ended the 31st day of December, 1867; the total amount of Advances and Repayments on account of Local Works, &c., in the same period; and the Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st day of December, 1867.

Balances in the Exchequer on the 31st December, 1866		£	s.	d.
At the Bank of England	5,263,928	5	3	
At the Bank of Ireland	1,098,008	18	0	
Money raised in the Year ended 31st December, 1867 :—				
FUNDED DEBT :				
By the creation of Terminable Annuities, per Acts 28 & 29 Vict. c. 61 (to provide for the Expense of constructing certain Fortifications), to expire on the 5th April, 1865, as follows:				
15th July, 1867	£ 6,096	Annuity commencing 6 April, 1867	80,000	0 0
28th Sept. "	11,781	" Ditto 10 Oct., 1867	150,000	0 0
31st Oct. "	3,912	" "	50,000	0 0
11th Nov. "	7,813	" "	100,000	0 0
			380,000	0 0
UNFUNDED DEBT :—				
Exchequer Bonds (Series N.), per Act 30 Vict. c. 31, dated 12th December, 1867, and payable 12th December, 1869.				
Exchequer Bills, dated 11th March, 1867, issued per Act 24				

* Including £50,000 of the Money raised for Fortifications.

† No balance remaining of the Money raised for Fortifications.

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, 4th January, 1868.

GEORGE WARD HUNT.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Jan. 1. The Rev. Charles Du Port, M.A., to be an Inspector of Schools.

The honour of Knighthood conferred upon John B. Karlake, Esq., Solicitor-General, and Benjamin Samuel Phillips, Esq., late Lord Mayor of London.

4. The Rev. Wm. H. Brookfield, to be a Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, *vice* the Very Rev. E. M. Goulburn, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

The Rev. Stopford A. Brooke to be one of the Honorary Chaplains in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

8. The Rev. H. I. Mansel, B.D., to be Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, *vice* Rev. Walter W. Shirley, D.D., deceased.

Feb. 5. Sir James Emerson Tennent, knight, to be a Baronet of the United Kingdom.

The Rev. Charles Richard Alford, M.A., to be Bishop of Victoria, Hongkong.

The settlements of Prince of Wales Island, Malacca, and Singapore, to be erected into one Government, and called the "Straits Settlements."

Col. Harry St. George Ord, R.E., C.B., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements.

Capt. A. E. A. Ellis, Grenadier Guards, to be an Equerry to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales; the Hon. A. Temple FitzMaurice to be a Groom of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highness, *vice* the Hon. R. H. Meade (now an extra Groom of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highness); the Rev. William Lake Onslow, M.A., Rector of Sandringham, to be a Chaplain to his Royal Highness.

8. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Richard Malins, Esq., Q.C.

Col. H. Marion Durand, C.B., and William Muir, Esq., B.C.S., to be Knights Commanders of the Star of India.

Francis Trevelyan Buckland, Esq., to be an Inspector of Fisheries, *vice* Frederick Eden, Esq., resigned.

12. Frederic Hamilton, Esq., to be

Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General to the Republic of the Equator.

15. The Duke of Rutland and the Duke of Richmond to be Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

20. Robert William Keate, Esq. (late Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Trinidad and its dependencies), to be Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Natal.

21. William Henry Gosling, Esq., to be a member of the Council of the Bermudas or Somers Islands.

22. The dignity of Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the Right Hon. Duncan McNeill, late Lord Justice-General and President of the Court of Session in Scotland, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Colonsay, of Colonsay and Oronsay, in the county of Argyll.

The dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the Right Hon. Sir Hugh McCalmont Cairns, Knight, a Judge of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Cairns, of Garroyle, in the county of Antrim.

26. The Right Hon. John Inglis to be Lord Justice-General and President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

Lieut.-Col. A. E. Harbord Anson, R.A., to be Lieut.-Governor of Prince of Wales's Island and its dependencies; and William Wellington Cairns, Esq., to be Lieut.-Governor of Malacca and its dependencies.

The Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue, M.P., to be Commissioner in Lunacy, *vice* R. Gordon, Esq., deceased.

March 1. Lord Southampton to be Lord-Lieutenant of co. Northampton.

George Patton, Esq., to be Justice Clerk and President of the Second Division of the Court of Session in Scotland, and also one of the Senators of the College of Justice there.

Edward Strathearn Gordon, Esq., to be Advocate for Scotland, *vice* G. Patton, Esq.

5. J. More-Molyneux, Esq., to be High Sheriff of Surrey, *vice* W. Gilpin, Esq., deceased.

8. Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland constituting and appointing the Right Hon. Henry Thomas Lowry Corry; Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, K.C.B.; Vice-Admiral Sir Sydney Colpoys Dacres, K.C.B.; Rear-Admiral George Henry Seymour, C.B.; Rear-Admiral Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, Bart.; and Charles Du Cane, Esq.; to be Her Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.

The Right Hon. Charles George, Earl of Gainsborough, to be Her Majesty's Lieutenant of the county of Rutland.

The Duke of Marlborough to be Lord President of the Privy Council, *vice* the Duke of Buckingham, appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a Member of the Committee of Council on Education, *vice* the Earl of Carnarvon, resigned.

The Right Hon. H. Lowry Corry to be First Lord of the Admiralty, *vice* the Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart., appointed Secretary of State for War, *vice* the Right Hon. J. Peel, resigned.

The Duke of Richmond to be President of the Board of Trade, *vice* the Right Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., appointed Secretary of State for India, *vice* Viscount Cranborne, resigned.

Col. the Hon. P. E. Herbert, to be Treasurer of H.M.'s Household, *vice* Lord Burghley (now Marquis of Exeter).

John Millar, Esq., to be Solicitor-General for Scotland, *vice* E. S. Gordon, Esq., appointed H.M.'s Advocate for Scotland.

15. Sir William Dunbar to be Controller-General of the Exchequer, and Auditor-General of Public Accounts; and William George Anderson, Esq., to be Assistant-Controller and Auditor.

19. Lord Robert Montagu and Col. the Hon. P. E. Herbert, C.B., sworn on H.M.'s Most Hon. Privy Council.

Lord Robert Montagu to be Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

22. The Right Hon. Charles, Earl of Tankerville, to be Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Household, in the room of the Most Noble John Winston, Duke of Marlborough, resigned.

26. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Rear-Admiral Henry Mangles Denham, F.R.S.; upon George Harvey,

Esq., President of the Royal Scottish Academy, and upon Joseph Noel Paton, Esq., R.S.A., Her Majesty's Limner for Scotland.

April 10. The Hon. and Rev. George Herbert, M.A., to the Deanery of Her Majesty's Cathedral Church of Hereford, void by the death of the Very Rev. Richard Dawes.

22. Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B., to the office or place of Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Admiralty thereof, in the room of Admiral Sir Phipps Hornby, deceased.

26. The Rev. Thomas Legh Claughton, M.A., to be Bishop of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Joseph Cotton Wigram, deceased.

30. Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Charles Grey, one of Her Majesty's Equeries in Ordinary, to be Private Secretary to Her Majesty, and Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Myddelton Biddulph, K.C.B., to be Keeper of Her Majesty's Privy Purse.

The Duke of Beaufort to be a Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

May 5. The Marquis of Exeter to be Captain of Her Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, in the room of Charles, Earl of Tankerville, appointed Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Household.

9. George Biddel Airy, Esq., the Astronomer Royal; the Right Hon. William, Earl of Rosse; the Right Hon. John, Baron Wrottesley; Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B.; Lieut.-Gen. Edward Sabine; Thomas Graham, Esq., Master of the Mint; William Henry Miller, Esq.; and Henry William Chisholm, Esq., to be Her Majesty's Commissioners to inquire into the condition of the Exchequer Standards of Weights and Measures.

12. His Serene Highness the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, K.C.B., to be an Honorary Member of the Civil Division of the First Class, or Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

13. The Right Hon. George, Earl of Haddington, to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Hugh Seymour Tremeneere, Esq., and Edward Carleton Tufnell, Esq., to be Her Majesty's Commissioners to inquire into and report on the employment of children, young persons, and women in agriculture, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent and with what modifications the principle of the Factory Acts can be adopted for the regulation and employment, and especially with a view to the proper education, of such children.

21. Royal licence issued granting the title of "Highness" to the issue of H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.

The Earl of Devon to be President of the Poor Law Board, *vice* the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P., appointed Secretary for the Home Department, *vice* the Right Hon. S. H. Walpole, resigned.

The Rev. Edmund Thomas Watts, M.A.; the Rev. Ely Willcox Crabtree, M.A.; the Rev. George Steele, M.A.; and the Rev. Shadrach Pryce, B.A., to be Inspectors of Schools.

The Duke of Beaufort to be Lord-Lieut. of the county of Monmouth.

24. His Highness Krishnah Raj Wad-
dyar, Maharajah of Mysore, to be a Knight
Grand Commander of the Most Exalted
Order of the Star of India; his Highness
the Maharajah Sree Jowan Singjee, Chief
of Edur; Daniel Elliott, Esq., Madras
Civil Service (retired), late member of the
Law Commission, of the Legislative Coun-
cil of India, and of the Council of the
Governor of Madras; George Frederick
Harvey, Esq., Bengal Civil Service (re-
tired), late Commissioner of Agra; Major-
Gen. William Hill, late Madras Army,
commanding the Nizam's Contingent
during the mutinies of 1857-58; Major-
Gen. Vincent Eyre, C.B., Royal (late
Bengal) Artillery; the Rajah Jodhbir
Chund, of Nadown; Henry Lacon Ander-
son, Esq., Bombay Civil Service (retired),
late Chief Secretary to the Government
of Bombay, and member of the Council of
the Governor-General of India for making
Laws and Regulations; Richard Temple,
Esq., C.S.I., Bengal Civil Service, Resi-
dent at Hyderabad, and Colonel Arthur
Purves Phayre, C.B., Bengal Staff Corps,
Chief Commissioner in British Burmah,
to be Knights Commanders of the said
Order.

June 1. Major-General Francis Sey-
mour, C.B., Extra Groom in Waiting to
Her Majesty, to be one of the Grooms in
Waiting in Ordinary to Her Majesty, in
the room of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry
John William Bentinck, K.C.B., resigned.

Viscount Monck to be Governor-General
of the dominion of Canada on and after
the 1st of July, 1867, under the provi-
sions of the Act 30 of Victoria, cap. 3, for
the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and
New Brunswick, and the Government
thereof, and for purposes connected there-
with.

4. The Rev. William Drake, Honorary
Canon of Worcester, and Honorary Chap-
lain in Ordinary to Her Majesty; and the
Hon. and Rev. Francis Edmund Cecil
Byng, late Chaplain to Her Majesty
at Hampton Court Palace, to be an

Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to Her
Majesty.

11. Edmund Chase Marriott, of Adle-
strop-house, in the county of Gloucester,
Esq., to be Havenor and Keeper of the
Ports and Foreshores of the Duchy of
Cornwall, in the counties of Cornwall and
Devon.

12. Rev. John Saul Howson, D.D., to
the deanery of Her Majesty's Cathedral
Church of Chester, void by the death of
the Very Rev. Frederick Anson, D.D.

17. Lieut.-General Sir Patrick Grant,
G.C.B., to be Governor and Commander-
in-Chief of the island of Malta and its
dependencies.

26. The Right Hon. Colonel John Wil-
son Patten, M.P., to be Chancellor of the
Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster.

July 9. The Right Hon. Lord Lyons,
G.C.B., now Her Majesty's Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the
Sublime Ottoman Porte, to be Her Ma-
jesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of the
French.

The Hon. Henry George Elliot, now
Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty
the King of Italy, to be Her Majesty's
Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleni-
potentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget, K.C.B.,
now Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Ma-
jesty the King of Portugal, to be Her
Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty
the King of Italy.

18. Sir John Rolt to be a Judge of the
Court of Appeal in Chancery, in the room
of the Right Hon. Sir George James
Turner, deceased.

22. Captain Count Gleichen, R.N., to
be Governor and Constable of Her Ma-
jesty's Castle of Windsor.

26. The Hon. Roden Berkeley Wriothel-
sley Noel to be one of the Grooms of the
Privy Chamber in Ordinary to Her Ma-
jesty, *vice* Col. John Home Purves, de-
ceased.

August 6. Sir J. Rolt, Knight, and Sir
R. J. Phillimore, Knight, sworn members
of the Privy Council.

The honour of Knighthood conferred
upon Henry Thompson, Esq., F.R.C.S.,
and W. H. Bodkin, Esq., Assistant Judge
of the Middlesex Sessions.

The Right. Hon. Thomas Gabriel, of
Edgecombe Hall, Surrey, Lord Mayor of
London, to be a baronet.

9. The honour of Knighthood conferred
upon J. I. Mantell, Esq., late Chief
Justice in the Gambia; William Ander-
son Rose, Esq., Alderman of London;

Sydney Hedley Waterlow, Esq., Alderman and Sheriff of London and Sheriff of Middlesex; Francis Lycett, Esq., Sheriff of London and Middlesex; and Charles Jasper Selwyn, Esq., M.A., Her Majesty's Solicitor-General.

17. The Right Hon. Sir Robert Joseph Phillimore, Knight, D.C.L., to be Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of England, in the room of the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., resigned.

19. The dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Harry St. George Ord, Esq., Colonel in Her Majesty's Army, Lieut.-Colonel in the Corps of Royal Engineers, C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements.

22. Vice-Admiral the Hon. E. A. J. Harris, C.B., to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of the Netherlands.

J. S. Lumley, Esq., to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Confederation.

23. The Hon. H. G. Elliot sworn a Privy Councillor.

Travers Twiss, Esq., D.C.L., Q.C., to be Advocate-General, *vice* Sir R. J. Phillimore, appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court.

The Earl of Belmore to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the colony of New South Wales.

The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Arthur Edward Kennedy, Esq., C.B., Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements.

The dignity of Knighthood conferred upon John Brown, of Endcliffe-hall, in the parish of Sheffield, in the West Riding of the county of York, Esq., and upon Joseph Neale McKenna, of Ardo-house, in the parish of Ardmore, in the county of Waterford, Esq.

Admiral the Hon. Edward Harris to be Minister at the Hague in the room of Sir John Milbanke, resigned. Mr. John Savile Lumley, formerly Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, to be Minister at Berne, *vice* Admiral Edward Harris.

September 3. Edward Thornton, Esq., C.B., now Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Brazil, to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal.

10. The Earl of Haddington to be a Lord in Waiting in Ordinary to Her Majesty, *vice* Lord Polwarth, deceased.

17. Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., to be a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India.

The Maharajah Maun Sing, of Oude; Col. Edward Robert Wetherall, C.B.; and

Col. William West Turner, C.B.; to be Knights Commanders of the Star of India.

John Pope Hennessy, Esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Labuan and its dependencies.

20. George Buckley-Mathew, Esq., C.B., to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Brazil.

October 1. William Lowther, Esq., to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic.

Earl Annesley to be a Representative Peer for Ireland, *vice* the Earl of Mayo, deceased.

14. John Hilton, Esq., F.R.S., to be Surgeon Extraordinary to Her Majesty, and also Prescott Gardner Hewett, Esq., to be Surgeon Extraordinary to Her Majesty.

15. William Rose, Esq., Deputy-Clerk of the Parliaments, to be a K.C.B., and Major John James Greig, late of the 3rd West India Regt., to be a C.B. (civil division).

25. The Right Hon. W. R. S. Vesey Fitzgerald, Governor of Bombay, to be a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India.

29. The Hon. and Venerable Archdeacon Harris to be Bishop of Gibraltar, *vice* the Right Rev. Dr. Trower, resigned.

Eliza Horatia Frederica, Viscountess Clifden, to be one of Her Majesty's Ladies of the Bedchamber in Ordinary, in the room of Frances Elizabeth, Viscountess Jocelyn, resigned.

Frances Elizabeth, Viscountess Jocelyn, to be an Extra Lady of the Bedchamber to Her Majesty.

The Hon. Lady Biddulph to be Honorary Bedchamber Woman in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

November 8. George Patton, Esq., Lord Justice Clerk, sworn a Member of the Privy Council.

12. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Travers Twiss, Esq., D.C.L., Queen's Advocate.

Rev. Archibald Boyd, M.A., to be Dean of Exeter, *vice* the Rev. William John, Viscount Middleton, resigned.

16. Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G. (now Governor of the Colony of Queensland and its dependencies), to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the colony of New Zealand.

19. Alan Elliott Lockhart, Esq., to be Lieutenant and Sheriff-Principal of the county of Selkirk, in the room of Henry Francis, Lord Polwarth, deceased.

22. The Right Hon. Earl Brownlow to be Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Lincoln.

28. James Paterson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to be one of the Special Commissioners for Irish Fisheries.

Lord Elphinstone to be a Representative Peer for Scotland, *vice* Lord Polwarth, deceased.

December 3. The Rev. Frederick Wilkin-son, M.A., to be an Inspector of Schools.

6. Edward Thornton, Esq., C.B., to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

11. The honour of Knighthood conferred upon Major John Paul Hopkins, K.H., Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor, and on Lieutenant-Colonel John Henry Cooke, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Body Guard of Yeomen of the Guard.

13. Joseph Hume Burnley, Esq., to be *Chargé d'Affaires* at Dresden.

Dr. George Augustus Selwyn (now Bishop of New Zealand) to be Bishop of Lichfield, *vice* the Right Rev. J. Lonsdale, D.D., deceased.

13. The Hon. Sir Charles Augustus Murray, K.C.B., now Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark, to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal.

16. Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, K.C.B., to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark.

HER MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AND OFFICERS OF STATE.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury, Earl of Derby.
Lord President of the Council, Duke of Marlborough.

Lord High Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford.
Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Malmesbury.
Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. B. Disraeli.

Secretaries of State:—

Home, Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy.

Foreign, Lord Stanley.

Colonial, Duke of Buckingham.

War, Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart.

India, Right Hon. Sir S. H. Northcote, Bart.

First Lord of the Admiralty, Right Hon. H. J. L. Corry.

President of the Board of Trade, Duke of Richmond.

Works and Public Buildings, Lord J. Manners.

Chief Secretary for Ireland, Earl of Mayo.
Without Office, Right Hon. S. H. Walpole.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

President, Duke of Marlborough.

Vice-President for Education, Right Hon. Lord R. Montagu, M.P.

THE PRIVY SEAL.

Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Malmesbury.

THE TREASURY.

Lords Commissioners, Earl of Derby, Right Hon. B. Disraeli, Hon. G. J. Noel, Sir G. Montgomery, and Henry Whitmore.

Secs., Lieut.-Col. T. E. Taylor, G. Ward Hunt.

Assistant-Sec., G. A. Hamilton.

THE EXCHEQUER.

Chancellor, Right Hon. B. Disraeli.

Comptroller and Auditor, Sir W. Dunbar.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Home—Principal Sec., Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy.—*Under Secs.*, Sir Jas. Fergusson, Bart., Hon. Adolphus Lindell, Q.C.

Foreign—Principal Sec. Lord Stanley.—*Under Secs.* E. C. Egerton, M.P., Right Hon. E. Hammond.

Colonial—Principal Sec. Duke of Buckingham.—*Under Secs.*, Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, Sir Fred. L. Rogers, Bart.

War—*Principal Sec.* Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart.—*Under Secs.* Earl of Longford and Major-General Sir Edward Lugard—*Assistant-Under Sec.*, Captain D. Galton.
India—*Principal Sec. and President of Council*, Right Hon. Sir S. H. Northcote, Bart.—*Under Sec.*, Lord Clinton—*Assistant Sec.*, Jas. C. Melville, Esq.
Chief Sec. for Ireland, Earl of Mayo.

THE ARMY.

Horse Guards—*Commander of the Forces*, Duke of Cambridge—*Military Sec.*, Major-General W. F. Foster—*Private Sec.*, Colonel Hon. J. Macdonald—*Adjutant-Gen.*, Major-General Lord Wm. Paulet—*Quarter-Master-Gen.*, Lieut.-General Sir Jas. Hope Grant—*Judge-Advocate Gen.*, Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray, M.P.—*Chaplain-Gen.*, Rev. G. R. Gleig—*Director-Gen. of Medical Department*, James Brown Gibson.

THE NAVY.

Admiralty—*Lords Commissioners*, Right Hon. H. J. L. Corry, Vice-Admiral A. Milne, Vice-Admiral Sir C. Colpoys Dacres, Rear-Admiral G. H. Seymour, Rear-Admiral Sir J. C. D. Hay, Bart., C. Du Cane, Esq.
Secs., Lord Henry Lennox, W. G. Romaine—*Hydrographer*, Captain G. H. Richards—*Astron. Royal*, Prof. Airy—*Chief Constructor*, E. J. Reed.
Civil Departments—*Accountant-Gen.*, Jas. Beeby—*Comptroller*, Rear-Admiral R. S. Robinson—*Storekeeper Gen.*, Hon. R. Dundas—*Comptroller of Victualing*, Chas. Richards—*Director-Gen. of Medical Department*, A. Bryson, M.D.

PAYMASTER-GENERAL.

Paymaster-Gen., Right Hon. Stephen Cave.
Assistant Do., J. P. Collier.

BOARD OF TRADE.

President, Duke of Richmond.
Vice-President, Right Hon. Stephen Cave.
Secretary, T. H. Farrer.
Statistical Department—*Chief of*, A. W. Fonblanque.
Assist. Sec.: *Comrcl. Business*, L. Mallet.
Do. Railway Do., R. Herbert,
Do. Harbour Do., C. C. Trevor,
Do. Marine Do., Thomas Gray.

Railway Department—*Inspectors*, Capt. Tyler, Colonel Yolland, Colonel F. H. Rich, and Colonel Hutchinson.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Chancellor, Right Hon. Colonel J. Wilson Patten.
Vice-Chancellor, W. M. James.
Attorney-Gen., H. W. West.

OFFICE OF WORKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Commissioners, Lord John Manners, the Secretaries of State, the President and Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Sec. A. Austin—*Assistant Sec.*, G. Russell.

WOODS AND FORESTS.

Commissioners, Hon. C. A. Gore and Hon. J. K. Howard.

THE MINT.

Master, Thomas Graham, *Deputy and Comptroller*, W. H. Barton—*Chief Medallist*, Leonard Wyon.

BOARD OF CUSTOMS.

Chairman, Right Hon. Sir F. T. Fremantle, Bart.—*Dep. Chairman*, F. Goulburn-Grenville C. J. Berkeley, R. W. Grey, and Colonel F. Romilly.

BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE.

Chairman, W. H. Stephenson—*Dep. Chairman*, Chas. J. Herries—Alfred Montgomery, Henry Roberts, Sir Alex. Duff Gordon, James Disraeli—*Joint Secs.*, T. Sargent, Wm. Corbett.

POST OFFICE.

Postmaster-Gen., Duke of Montrose.

POOR LAW BOARD.

President, Earl of Devon.—*Lord President of the Council*, Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Secs., G. Sclater Booth, M.P., H. Fleming.—*Assistant Secs.*, W. G. Lumley, F. Fletcher.

REGISTRAR GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Reg. Gen., G. Graham.—*Sec.*, E. Edwards.
Reg. Gen. for Scotland, Wm. Pitt Dundas.
Reg. Gen. for Ireland, Wm. Donnelly.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT OFFICE.

Sec., under the Home Dept., Tom Taylor.
Medical Inspector, under Privy Council, J. Simon.

STATIONERY OFFICE.

Comptroller, W. Rathbone Gregg.

HIGH SHERIFFS FOR 1867.

ENGLAND.

BEDFORDSHIRE—William Cooper Cooper, of Toddington, Esq.
 BERKSHIRE—Thomas Hargreaves, of Aborfield-hall, Esq.
 BUCKS—Richard Henry Richard Howard-Vyse, of Stoke-place, Esq.
 CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE—Stanlake Ricketts Batson, of Horse-
 heath, Esq.
 CHESHIRE—Thomas Henry Lyon, of Appleton-hall, near Warrington, Esq.
 CORNWALL—Thomas Simon Bolitho, of Penalvern, Esq.
 CUMBERLAND—William Edward James, of Barrock-park, Esq.
 DERBYSHIRE—Edward Sacheverell Chandos Pole, of Radborne, Esq.
 DEVONSHIRE—John Quicke, of Newton-house, Esq.
 DORSETSHIRE—John Hales Calcraft, of Rempstone-hall, Esq.
 DURHAM—William Scurfield Grey, of Norton, Esq.
 ESSEX—Richard Baker Wingfield Baker, of Orsett-hall, Esq.
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE—Edward Sampson, of Hembury, near Bristol, Esq.
 HEREFORDSHIRE—Thomas Reaveley, of Kinnerley-castle, near Kingston, Esq.
 KENT—William Moore, of Wierton, Esq.
 LANCASHIRE—Thomas Dicconson, of Wrightington-hall, Esq.
 LEICESTERSHIRE—Edward Finch Dawson, of Launde Abbey, Esq.
 LINCOLNSHIRE—Sir Henry Hickman Bacon, of Thonock, Bart.
 MONMOUTHSHIRE—George Relph Greenhow-Relph, of Beech-hill, Esq.
 NORFOLK—Albemarle Cator, of Woodbastwick, Esq.
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—William Somerset Rose, of Cransley, Esq.
 NORTHUMBRLAND—George Culley, of Fowberry Tower, Esq.
 NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—Sir John Sutton, of Norwood-park, Bart.
 OXFORDSHIRE—Alexander William Hall, of Dunstew, Esq.
 RUTLAND—Edward Nathaniel Conant, of Lyndon, Esq.
 SHROPSHIRE—Sir Charles Frederick Smythe, of Acton Burnell, Bart.
 SOMERSETSHIRE—Richard Thomas Combe, of Earnhill, Esq.
 COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON—William Hans Sloane Stanley, of Paultons, near
 Romsey, Esq.
 STAFFORDSHIRE—Henry Charles Vernon, of Hilton-park, Esq.
 SUFFOLK—Robert John Pettiward, of Great Finborough-hall, Esq.
 SURREY—William Gilpin, of Palewell-lodge, East Sheen, Esq.
 SUSSEX—Colonel Francis Vernon Harcourt, of Buxted.
 WARWICKSHIRE—Evelyn Philip Shirley, of Easington-park, Esq.
 WESTMORELAND—Hugh Rigg, of Crossrigg-hall, Moreland, Penrith, Esq.
 WILTSHIRE—Henry Calley, of Burderop-park, Esq.
 WORCESTERSHIRE—Richard William Johnson, of Bricklehampton-hall, Esq.
 YORKSHIRE—William Henry Harrison Broadley, of Welton, Esq.

WALES (NORTH and SOUTH.)

ANGLESEY—William Griffith, of Bodowyr, Esq.
 BRECONSHIRE—John Williams Morgan, of Bolgoed-house, Esq.
 CARDIGANSHIRE—John Loxdale, of Castle-hill, near Aberystwith, Esq.
 CARMARTHENSHIRE—John Lennox Griffiths Poyer Lewis, of Henllan, Esq.
 CARNARVONSHIRE—Abram Jones Williams, of Gelliwig, Esq.
 DENBIGHSHIRE—Philip Henry Chambres, of Llysmeirchion, Esq.
 FLINTSHIRE—Thomas Hanmer Wynne, of Nerquis-hall, Esq.
 GLAMORGANSHIRE—Thomas Penrice, of Kilvrough-house, near Swansea, Esq.
 MERTONETHSHIRE—William Watkin Edward Wynne, of Peniarth, Esq.
 MONTGOMERYSHIRE—Major Joseph Davies, of Bryn-glas.
 PEMBROKEHIRE—Mark Anthony Saurin, of Orielfton, Esq.
 RADNORSHIRE—Charles Marsh Vials, of Hendry, Esq.

UNIVERSITY HONOURS.

OXFORD.—CLASS LISTS.

Term. Trin. 1867.

In Literis Humanioribus.

CLASSIS I.

Baker, George B., Corpus.
 Brookes, William, Christ Church.
 Hopkins, Gerard M., Balliol.
 Jayne, Francis J., Wadham.
 Nash, Thomas, Balliol.
 Percival, Francis W., Brasenose.
 Selfe, William L., Corpus.

CLASSIS II.

Atkinson, Miles, Queen's.
 Byrde, Richard A., Queen's.
 Collins, Clifton W., Magdalen.
 Cornish, Walter, Exeter.
 Cresswell, Oswald E., Trinity.
 Eaglesim, Thomas A., Worcester.
 Geldart, Edmund M., Balliol.
 Griffiths, John R., Oriel.
 Moberly, Robert C., New College¹.
 Price, Thomas P., University.
 Thompson, Clement, Brasenose.

CLASSIS III.

Brown, William A., Balliol.
 Emra, William H. A., Exeter.
 Hilbers, George C., Exeter.
 Lovell, George F., Balliol.
 Richardson, Arthur J., Magdalen.
 Stewart, Alan, Christ Church.

CLASSIS IV.

Anderson, Arthur, Balliol.
 Blackburn, Edward B., Brasenose.
 Bulteel, Courtenay J., Magdalen.

One hundred others passed.

Examiners.

J. M. Wilson.
 W. Ince.
 S. H. Reynolds.
 W. L. Newman.

In Scientia Naturali.

CLASSIS I.

In Scientiis Math. et Phys.

CLASSIS I.

Abbey, Richard, Exeter.
 Cundey, John W., Magdalen.
 Gwyn-Jeffreys, Howel, Balliol.

CLASSIS II.

Cox, Cecil W., Magdalen.
 Dyer, William T. T., Christ Church.
 Harris, William A., Balliol.

CLASSIS III.

Cresswell, R. H., St. Mary Hall.
 Leigh-Bennett, Geo. S., Pembroke.
 Morris, M. C. F., New College.
 Walker, Edward, Exeter.

CLASSIS IV.

Sixty-seven others passed.

Examiners.

B. Price.
 F. Harrison.
 J. D. Davenport.

In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.

CLASSIS I.

Hardy, Alfred E., Balliol.
 Penfold, Edward B., Worcester.
 Whittuck, Edward A., Oriel.
 Wragg, Walter T., Worcester.

¹ Senior Student of Christ Church.

CLASSIS II.

CLASSIS III.

Cubitt, Charles P., Christ Church.
Johnson, Frederick P., Magdalen.

CLASSIS IV.

Three others passed.

Examiners.

G. Rolleston.
H. J. S. Smith.
A. G. V. Harcourt.

CLASSIS II.

Emerton, Wolseley P., Christ Church.
Gepp, Nicholas P., New College.
Holland, David E., Worcester.
Hook, Cecil, Christ Church.
Kollé, Frederick P., New College.

CLASSIS III.

Allcard, James, Christ Church.
Fountaine, H. T., St. Alban Hall.
King, Henry B., Oriel.
Knight, Montagu G., Magdalen.
Lechmere, W. L., St. Mary Hall.
Pryor, Arthur V., Christ Church.
Weaver, John C., Trinity.

CLASSIS IV.

Brooke, John T., Christ Church.
Egerton, Richard, Christ Church.
Elwell, Henry, St. John's.
Entwisle, Arthur, Balliol.

Twenty-two others passed.

Examiners.

C. W. Boase.
M. Burrows.
J. Bryce.

Term. Mich. 1867.

In Literis Humanioribus.

CLASSIS I.

Case, Thomas, Balliol.
Dear, Robert C. L., St. John's¹.
Donkin, Horatio B., Queen's.
Doyle, John A., Balliol.
Fremantle, Stephen J., Balliol².
Fyffe, Charles A., Balliol.
Gent, John, Trinity.
James, Herbert A., Lincoln.
Markheim, Henry G., University.
Tucker, Charles C., University.
Wallace, William, Balliol³.
Wharton, Edward R., Trinity.

CLASSIS II.

Acworth, Herbert S., Christ Church.
Allen, John B., New College.
Banning, Henry T., Trinity.
Beadon, Robert J., Exeter.
Bridges, Robert S., Corpus.
Carlile, James W., Balliol.
Cross, Joseph, Corpus.
Dale, Reginald F., Queen's.
Fisher, Charles T., Brasenose.
Greenhowe, Edward, Lincoln.
Kensington, Theodore, New College.

In Scientiis Math. et Phys.

CLASSIS I.

Bowyer, Robert W., Queen's.
Hodson, Richard G., Christ Church.
Lavery, Wallis H., Queen's.
Smith, Sampson B., St. Alban Hall.

CLASSIS II.

¹ Fellow of Merton.

² Senior Student of Christ Church.

³ Fellow of Merton.

Lansdowne, Marquis of, Balliol.
 Moore, Charles R., Corpus.
 Poutiatine, Basil, Christ Church.
 Scott, William T., Exeter.
 Symonds, Arthur G., Corpus.
 Williams, Morris P., Jesus.
 Wylie, James, H., Pembroke.

CLASSIS III.

Aldhouse, Fred. S., Magdalen Hall.
 Birchall, Oswald, Brasenose.
 Bissill, Henry J. G., Pembroke.
 Black, Arthur, Christ Church.
 Brown, Charles G., Balliol.
 Coghlan, Charles L., University.
 Gamlen, William B., Exeter.
 Garrett, Alfred W., Balliol.
 Hickey, Thomas H. F., Pembroke.
 Hill, Melsup S., Wadham.
 Hull, William B., Pembroke.
 Jacob, Edgar, New College.
 Marshall, Joseph H., Worcester.
 Monnington, George J., Queen's.
 Newbolt, Wm. C. E., Pembroke.
 Smith, Charles H., Lincoln.
 Stocks, John E., Christ Church.
 Teesdale, Frederic D., New College.
 Tinné, John E., University.
 Wardroper, John T., Christ Church.
 Watts-Russell, Edward, Christ Church.
 Willes, George, Christ Church.

CLASSIS IV.

Hensley, Charles E., University.
 Holland, Francis M., New College.
 Price, Walter L., Jesus.
 Tew, Edmund L. H., Magdalen Hall.
 Trower, John, Exeter.

One hundred and ten others passed.

Examiners.

W. Ince.
 S. H. Reynolds.
 W. W. Capes.
 W. L. Newman.

In Scientia Naturali.

CLASSIS I.

Bateman, Arthur W., Magdalen.
 Dyer, William T. T., Christ Church.
 Reinold, Arnold W., Merton.

CLASSIS II.

Morrell, George H., Exeter.
 Squire, Lovell, St. Mary Hall.

CLASSIS III.

CLASSIS IV.

Seventy-one others passed.

Examiners.

B. Price.
 F. Harrison.
 W. Esson.

In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.

CLASSIS I.

Jayne, Francis J., Wadham.
 Phillimore, W. G. F., All Souls.

CLASSIS II.

Dart, John, St. Mary Hall.
 Freshfield, Douglas W., University.
 Jennings, Richard E., Brasenose.
 Kershaw, Lewis A., Pembroke.
 Loch, Willie W., Balliol.
 Mylne, John, Corpus.
 Ormerod, George T. B., Balliol.

CLASSIS III.

Robinson, Ellis A., Balliol.
Williams, John, Jesus.

CLASSIS IV.

Two others passed.

Examiners.

G. W. Child.
H. J. S. Smith.
A. G. V. Harcourt.

Paterson, Noel H., St. John's.
Peile, Walter O., Magdalen.
Sealy, Thomas H., Trinity.
Walter, John B., Christ Church.

CLASSIS III.

Bandinel, James J. F., Oriel.
Bellow, William, Queen's.
Fell, Charles Y., St. John's.
Foss, Edward W., Pembroke.
Foster, William H., Merton.
Foulkes, Evans, Exeter.
Goldney, Charles, Lincoln.
Harris, William A., Balliol.
Holmes, Allan, Queen's.
Lake, Herbert J., New College.
Lloyd, Iorwerth G., Exeter.
Montmorency, M. S. de, Wadham.
Pears, Philip W., Wadham.
Sandon, William H., Wadham.
Stoodley, T. A., St. Mary Hall.
Stretch, Theodore, New College.
Wood, Samuel, Christ Church.
Yeld, George, Brasenose.
Yule, Henry W., Wadham.

CLASSIS IV.

Carter, Lorraine E., New College.
Du Pré, James, Corpus.
Frampton, Thomas, Queen's.
Freeling, Arthur C., Christ Church.
Harton, Alfred W., Pembroke.
Maude, Samuel, Wadham.
McCausland, Robert F., Wadham.
Rowland, William, Worcester.
Scobell, John F., Lincoln.
Stains, Robert, Oriel.
Wortham, Biscoe H., Trinity.

Twenty-nine others passed.

Examiners.

J. H. Ramsay.
M. Burrows.
J. Bryce.

MODERATIONS.

Term. Trin. 1867.

In Litt. Gr. et Lat.

I.

Baker, George, Magdalen.
Bowen, Francis R. S., New College.
Bradley, Francis H., University.
Brown, Archibald, Christ Church.
Browne, James W., University.
Buchanan, Thomas R., Balliol.
Craik, Henry, Balliol.
Cremer, Gabriel H., New College.

In Disc. Math.

I.

Bromfield, Samuel W., Christ Church.
Chadwick, William, Merton.
Gamble, James S., Magdalen.
Lewis, William J., Jesus.
Sampson, Edward F., St. John's.
Taylor, William W., Queen's.
Tomlinson, Herbert, Christ Church.

Dill, Samuel, Lincoln.
 Doble, Charles E., Worcester.
 Driver, Samuel R., New College.
 Fox, Charles W., Christ Church.
 Gaye, Arthur, Oriel.
 Ilbert, Owen, Corpus.
 Ingham, Robert W., Corpus.
 Jones, Alfred V., Exeter.
 Knox, Edmund A., Corpus.
 Lindsell, Henry M., Trinity.
 Lock, Walter, Corpus.
 Madan, Arthur C., Christ Church.
 Morshead, John Y. A., University.
 Mowat, John L. G., Exeter.
 Nettleship, Richard L., Balliol.
 Stanbridge, John W., New College.
 Swinbourn, Alfred J., Queen's.
 Turner, Herbert W., St. John's.
 Were, Edward A., New College.
 Williams, Philip J., New College.

II.

Barker, Peter, Brasenose.
 Bartholomew, Arthur C., Trinity.
 Bartlett, Alfred D., Pembroke.
 Brown, Robert S., Merton.
 Bullock, William T., Lincoln.
 Churchill, Charles J. S., Corpus.
 Cogswell, William H. L., Wadham.
 Cornish, Robert, Oriel.
 Dasent, John R., Christ Church.
 Davies, Lewis, Christ Church.
 Deedes, Brook, Christ Church.
 Deedes, Philip, Lincoln.
 Edwardes, Francis G., Christ Church.
 Haigh, Charles D., Queen's.
 Heygate, William A., New College.
 Hilton, Walter K., Corpus.
 Hughes-Hughes, W. O., Wadham.
 Jacobson, Walter H. A., Corpus.
 Lee, Philip E., Balliol.
 Lewis, Robert L. B., Merton.
 Ludlam, Edward T., Worcester.
 Michell, Rowland L. N., Christ Church.
 Primrose, Henry W., Balliol.
 Richardson, Henry, Corpus.
 Scott, Charles P., Corpus.
 Scott, Samuel G., Magdalen.
 Tait, Charles W. A., Queen's.
 Todd, George, Balliol.
 Wilkinson, Erasmus, Exeter.
 Worcester, John B., Magdalen Hall.

III.

Chavasse, Francis J., Corpus.
 Ford, William W., Corpus.
 Grant, Cyril F., Balliol.
 Harvey, Clement F., Trinity.
 Hawtrey, George P., Pembroke.
 Lewis, John T., Jesus.
 Liddell, Adolphus G. C., Balliol.
 Malaher, William E., All Souls.
 Moseley, Henry J., New College.
 Phelps, Edward R., Corpus.

II.

Brittan, George, Merton.
 Talbot, Frederick H., Christ Church.

III.

Phelps, Henry C., Queen's.
Scott, John A., Balliol.

Moderators.

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
N. Pinder.	T. H. R. Shand.
H. F. Tozer.	G. S. Ward.
D. B. Monro.	C. J. C. Price.
H. Nettleship.	

Term. Mich. 1867.

In Litt. Gr. et Lat.

I.

Bennett, Stephen A., Balliol.
Burns, William, University.
Cobb, Charles E., University.
Cordery, Arthur, Lincoln.
Evans, Herbert A., Balliol.
Farnell, John E., Wadham.
Fayrer, Robert, Trinity.
Goodlake, Thomas S., Balliol.
Hutchings, Charles R., Trinity.
Malan, Arthur N., Oriel.
Massey, Edwin R., Exeter.
McClellan, Edward J., Queen's.
Messervy, Alfred, Exeter.
Mogg, William, Exeter.
Style, Frederic N., Lincoln.
Walter, Arthur T., Christ Church.

II.

Barnes, Walter L., All Souls.
Biscoe, Charles T., Christ Church.
Brooks, William J., Corpus.
Collyer, D'Arcy B., Corpus.
Cope, Alfred D., Wadham.
Cunningham, Edward J., Corpus.
Derington, Thomas J., Christ Church.
Du Boulay, James H., Wadham.
Fletcher, Philip, Magdalen.
Goodier, Joseph H., Brasenose.
Hardy, Charles R. W., Oriel.
Hill, Geoffry, Exeter.
Howard, Alfred W. H., Balliol.
Luxmoore, Edward, Lincoln.
Priest, William J., St. Alban Hall.
Rhys, John, Jesus.
Rodgers, Robert H., Brasenose.
Smith, Richard, Balliol.
Sneyd, George E., Trinity.
Stirling, Arthur F. G., Magdalen.
Tait, Herbert G., Lincoln.
Tidswell, Samuel W., Worcester.
Vaughan, Arthur P., Balliol.
Wheeler, Arthur T., Brasenose.
Yarde, Walter B. S., Trinity.

III.

Arbuthnot, George, Christ Church.
Barrington-Ward, M. J., Magdalen Hall.
Black, Charles A. H., Exeter.
Crofton, Addison, Trinity.

In Disc. Math.

I.

Buchanan, Thomas R., Balliol.
Donkin, Arthur E., University.
Hughes, Geoffry, Exeter.
Wallroth, Frederick A., Brasenose.
Watson, John L., Brasenose.
Wharton, Edgar, Exeter.

II.

Barker, Peter, Brasenose.
Driver, Samuel R., New College.
Heal, Frank, Magdalen.
Horne, Henry W., New College.
Lea, Reginald S., Brasenose.
Morton, Edward J., Wadham.
Owen, Thomas W., Jesus.
Scully, Vincent, Christ Church.

III.

Darbishire, Samuel D., Balliol.
Doune, William, Brasenose.
Gwyn, Richard, Oriel.
Lee, Philip E., Balliol.

Edwards, Daniel, Jesus.
 Hamilton, Edward W., Christ Church.
 Harrison, William H., Pembroke.
 Heathcote, Arthur M., Oriel.
 Holland, Henry S., Balliol.
 Kent, Osborne C., Trinity.
 Larcom, Arthur, Oriel.
 Lipscomb, William H., University.
 Long, Ernest H. K., Christ Church.
 Morris, Mowbray W., Merton.
 O'Driscoll, William J., St. John's.
 Pearce, Alexander, Trinity.
 Phipps, William W., Exeter.
 Poyntz, Nathaniel C. S., Pembroke.
 Reynolds, Henry W., Wadham.
 Richards, Wilfred L., Exeter.
 Ruddock, Mark E., Exeter.
 Smythe, George E., Christ Church.
 Turner, Richard S., Queen's.
 Upton, Cecil, St. Edmund Hall.
 Williams, David J., Jesus.
 Williamson, Frederick C., Pembroke.
 Wright, Arthur J., Exeter.

Moderators.

LITT. GR. ET LAT.	DISC. MATH.
C. W. Sandford.	T. H. R. Shand.
H. F. Tozer.	G. S. Ward.
J. Y. Sargent.	C. J. C. Price.
D. B. Monro.	

CAMBRIDGE.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

William Charles Green, M.A., King's.
 Edwin Charles Clark, M.A., Trinity.
 Alfred George Day, M.A., Gonville and Caius.
 Richard Claverhouse Jebb, M.A., Trinity.

** * In all cases of equality the names are bracketed.*

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Sandys, John's.
 2 Pollock, Trinity.
 3 Colvin, Trinity.
 4 Cole, King's.
 5 Daniell, Trinity.
 6 Cox, John's.
 7 Warr, Trinity H.
 8 Butler, Trinity.
 { Brogden, John's.
 { Gwatkin, John's.
 { Shaw, Trinity H.

12 Wright, Queens'.
 { Armitage, John's.
 { Bonser, Clare.
 { Malden, Trinity.
 { Cunningham, King's.
 { Gunton, Magdalene.
 { Maddock, Clare.
 { Dickson, F. C., Trinity.
 { Tatham, Trinity.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Dundas, Trinity.
 22 Underhill, Caius.
 { Johnston, Christ's.
 { Ritson, Pembroke.
 25 Robinson, Emmanuel.
 26 Tottenham, Trinity.
 { Forsyth, Trinity.
 { Souper, John's.
 29 Wilkinson, Pembroke.

{ Hall, Trinity.
 { Johnstone, Trinity.
 32 Stokes, Trinity H.
 33 Style, Catharine's.
 34 Nelson, Queens'.
 35 Ram, Corpus.
 36 French, Emmanuel.
 37 Grigson, Christ's.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. { Beaumont, John's.
 { Hoyles, Trinity.
 { Watson, John's.
 41 Harris, Sidney.
 42 Maples, John's.
 { Dickson, H. G., Trinity.
 { Foster, Clare.
 45 Palmer, John's.
 46 Godfray, Clare.
 { Parker, Trinity.
 { Ross, Trinity.
 49 Barrett, John's.
 50 Ensor, Queens'.
 { Hyde, Lord, Trinity.
 { Slocock, Jesus.
 53 Boys, Emmanuel.

{ Buck, Christ's.
 { Harbord, Trinity.
 { Milner, Pembroke.
 { Phillips, Sidney.
 { Field, Christ's.
 { Tatham, Christ's.
 60 Fenton, Trinity.
 61 Bray, John's.
 62 Lathbury, Emmanuel.
 63 Connolly, Queens'.
 64 Hamilton, Trinity.
 65 Askwith, Trinity.
 66 Puller, Trinity.
 67 Jerwood, Trinity H.
 68 Rothschild, Trinity.
 69 Yates, Trinity.

EGROTANT.

Hindley, Sidney.

Mozley, Trinity.

MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.

MODERATORS.

John Clough Williams Ellis, M.A., Sidney Sussex.
 Anthony William Wilson Steel, M.A., Gonville and Caius.

EXAMINERS.

Norman Macleod Ferrers, M.A., Gonville and Caius.
 James Clerk Maxwell, M.A., Trinity.

WRANGLERS.

Ds. Niven, Trinity.
 2 Clifford, Trinity.
 3 Lambert, Pembroke.
 4 Stevens, John's.
 5 Humphreys, John's.
 6 Carpmael, John's.
 7 Reynolds, Queens'.
 { Charuley, John's.
 { Jardine, Caius.
 { Shaw, Clare.
 11 Parkin, Clare.
 { Galliers, Caius.
 { Kimm, Catharine's.
 14 Wanklyn, Sidney.
 15 Blunn, John's.
 { Fiddian, John's.
 { Reynolds, Christ's.
 18 Green, John's.
 19 Puller, Trinity.
 20 Chaplin, John's.
 21 Watherston, Emmanuel.

22 Bone, Trinity.
 23 Thorpe, John's.
 { Groome, John's.
 { Oram, Caius.
 { Bodkin, King's.
 { Crosbie, Trinity.
 { Honeyburne, Catharine's.
 { Newnum, Pembroke.
 30 Dickson, F. C., Trinity.
 { Gaskin, Emmanuel.
 { Hullett, Trinity.
 33 Clarke, Emmanuel.
 34 Kennett, Trinity.
 { Bremner, Clare.
 { Gwatkin, John's.
 { Prior, Emmanuel.
 { Beaumont, John's.
 { Bevan, Emmanuel.
 { Hall, Trinity.
 41 Johnston, Christ's.
 42 Grove, Corpus.

SENIOR OPTIMES.

Da. Landon, John's.	{ Chamberlain, Queens'.
{ Corfe, Sidney.	{ Fisher, John's.
{ Soutter, Emmanuel.	{ Dearden, Trinity H.
46 Stokes, Trinity H.	{ Field, Christ's.
47 Amps, Emmanuel.	63 Smyth, Jesus.
48 Pollock, Trinity.	{ Boys, Emmanuel.
49 Macan, Jesus.	{ Grain, Peter's.
50 Fortescue, Magdalene.	68 Hope, John's.
51 Barr, Peter's.	69 Cussons, Catherine's.
52 Milner, Pembroke.	70 Thompson, Sidney.
{ Schroeder, Downing.	71 Begley, Corpus.
{ Simms, Christ's.	{ Francis, Jesus.
{ Wren, Peter's.	{ Tatham, Christ's.
{ Morgan, Peter's.	74 Daniell, Trinity.
{ Pearson, Magdalene.	75 Bromby, Christ's.
{ Askwith, Trinity.	76 Loyd, Trinity.
{ Martin, Clare.	77 Bell, Trinity.
60 Fernell, Trinity H.	78 Pengelly, Christ's.
	79 Graham, Peter's.

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Da. Poole, John's.	100 Dickson, R. H., Trinity.
{ French, Emmanuel.	101 Ferns, Christ's.
{ Stooke, John's.	102 Load, Pembroke.
{ Crosthwaite, Pembroke.	103 Taylor, John's.
{ Jukes, Trinity.	104 Roumieu, Jesus.
{ Alford, John's.	105 Winter, Trinity.
{ Nimmo, Trinity.	106 Greenwood, Magdalene.
{ Duncan, Jesus.	{ Kempe, Trinity.
{ Lowe, Sidney.	{ Martyn, Caius.
89 Radcliffe, John's.	109 Edwards, Corpus.
90 Linton, Trinity H.	{ Foster, Trinity.
{ Clark, Corpus.	{ Taylor, Christ's.
{ Forbes, John's.	{ Roe, John's.
93 Eller, Queens'	{ Tayler, Trinity.
94 Arkwright, Trinity.	114 Hart, John's.
95 Jones, Catharine's.	115 Murray, Caius.
96 Mackrell, Queens'.	116 Bolitho, Trinity.
97 Roberts, Christ's.	117 Isherwood, John's.
{ Butler, Trinity.	118 Anderson, Trinity.
{ Kidman, Catharine's.	

EGROTAT.

Miller, St. Peter's.

MORAL SCIENCES TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

Leonard Henry Courtney, M.A., St. John's.
 Henry Sidgwick, M.A., Trinity.
 Edward Meredith Cope, M.A., Trinity.
 John Rickards Mozley, M.A., King's.

FIRST CLASS.

Da. Scott, Jesus.	MacColl, Down.
Mansel, Trinity.	Leach, Caius.
Hewitt, John's.	

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Ribbon, Pembroke.
Questel, Downing

Mullinger, John's.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Given, Caius.
{ Durieu, John's.
Phillips, Caius.
Scarlin, John's.
Toone, John's.

{ Hamond, John's.
Sharrock, John's.
Trench, Trinity.

NATURAL SCIENCE TRIPOS.

EXAMINERS.

George Murray Humphry, M.D., Downing.
Miles Joseph Berkeley, M.A., Christ's.
William Houghton Stokes, M.A., Caius.
Osmond Fisher, M.A., Jesus.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. { Earle, Jesus.
Walker, Sidney.

King, Caius.

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. { Fenwick, Trinity.
Ralfe, Caius.
Smart, Caius.

Wollaston, Clare.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Marshall, Trinity.

Sample, Caius.

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